বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ

দলিলপত্রঃ ত্রয়োদশ খণ্ড

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ

দলিলপত্র ঃ ত্রয়োদশ খণ্ড

বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া ঃ জাতিসংঘ ও বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র

সম্পাদক ঃ হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার

তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ

দলিলপত্র

মুখবন্ধ

বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস প্রকল্পের নয় সদস্য বিশিষ্ট প্রামাণ্য-করণ কমিটির তরফ থেকে এই দলিল সংগ্রহের প্রকাশনা সম্পর্কে দুটি কথা নিবেদন করছি। এ প্রকল্পের উৎপত্তি ও গঠন, এর মূল উদ্দেশ্য ও কার্যপদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে বিশেষ ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মকর্তা জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান বিস্তারিত বলবেন।

বিপুলায়তন ও সংগৃহীত উপাত্ত থেকে প্রকাশিতব্য দলিলসমূহ নির্বাচনে কমিটির সদস্যবৃন্দ নিরপেক্ষ ভূমিকা পালনে যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা করেছেন। তাঁরা ঘন্টার পর ঘন্টা ধরে দলিলাদির পান্ডুলিপি ধৈর্য ধরে পরীক্ষা করেছেন, বিস্তারিত আলোচনা-সমালোচনার মাধ্যমে সংযোজন ও সংশোধনের জন্য মূল্যবান উপদেশ দিয়ে প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নে সহায়তা করেছেন। আমাদের কোন মন্তব্য ছাড়াই দলিলগুলো সরাসরি পাঠক ও গবেষকদের কাছে উপস্থিত হচ্ছে। দলিলপত্র যথাসম্ভব মূলসূত্র থেকে উদ্ধারের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। প্রকাশিত দলিলগুলো প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি অনুমোদন করে দিয়েছেন।

প্রায় সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠাব্যাপী দলিল থেকে প্রাথমিক নির্বাচনের গুরু-দায়িত্ব পালন করেছেন প্রকল্পে নিয়োজিত বিভিন্ন গবেষকবৃন্দ। তাঁরা জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানের নেতৃত্বে এ দায়িত্ব যথাযথ নিষ্ঠা ও আন্তরিকতার সংগে পালন করেছেন।

প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সকল সদস্যকে এবং প্রকল্পের গবেষকবৃন্দকে তাঁদের প্রশংসনীয় ভূমিকার জন্য আমি অশেষ ধন্যবাদ জানাই। সেই সংগে প্রকল্পের প্রধান বাংলাদেশের বিশিষ্ট কবি ও সাংবাদিক জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানকে নিরলস ও অকাতর কর্মপ্রচেষ্টার জন্য জানাই প্রাণঢালা অভিনন্দন।

বিভিন্ন সূত্রে সংগৃহীত ও সুবিবেচনার সাথে নির্বাচিত দলিলগুলো থেকে আমাদের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের একটি সার্বিক, প্রামাণ্য ও নিরপেক্ষ চিত্র বেরিয়ে আসবে, আমরা এ আশা পোষণ করছি। সংগৃহীত সমুদয় দলিল একটি স্থায়ী আর্কাইভস্ গঠনে সহায়তা করবে। অনুদ্ঘাটিত ও অনাবিষ্কৃত দলিলগুলো ভবিষ্যতে সংগৃহীত হলে পরিশিষ্টের মাধ্যমে সেগুলি মূল দলিলের সংগে সংযোজিত হতে পারে।

প্রকাশিত দলিলগুলো পাঠকসমাজ ও গবেষকদের কাছে সমাদৃত হলে আমাদের শ্রম সার্থক বলে মনে করব।

মফিজুল্লাহ কবীর
চেয়ারম্যান,
প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি,
বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস প্রকল্প।

ভূমিকা

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সময়সীমা ১৯৭১ সালের ২৫ মার্চ থেকে ১৬ ডিসেম্বর পর্যন্ত। এই সময়ে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সংগে সম্পর্কিত সারা বিশ্বে যা কিছু ঘটেছে তার তথ্য ও দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহ এবং সেসবের ওপর ভিত্তি করে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস রচনা ও মুদ্রণের দায়িত্ব অর্পিত হয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধ ইতিহাস লিখন ও মুদ্রণ প্রকল্পের ওপর। গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়ের অধীনে এই প্রকল্পটি প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় এবং এর কাজ শুরু হয় ১৯৭৮ সালের জানুয়ারী থেকে (পরিশিষ্ট দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ইতিহাস রচনার দায়িত্বপ্রাপ্ত হলেও এই প্রকল্প স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যসমূহ প্রকাশনার সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করে। এর কারণ, সমকালীন কোন ঘটনার বিশেষ করে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের মতো একটি যুগান্তকারী ঘটনার ইতিহাস রচনার ক্ষেত্রে নিরপেক্ষতা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা রক্ষা করা এবং বিকৃতির সম্ভাবনা এড়িয়ে যাওয়া বস্তুত অত্যন্ত দুরূহ। এ জন্যই আমরা ইতিহাস রচনার পরিবর্তে দলিল ও তথ্য প্রকাশকেই অধিক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মনে করেছি। এর ফলে দলিল ও তথ্যাদিই কথা বলবে, ঘটনার বিকাশ ও ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষা করবে, ঘটনাপরম্পরার সংগতি রক্ষা করবে।

এই লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখেই কয়েকটি খণ্ডে সংগৃহীত দলিলসমূহ প্রকাশের সিদ্ধান্ত প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে প্রকল্পের সামনে একটি বিশেষ বিবেচ্য বিষয় দেখা দেয় এই যে, দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের সময়সীমা স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকেন্দ্রিক হওয়া সত্ত্বেও এ সত্যও সমান গুরুত্বপূর্ণ যে, স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের পশ্চাতে বিরাট পটভূমি রয়েছে। স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে এই পটভূমি থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দেখা যায় না। এই পটভূমির ঘটনাবলী—যাকে মুক্তিসংগ্রাম বলে অভিহিত করা যায়—তার অনিবার্য পরিণতিই স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে অবশ্যম্ভাবী করে তোলে। তাই মুক্তি-সংগ্রামের স্বরূপ জানা ছাড়া স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে তুলে ধরা সম্ভবই নয়। এই পরিস্থিতিতে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিল প্রকাশের সংগে এর পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দু'খণ্ড দলিলসংগ্রহ প্রকাশের সিদ্ধান্তও প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। এর ফলে প্রকল্পের দলিল প্রকাশের পরিকল্পনা নিম্নরূপে দাঁড়ায়:

প্রথম খণ্ড : পটভূমি (১৯০৫—১৯৫৮)

দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড : পটভূমি (১৯৫৮—১৯৭১)

তৃতীয় খণ্ড : মুজিব নগর : প্রশাসন

চতুর্থ খণ্ড : মুজিবনগর : প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা

পঞ্চম খণ্ড : মুজিব নগর : বেতারমাধ্যম

ষষ্ঠ খণ্ড : মুজিব নগর : গণমাধ্যম

সপ্তম খণ্ড : পাকিস্তানী দলিলপত্র : সরকারী ও বেসরকারী

অষ্টম খণ্ড : গণহত্যা, শরণার্থী শিবির ও প্রাসংগিক ঘটনা

নবম খণ্ড : সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (১)

দশম খণ্ড : সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (২)

একাদশ খণ্ড : সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (৩)

দ্বাদশ খণ্ড : বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া : ভারত

ত্রয়োদশ খণ্ড : বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া : জাতিসংঘ ও বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র

চতুর্দশ খণ্ড : বিশ্বজনমত

পঞ্চদশ খণ্ড : সাক্ষাৎকার

ষোড়শ খণ্ড : কালপঞ্জী, গ্রন্থপঞ্জী ও নির্ঘণ্ট

মূল পরিকল্পনায় ৭২০০ পৃষ্ঠা মুদ্রণের পরিকল্পনা থাকলেও সংগ্রহের পরিমাণ বিপুল হয়ে যাওয়ায় আমাদের সিদ্ধান্ত পরিবর্তন করতে হয়। নতুন পরিকল্পনা অনুযায়ী প্রতিটি খণ্ড প্রায় ৯০০ পৃষ্ঠা, সর্বমোট ১৫০০০ পৃষ্ঠার মধ্যে সংগ্রহগুলির মুদ্রণ সম্পন্ন করার বাজেট বরাদ্দ অনুমোদিত হয়। এই ভিত্তিতে আমাদের কাজ এগিয়ে যায়।

দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে নীতিমালা আমরা ব্যাপক ও খোলামেলা রেখেছি। তবে পটভূমি সম্বন্ধে দলিল ও তথ্যাদি গ্রহণে কিছুটা সংযত দৃষ্টিভংগী অবলম্বন করি। আমরা শুধু সেইসব তথ্য ও দলিলই পটভূমি খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশিত করার সিদ্ধান্ত নিই যা বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান ভূখণ্ডের বৈশিষ্ট্য ও এখানে বসবাসকারী জনগণের আশাআকাংক্ষার সংগে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে জড়িত। অর্থাৎ, যেসব ঘটনা, আন্দোলন ও কার্যকারণ এই ভূখণ্ডের জনগণকে মুক্তিসংগ্রামের দিকে উদ্বুদ্ধ ও পরিচালিত করেছে, প্রধানত সেসব সংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যই এই খণ্ডে কালানুক্রমিকভাবে সাজানো হয়েছে। এই দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে আমরা বাংলাদেশের অতীত ঘাঁটতে বহু দূর-অতীতে প্রত্যাবর্তন করিনি। ১৯০৫ সালের বংগভংগ থেকেই পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দলিল-তথ্যাদির সন্নিবেশন শুরু করি। আমরা মনে করি, বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের ব্যাখ্যায় এই শুরুর সীমাটি বাহুল্যবর্জিত, প্রত্যক্ষ এবং যুক্তিগ্রাহ্য।

১৯০৫-এর বংগভংগ এবং তা রদ-এর পর ১৯৪০ সাল পর্যন্ত মধ্যবর্তী এ দীর্ঘ সময়ের আর কোন দলিল এ খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশ করা হয়নি। কারণ ১৯১১ থেকে ১৯৪০ পর্যন্ত এই ভূখণ্ডে অনুষ্ঠিত সকল রাজনৈতিক আন্দোলন সর্বভারতীয় বৃটিশবিরোধী আন্দোলনের অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল। ১৯৪০ সালে গৃহীত লাহোর প্রস্তাবে স্বতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্রীয় সত্তারূপে বাংলার প্রতিষ্ঠার সম্ভাবনা নিহিত ছিল। আর তা উত্থাপন করেছিলেন বাংলাদেশেরই সংখ্যাগুরু জনগোষ্ঠির অবিসংবাদিত নেতা এ, কে, ফজলুল হক। ১৯৪৬ সালে নিতান্ত অবৈধভাবে দিল্লী কনভেনশনে লাহোর প্রস্তাবের যে সংশোধনী করা হয়, তাতে বাংলার স্বতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্রীয়রূপের প্রশ্নকে পরিহার করা হয়। ১৯৪৭ সালে ভারত বিভাগ সম্পর্কে মাউণ্টব্যাটেন পরিকল্পনা ঘোষণার পর স্বাধীন ও সার্বভৌম বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠার প্রচেষ্টা হয়, কিন্তু সে প্রচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয় এবং যেভাবে পাকিস্তান প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় তাতে স্বায়ত্তশাসনের বিষয়টি সম্পূর্ণরূপে উপেক্ষিত হয়। এরই পরিণতিতে

পরবর্তীকালে বাংলাদেশের জনগণের সম্মুখে স্বায়ত্তশাসন তথা স্বাধীনতার জন্য সংগ্রাম করা ঐতিহাসিক প্রয়োজন হয়ে দেখা দেয়। এই ঐতিহাসিক প্রয়োজনকে মূর্ত করে তুলেছে এমন সমস্ত দলিলই এ খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে।

পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দলিলপত্র দুটি খণ্ডে বিভক্ত। প্রথম খণ্ডটি শেষ হয়েছে ১৯৫৮ সালে আইয়ুব খানের ক্ষমতা দখলের সময়সীমায়। এখানে কাল বিভাজন করা হয়েছে একান্তই খণ্ড পরিকল্পনার পৃষ্ঠাসংখ্যার সুবিধার দিকে লক্ষ্য রেখে—কোন বিশেষ ঐতিহাসিক দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে নয়।

পটভূমির বেলায় যে ধরনের দলিল ও তথ্যাদি আমরা গ্রহণ করেছি সেগুলো হলো গেজেট বিজ্ঞপ্তি, পার্লামেণ্টের কার্যবিবরণী, কোর্টের মামলা সম্পর্কিত রিপোর্ট ও রায়, কমিশন রিপোর্ট, রাজনৈতিক দলের কর্মসূচী ও প্রস্তাব, জনসভার প্রস্তাব, আন্দোলনের রিপোর্ট, ছাত্রদলের প্রস্তাব ও আন্দোলন, গণপ্রতিক্রিয়া, সংবাদপত্রের প্রতিবেদন, বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তি-বর্গের প্রামাণ্য সমীক্ষা ও প্রবন্ধ, রাজনৈতিক পত্র, সরকারী নির্দেশ ও পদক্ষেপ ইত্যাদি। স্বাধীনতাযুদ্ধের দলিল ও তথ্যাদির বেলায় সংগ্রহের ধরন বিস্তৃততর হয়েছে স্বাভাবিকভাবেই। কারণ এই যুদ্ধের সংগে সারা বিশ্ব জড়িত হয়ে পড়েছিল। ফলে কেবল বাংলাদেশের অভ্যন্তরে নয়, সারা বিশ্বের বিষয়াদি যোগাড় করা অপরিহার্য হয়ে দেখা দেয় এবং প্রকল্প সেভাবেই অগ্রসর হয়। এ ব্যাপারে ব্যক্তিগত ডায়েরী, চিঠিপত্র, সাক্ষাৎকার, স্মৃতিকথা, সরকারী নথিপত্র, রণকৌশল ও যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত লিপিবদ্ধ তথ্যাদি, মুক্ত এলাকায় মুক্তিবাহিনী ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রশাসনিক তৎপরতা, জনসাধারণের সক্রিয় অংশ গ্রহণ, কমিটি গঠন, বিবৃতি, বিশ্ব-জনমত, বিভিন্ন দেশের পার্লামেণ্টের কার্যবিবরণী প্রভৃতি নানা ধরনের তথ্য ও দলিল এই সংগ্রহের অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়। এ-ক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে নজর রেখেছি যাতে সর্বসাধারণের মনোভাব প্রতিফলনে কোন ফাঁক না থাকে। এই লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখে গণসহযোগিতার প্রতিস্তরের তথ্য সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। প্রতিটি খণ্ডে যতদূর সম্ভব মূল দলিল সন্নিবেশিত করার দিকে বিশেষ লক্ষ্য রাখা হয়েছে। তবে যেসব দলিল ঐতিহাসিক গুরুত্ব অর্জন করেছে এবং যেগুলি বাদ দিলে ঘটনার ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষিত হয় না সেগুলি আমরা প্রকাশিত সূত্র থেকে গ্রহণ করেছি।

এ-কাজে একটিই আমাদের প্রধান বিবেচ্য ছিল, সঠিক ঘটনার সঠিক দলিল যেন সঠিক পরিমাণে বিন্যস্ত হয়। আমাদের কোন মন্তব্য নেই, অঙ্গুলি সংকেত নেই, নিজস্ব ব্যাখ্যা-বিশ্লেষণও নেই। আমরা বস্তুনিষ্ঠ ও নিরপেক্ষ মনোভাব আগাগোড়া বজায় রাখার চেষ্টা করেছি। এই মূল লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখেই দলিল-তথ্যাদি বাছাই, সম্পাদনা এবং বিন্যাস করা হয়েছে। এ-ক্ষেত্রে আমরা শুধু এইটুকু সতর্কতা অটুট রেখেছি যাতে কারো প্রতিনিধিত্ব ক্ষুণ্ণ না হয়। দলিলের যথার্থতাই যার যা ভূমিকা ও গুরুত্ব তা যথাযথভাবে তুলে ধরবে। বস্তুত জনসাধারণই এ ধরনের ঘটনার প্রকৃত মহানায়ক। জনসাধারণের মধ্যে অবস্থা পরি-বর্তনের ইচ্ছা যখন পরিণত ও অপ্রতিরোধ্য হয়ে ওঠে, কেবল তখনই জনগণের মধ্য থেকে যোগ্যতম নেতৃত্বের অভ্যুদয় ঘটে। বাংলাদেশের বেলাতেও তাই ঘটেছে। আর তাই এমন

সব দল বা সংগঠনের দলিল অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে, যে দল বা সংগঠন আমাদের জাতীয় রাজনীতির ক্ষেত্রে হয়তো মুখ্য ভূমিকা বা নেতৃত্ব গ্রহণ করেনি। তবু একাত্তরের অনেক আগেই বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার চিন্তা একটা দেশের একটা জাতির নির্দিষ্ট লক্ষ্যাভিসারী অন্তঃস্রোতকেই সামনে তুলে ধরে। আসলে মহীরুহের চারপাশে জেগে ওঠা অজস্র গাছপালা নিয়েই বনের গঠন-কাঠামো। বনকে জানতে হলে এব সবটাই জানা দরকার।

তবে ব্যাপক প্রতিনিধিত্বের প্রশ্নে সবটুকু হয়তো প্রতিফলিত নাও হয়ে থাকতে পারে। এর দুটো কারণ, প্রথমত গ্রন্থের সীমিত পরিসরে স্থান সঙ্কুলানের প্রশ্ন, দ্বিতীয়ত অনেক তথ্য ও দলিল হাতে না আসা যা বহু ক্ষেত্রে যোগাযোগ করেও পাওয়া যায়নি, কিছু ক্ষেত্রে যোগাযোগেরও সুযোগ ঘটেনি। সবাইকে আমরা জায়গা দিতে চেয়েছি এবং ভূমিকা অনুযায়ী গুরুত্ব বিধানের দিকেও লক্ষ্য রেখেছি—এইটেই মূল কথা। এই নীতি পটভূমি ও অন্যান্য খণ্ডে একইভাবে অনুসৃত হয়েছে।

সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠার মতো দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহসংখ্যার দিক থেকে বিপুল বলতে হবে। তবু আমাদের ধারণা এই যে, বহু দলিল ও তথ্য এখনো সংগ্রহের বাইরে রয়েছে। বাংলাদেশের প্রায় প্রতিটি লোকই কোন না কোন ভাবে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সংগে জড়িত ছিলেন। গ্রামে গ্রামে ব্যক্তিতে ব্যক্তিতে বহু ঘটনার উদ্ভব হয়েছে, বহু বীরত্ব-গাথা, বহু ত্যাগ, বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা, অত্যাচার, নিপীড়নের কাহিনী স্তরে স্তরে গড়ে উঠেছে। এর পরিমাণ অনুধাবন করা কঠিন। তাছাড়া সারা বিশ্ব জুড়েও ছিল এ-সম্পর্কে সমর্থন ও প্রতিক্রিয়া এবং প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের ব্যাপক তৎপরতা। তাই সংগ্রহের কাজ সম্পূর্ণ হয়েছে তা বলা যায় না। দেশ ও বিদেশের তথ্য সংগ্রহের কাজ তাই কেবল বাড়তে পারে, শেষ সীমায় পৌঁছানোর ঘোষণা দেয়া এখনই সম্ভব নয়। এর জন্য দীর্ঘ পরিক্রমা ও সক্রিয়তার প্রয়োজন।

সীমিত সময়ের জন্য আমাদের প্রকল্পের আয়ু; তদুপরি আমাদের লোকবলও মাত্র চারজন। এই অবস্থায় এই বিশাল কাজের কতখানি বাস্তবায়ন সম্ভব তা ভাববার বিষয়। তবু আমরা অসাধ্য সাধনের লক্ষ্যে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছিলাম এবং যতদূর সফল হয়েছি তাতে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত তথ্য ও দলিলের ভিত্তিভূমি রচিত হয়েছে, নির্দ্বিধায় এ-কথা বলা যায়। এখন এর বিকাশ ও উন্নয়নের অপেক্ষা রাখে মাত্র। তথ্য ও দলিল সংগ্রহ করতে গিয়ে আমাদের যে অভিজ্ঞতা হয়েছে তাতে এ-কথা বলা যায়।

দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে আমাদের প্রচেষ্টা ছিল ব্যাপক এবং খোলামেলা। ব্যক্তিগত যোগাযোগ ছাড়াও এ-উদ্দেশ্যে আমরা বিভিন্ন সময়ে পত্রপত্রিকায় বিজ্ঞাপন প্রকাশ করেছি এবং মুক্তিযোদ্ধা সংসদ, শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান, পত্রপত্রিকার দপ্তর, গ্রন্থাগার এবং ইউনিয়ন পরিষদের কর্মকর্তাসহ বিভিন্ন শ্রেণীর জনগণের কাছে প্রেরণ করেছি কয়েক হাজার প্রশ্নমালা কিন্তু দুঃখজনকভাবে আশানুরূপ সাড়া মেলেনি। প্রতিটি রাজনৈতিক, ছাত্র, শ্রমিক এবং কৃষক সংগঠনের সাথেই যোগাযোগ করা হয়েছে—কিন্তু দলগতভাবে নয়, ব্যক্তিগতভাবে কেউ কেউ দিয়ে গেছেন নিজস্ব সংগ্রহের দলিলপত্র। আবেদনের জবাবে আশানুরূপ সাড়া না পাবার কারণ হিসাবে আমরা দুটি বিষয় লক্ষ্য করেছি: প্রথমত, ইতিহাসের গুরুত্ব সম্পর্কে অসচেতনতা,

যার ফলে খুব কম সংখ্যক মানুষই দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহ বা সংরক্ষণ করে থাকেন এবং দ্বিতীয়ত, ভিত্তিহীন সংশয়—বিশেষ করে কারো কারো প্রতিক্রিয়ায়। আমাদের মনে হয়েছে যে, ইতিহাস প্রণয়নের প্রচেষ্টাটি সরকারী হওয়ায় এর সততা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা সম্পর্কে তাঁরা যথেষ্ট সন্দিহান এবং ফলে দলিলপত্র প্রদানের মাধ্যমে পরিকল্পিত ইতিহাসকে সমৃদ্ধ করার পরিবর্তে অপূর্ণাংগতার সম্ভাবনাকেই যেন তারা মেনে নিয়েছেন। ব্যাপক ব্যক্তিগত যোগাযোগের মাধ্যমে এই সমস্যা আমরা অনেকটা কাটিয়ে উঠেছি। সরকারী উদ্যোগের কারণে ইতিহাসের নিরপেক্ষতা সম্পর্কে যে আশংকা, তা আমাদের দলিল খণ্ডগুলি নিরসন করবে বলে আমরা মনে করি।

এছাড়াও আমরা লক্ষ্য করেছি, এমন অনেকের কাছেই দলিল ও তথ্যাদি রয়েছে যা তাঁরা হাতছাড়া করতে রাজী নন। অনেকেই কিছু ছেড়েছেন, কিছু হাতে রেখে দিয়েছেন। আবার কারো কারো প্রত্যাশা, দলিলাদি পুরানো হলে সেগুলি অনেক বেশী লাভের উৎস হয়ে উঠতে পারে। আমরা মূল দলিলের ফটোকপি রেখে অনেককেই তাঁর মূল কপি ফেরত দিয়েছি। এ-ক্ষেত্রেও অনেকেই ফটোকপি রাখারও সুযোগ দিতে রাজী হননি—অর্থাৎ তাঁর হাতের দলিলটি তিনি বেরই করেননি ভবিষ্যতের আশায়। সরকার দলিল সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে কোন অর্ডিন্যান্স পাস করেননি। ফলে দলিল পাওয়ার জন্য আমরা ব্যক্তিগত অনুরোধ ও প্রয়াস চালাতে পারি, আইনগত চাপ সৃষ্টি করতে পারি না। অথচ এ কথাও সত্যি যে, স্বাধীনতা সংক্রান্ত দলিল মাত্রই জাতীয় ইতিহাসের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ উপকরণ; তাকে ব্যক্তিগতভাবে বা প্রতিষ্ঠানগতভাবে কুক্ষিগত করে রাখা উচিত নয়।

এইসংগে আমরা দুঃখের সংগে উল্লেখ করি যে, এই প্রকল্প শুরু হবার আগেই স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের বিশিষ্ট নেতাদের অনেককে আমরা হারিয়েছি। ফলে তাঁদের কাছে রক্ষিত দলিলপত্র পাওয়ার কিংবা তাঁদের সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণের সুযোগ থেকে আমরা বঞ্চিত হয়েছি।

এইসব বাধাবিঘ্নের মধ্যেই আমাদের এগিয়ে যেতে হয়েছে। ফলে আমাদের এতদ্‌সংক্রান্ত যে বুনিয়াদ তৈরী হয়েছে তা অতীতের ত্রুটি সংশোধনে এবং ভবিষ্যতের সম্ভাবনার ক্ষেত্র প্রস্তুত করতে সহায়ক হতে পারে। যে তথ্যগত ফাঁক থেকে যাচ্ছে তা পূরণ হওয়া দরকার। সম্ভব হলে অপ্রকাশিত দলিলপত্র থেকে কিংবা ভবিষ্যতে আরো দলিলপত্র সংগৃহীত হলে তা থেকে নির্বাচন করে অতিরিক্ত খণ্ড প্রকাশ করে এই ফাঁক পূরণের চেষ্টা করা যাবে। দেশে-বিদেশের দুষ্প্রাপ্য দলিল সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা অব্যাহত রাখা একান্ত জরুরী বলেই আমরা মনে করি। এ ধারা ক্ষুণ্ন হলে এ কাজ দুরূহতর হবে, এমনকি এটা সম্পূর্ণ করা অসম্ভব হয়ে উঠতে পারে। এ-ব্যাপারে স্থায়ী কর্মসূচী সুফলদায়ক হবে সন্দেহ নেই।

দলিল এবং তথ্য প্রামাণ্যকরণের জন্য সরকার নয়-সদস্যবিশিষ্ট একটি প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি গঠন করেন (পরিশিষ্ট দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রাক্তন প্রো-ভাইস চ্যান্সেলর প্রখ্যাত ইতিহাসবিদ প্রফেসর মফিজুল্লাহ কবীর এই প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান।

কমিটির সদস্যরা হলেন:

ডঃ সালাহউদ্দীন আহমদ, প্রফেসর, ইতিহাস বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

ডঃ আনিসুজ্জামান, প্রফেসর, বাংলা বিভাগ, চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সিদ্ধান্ত ছিল দলিলসমূহ মূল যে ভাষায় আছে তাতেই ছাপা হবে; কিন্তু কার্যক্ষেত্রে এতে বিশেষ অসুবিধা দেখা দেয়। বাংলা ও ইংরেজী ভাষায় মূল দলিলগুলি আমরা সংকলনে স্থান দিয়েছি। তাছাড়া, উর্দু, হিন্দী, আরবী ও রুশ ভাষার বেশকিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দলিল অনুবাদসহ সংকলনের অন্তর্ভুক্ত হয়েছে। স্বান্দেনেভীয়, ফরাসী, জার্মান, জাপানী ও ইন্দোনেশীয়, প্রভৃতি ভাষায় বেশ কিছু দলিল ও তথ্য থাকা সত্ত্বেও তার অনুবাদ করা এবং গ্রন্থে সেসবের স্থান দেয়া এখনও সম্ভবপর হয়নি। এগুলি ভবিষ্যতের জন্যে জমা রইল। প্রাসঙ্গিকতা ও পরিসরের কথা বিবেচনা করে কোন কোন দলিল সংক্ষিপ্ত করা হয়েছে, তবে সেক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে লক্ষ্য রেখেছি যাতে মূলের বিকৃতি না ঘটে।

বর্তমানে আমাদের সংগ্রহে প্রায় সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠার দলিল ও তথ্যাদি জমা হয়েছে। এর ভেতর ১৫ হাজার পৃষ্ঠা ছাপা হচ্ছে। বাকি দলিল ও তথ্যাদি ছাপার বাইরে রয়ে যাবে। এছাড়া সংগ্রহের প্রক্রিয়া অব্যাহত থাকায় আরও দলিলপত্র সংগৃহীত হবে। এগুলির গুরুত্বও কম নয়। অর্থাৎ, এগুলির তথ্য গবেষণা করা এবং তার ওপর ভিত্তি করে প্রকল্প-প্রকাশিত খণ্ডগুলির বাইরেও নতুন তথ্য সংবলিত মুক্তিসংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতাযুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত গ্রন্থ প্রকাশের সম্ভাবনা অবারিত থেকে যাবে। এ সুযোগ সম্প্রসারিত করা দেশ ও জাতির স্বার্থেই একান্ত অপরিহার্য। কারণ এ সম্পর্কে যত বেশী দুর্লভ তথ্যাদি জাতি জানতে পারবে আমাদের অগ্রযাত্রা তত বেশী নির্ভুল ও সফল হবে। তাছাড়া এ আমাদের অনন্ত অনুপ্রেরণার উৎস। তাই এ সম্পর্কিত প্রতিটি সূত্র পবিত্র বস্তু, দায়িত্ব ও আগ্রহে সংরক্ষিত করা দেশ ও সরকারের নৈতিক কর্তব্যের অন্তর্ভুক্ত। সম্ভবত প্রায় প্রতিটি আত্মসচেতন দেশই তাদের অভ্যুদয়ের সঙ্গে জড়িত ঘটনাবলী সংক্রান্ত তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের জন্য স্থায়ী আর্কাইভস প্রতিষ্ঠা করে থাকেন এবং এ-সংগ্রহের কাজ ও এর ওপর গবেষণার কর্মসূচী অব্যাহত রাখেন। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতাযুদ্ধের ব্যাপারে এ সম্ভাবনার বাস্তবায়ন করার সুযোগ সৃষ্টি সমানভাবে দরকার—বিশেষভাবে এ-কারণে যে, এ-সংগ্রামে এদেশের সর্বস্তরের জনসাধারণ অংশগ্রহণ করেছিলেন, যত দিন যাবে তাঁদের সংগে যোগাযোগ তত বৃদ্ধি পাবে, নতুন নতুন তথ্য আর্কাইভস-এর সংগ্রহ সমৃদ্ধতর করতে থাকবে। এ সুযোগ বিনষ্ট করা দুর্ভাগ্যজনক ছাড়া আর কিছুই বলা যাবে না।

প্রকল্পের বিপুল পরিমাণ দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের কাজে স্বতঃস্ফূর্তভাবে সাড়া দিয়ে যাঁরা আমাদের সহযোগিতা করেছেন তাঁদের সকলকে জানাই আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ। এ পর্যায়ে কিছু প্রতিষ্ঠান, সংগঠন, ব্যক্তি ও কর্মীর নাম বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। ঢাকা যাদুঘর, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় গ্রন্থাগার, কেন্দ্রীয় পাবলিক লাইব্রেরী, বাংলাদেশ অবজারভার লাইব্রেরী, দৈনিক বাংলা লাইব্রেরী, জাতীয় সংসদ লাইব্রেরী এবং জাতীয় আর্কাইভস ও গ্রন্থাগার বিভিন্নভাবে আমাদেরকে সাহায্য করেছেন। বাংলাদেশ প্রেস ইনস্টিটিউট, চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় যাদুঘর এবং দিনাজপুর কালেক্টরেট হতেও আমরা কিছু দলিল ও তথ্যাদি পেয়েছি। এছাড়া তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়, প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রণালয়, স্বরাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয়, বাংলাদেশ সচিবালয় গ্রন্থাগার এবং সামরিক গোয়েন্দা পরিদপ্তর (ডি, এম, আই)-এর সৌজন্যে বহুসংখ্যক দলিলদস্তাবেজ আমরা সংগ্রহ করতে পেরেছি। তাঁদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতার জন্য আমরা তাঁদের প্রতি কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন করছি।

ব্যক্তিগত উদ্যোগে ও ব্যক্তিগত সংগ্রহ থেকে অনেকে দলিলপত্র দিয়ে প্রকল্পকে সাহায্য করেছেন। তাঁদের মধ্যে কিছু নাম এখানে উল্লেখ করা খুবই সংগত মনে করছি। প্রাক্তন রাষ্ট্রপতি বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী কিছুসংখ্যক মূল্যবান দলিল প্রকল্পকে দিয়েছেন। বিদেশে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন এবং মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের বহুসংখ্যক দলিল এ, এম, এ, মুহিতের সৌজন্যে আমরা পেয়েছি। প্রবাসে বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের সংগে জড়িত অনেকে তাঁদের দলিলপত্র প্রকল্পকে দিয়েছেন। তাঁদের মধ্যে মরহুমা রাশীদা রউফ, আজিজুল হক ভুঁইয়া, ডঃ এনামুল হক, আমীর আলী, সাখাওয়াত হোসেন ও জহিরউদ্দীন আহমদের নাম উল্লেখযোগ্য। বিদেশ হতে কিছু মূল্যবান দলিল পাঠিয়েছেন মাহমুদুল হক এবং খোন্দকার ইব্রাহিম মোহাম্মদ। মুজিব নগর সরকার এবং স্বাধীন বাংলা বেতারের দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে যাঁদের সাহায্য-সহযোগিতার কথা আমরা বিস্মৃত হব না তাঁরা হলেন হাসান তৌফিক ইমাম, মওদুদ আহমদ, মাঈদুল হাসান, আবদুস সামাদ, দেবব্রত দত্তগুপ্ত, শামসুল হুদা চৌধুরী ও আলমগীর কবীর। পটভূমি পর্যায়ের কিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দলিল দিয়ে সাহায্য করেছেন বদরুদ্দীন উমর, কাজী জাফর আহমদ, অজয় রায়, ইসমাইল মোহাম্মদ, যতীন সরকার, শেখ আবদুল জলিল, ডঃ সাঈদ-উর রহমান এবং আমিনুল হক। ইসমত কাদির গামা, শামসুজ্জামান খান মিলন, উৎপল কান্তি ধর, স্বপন চৌধুরী ও রেজা মোস্তাক স্বাধীনতাযুদ্ধের দলিল ও তথ্যাদি দিয়েছেন। উল্লিখিত সকলকে আমরা আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। এছাড়া আমাদের বিপুল সংগ্রহের বিরাট কর্মকাণ্ডের সংগে জড়িত রয়েছেন আরও অনেকে। এই স্বল্প পরিসরে তাঁদের প্রত্যেকের নাম উল্লেখ করা সম্ভব নয়। আমাদের আর্কাইভস-এর দলিল সংরক্ষণ খাতায় তাঁদের সকলের নাম দলিলাদির উৎস হিসেবে লিখিত রয়েছে। তাঁদেরকেও ধন্যবাদ।

দলিল ও তথ্যাদির সত্যতা যাচাই-এর ক্ষেত্রে প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির অবদান কৃতজ্ঞতার সাথে স্মরণ করছি। কমিটির সদস্যগণ পরম ধৈর্য, যত্ন ও আগ্রহ সহকারে দলিলাদির প্রাসঙ্গিকতা ও মূল্য বিচার করেছেন। তাঁরা শুধু দলিলাদির সত্যতা যাচাই করেননি, প্রকল্পের উন্নয়ন এবং বিশেষ করে খণ্ডসমূহের তথ্যসমৃদ্ধি ও সৌকর্য বৃদ্ধির জন্য মূল্যবান পরামর্শ দিয়েছেন। এক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান প্রফেসর মফিজুল্লাহ কবীরের কথা আন্তরিকতার সংগে স্মরণ করছি।

দলিল সংগ্রহ খণ্ডগুলোর প্রকাশনার ব্যাপারে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়কে ধন্যবাদ জানাই। এই সংগে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের মুদ্রণ বিভাগ এবং দি প্রিন্টার্স-এর প্রতিও আমরা কৃতজ্ঞতা স্বীকার করছি।

সবশেষে আরও কয়েকজনের কথা বলতে হয়—স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলসংগ্রহ খণ্ডগুলোর পেছনে রয়েছে যাঁদের অক্লান্ত শ্রম ও নিরলস সাধনা। তাঁরা এই প্রকল্পের চারজন গবেষক—সৈয়দ আল ইমামুর রশীদ, আফসান চৌধুরী, শাহ আহমদ রেজা এবং ওয়াহিদুল হক। শুধুমাত্র চাকরির দায়িত্বে নয়—গবেষণার স্পৃহা ও প্রকল্পের কাজের সংগে একাত্মতায় তাঁরা দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের কাজ হতে শুরু করে দলিলসমূহের সংগ্রহ, বাছাই, সম্পাদনায় সহায়তা, প্রেসকপি তৈরীকরণ, মুদ্রণ তত্ত্বাবধান—সর্ববিধ কাজ সীমিত ও সংকীর্ণ সময়ের মধ্যে সম্পন্ন

করেন। এছাড়া সুকুমার বিশ্বাস ও রতনলাল চক্রবর্তীর শ্রম ও নিষ্ঠার কথা উল্লেখযোগ্য। প্রশাসনিক দিক থেকে আবদুল হামিদের গভীর দায়িত্ববোধ এবং নিরলস তৎপরতা প্রকল্পের স্বাভাবিক কাজকর্ম অব্যাহত রাখতে সাহায্য করেছে।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে যাঁরা আত্মাহুতি দিয়েছেন, যাঁরা নির্যাতিত হয়েছেন, যাঁরা ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন, সর্বব্যাপী প্রতিকূল পরিবেশে যাঁরা দেশপ্রেমের দীপশিখা অম্লান রেখেছেন, যাঁরা আমাদের কর্মের পথে প্রতি মুহূর্তের প্রেরণাস্বরূপ তাঁদের সকলের উদ্দেশে গভীর শ্রদ্ধা ও আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন করে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলপত্রের এই সংগ্রহ আমরা দেশের মানুষের হাতে তুলে দিচ্ছি।

হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান
সম্পাদক

দলিল প্রসঙ্গ : বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া—জাতিসংঘ ও অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্র

বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতাযুদ্ধের দলিলপত্র এয়োদশ খণ্ডে জাতিসংঘে অনুষ্ঠিত উক্ত বিষয়ের উপর বিভিন্ন বিতর্ক ও প্রস্তাব এবং বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রের প্রতিক্রিয়া সংক্রান্ত দলিল-সমূহ অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে।

দলিলের প্রাপ্যতা অন্যান্য খণ্ডের বিভাজন এবং সন্নিবেশের কাজকে প্রভাবিত করেছে। তবে এয়োদশ খণ্ডে এই সমস্যা ছিল অন্যরূপ। এখানে বিশাল এবং বিরাট সংগ্রহ থেকে দলিল বাছাই করাই ছিল প্রধান সমস্যা। অতএব সংপাদনা এবং নির্বাচন দুরূহ ছিল।

বিশ্বব্যাপী বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র, ব্যক্তি বা সংগঠন বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের প্রতি যে বলিষ্ঠ সমর্থন যুগিয়েছিল, তার একটি সঠিক চিত্র তুলে ধরাই এ খণ্ডের মূল উদ্দেশ্য। এ উদ্দেশ্য সামনে রেখে যাবতীয় দলিল নির্বাচিত ও উপস্থাপিত করা হয়েছে। তবে ব্যতিক্রমধর্মী প্রতিক্রিয়াও এতে সংযোজিত হয়েছে।

মূল বিভাজনগুলোর ভিত্তি হচ্ছে, ব্যক্তি বা সংগঠনের ভূমিকা এবং গুরুত্ব। যে সকল রাষ্ট্রীয় বা ব্যক্তিগত প্রতিক্রিয়া কোন মূল বিভাজনে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা যায়নি সেগুলো একত্রিত করা হয়েছে একটি আলাদা বিভাজনে।

মূল বিভাজনগুলি হচ্ছে স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রামে :

যুক্তরাজ্যের সরকারী এবং বেসরকারী ভূমিকা এসেছে কমনস সভার কার্যবিবরণী, বিভিন্ন সাহায্য সংস্থা এবং নেতৃবর্গের বিবৃতি ও তাদের কর্মতৎপরতার মাধ্যমে। পাশাপাশি এসেছে রাজনৈতিক দলের প্রস্তাবসমূহ।

মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে স্বাধীনতাযুদ্ধের প্রতিক্রিয়ার বিবরণ পাওয়া যাবে কংগ্রেসের কার্যবিবরণী, নেতৃবর্গের বিবৃতি, বিভিন্ন সংগঠনের প্রচার কার্য এবং মার্কিন নাগরিকদের কর্মতৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত দলিল-পত্রে। এ ছাড়া কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের কাছে লিখিত বা তাদের দ্বারা লিখিত চিঠিপত্রও সংযোজিত করা হয়েছে।

সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের ভূমিকা তুলে ধরা হয়েছে সরকারী দলিল-পত্রের মাধ্যমে। এই ভূমিকার পরিচিতি এসেছে নেতৃবর্গের বিবৃতি এবং রাষ্ট্রীয় দলিলে। গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী চীনের ক্ষেত্রেও একই কথা প্রযোজ্য।

জাতিসংঘ এবং জাতিসংঘের অংগ সংগঠনের দলিল-পত্র সর্বশেষে উপস্থিত করা হয়েছে। এই অংশে আছে জাতিসংঘ নিরাপত্তা ও সাধারণ পরিষদের বিতর্ক ও প্রস্তাব, মহা-সচিবের আবেদন এবং অন্যান্য সংগঠনের কর্মকর্তাদের বক্তব্য, বিবৃতি ও কার্যবিবরণী।

সামগ্রিকভাবে এই খণ্ডে প্রচেষ্টা ছিল বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতাযুদ্ধের প্রতি সারা বিশ্বে যে ব্যাপক প্রতিক্রিয়া পরিলক্ষিত হয় তারই একটি প্রতীকী চিত্র উপস্থিত করা।

পরিশিষ্ট

[এক]

The Bangladesh Gazette, Part II, September 1, 1971, Page 503.
Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

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বিজ্ঞপ্তি

ঢাকা, ২৩শে আগস্ট, ১৯৭৭

নং-তথ্য / ৪ই-২৫/৭৭/৪১৪৮১—স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস রচনার উদ্দেশ্যে দৈনিক বাংলার প্রাক্তন সম্পাদক জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানকে তথ্য ও বেতার মন্ত্রণালয়ে বিশেষ ভারপ্রাপ্ত অফিসার পদে ১৯৭৭ সনের ১লা জুলাই হইতে জনস্বার্থে এক বৎসরের জন্য চুক্তি ভিত্তিতে নিয়োগ করা হইল।

২। চুক্তির শর্তানুযায়ী তিনি তাঁহার বেতন ও অন্যান্য সুবিধাদি পাইবেন।

রাষ্ট্রপতির আদেশক্রমে—
আবদুস সোবহান,
উপ-সচিব।

পরিশিষ্ট

[দুই]

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
DACCA.

No. 51/2/78-Dev/231 Dated 18-7-1978.

RESOLUTION

In connection with the Writing and Printing the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation the Government have been pleased to constitute an Authentication Committee for the Project "Writing and Printing of a History of Bangladesh War of Liberation" with the following members :

1.	Dr. Mafizullah Kabir,	Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dacca University.
2.	Professor Salahuddin Ahmed,	Chairman, Department of History, Jahangir Nagar University.
3.	Dr. Safar Ali Akanda,	Director, Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi.
4.	Dr. Enamul Huq,	Director, Dacca Museum.
5.	Mr. K. M. Mohsin,	Associate Professor, Deptt. of History, Dacca University.
6.	Dr. Shamsul Huda Harun,	Associate Professor, Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University.
7.	Dr. Ahmed Sharif,	Professor and Chairman, Deptt. of Bengali, Dacca University.
8.	Dr. Anisuzzaman,	Professor, Deptt. of Bengali, Chittagong University.
9.	Mr. Hasan Hafizur Rahman,	O. S. D., History of Bangladesh War of Liberation Project.

The following shall be the terms of reference of the Committee :

(a) To verify, endorse and authenticate the collected data and documents to be included in the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation.

(b) To determine validity and price of documents are required for the purpose.

Syed Asgar Ali,
Section Officer.

গভের

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
DACCA

No. 51/2/78-Dev/10493/(25) Dated : 13-2-1979.

RESOLUTION

In Partial modification of Resolution issued under No. 51/2/78-Dev/231, dated 18-7-78 Govt. have been pleased to reconstitute an Authentication Committee for the Project "Writing and Printing of a History of Bangladesh War of Liberation" with the following members :

1.	Dr. Mofizullah Kabir, Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dacca University	Chairman.
2.	Prof. Salahuddin Ahmed, Chairman, Deptt. of History, Jahangir Nagar University.	Member.
3.	Dr. Anisuzzaman, Prof. Deptt. of Bengali, Chittagong University.	Member.
4.	Dr. Safar Ali Akanda, Director, Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi.	Member.
5.	Dr. Enamul Huq, Director, Dacca Museum.	Member.
6.	Mr. K. M. Mohsin, Associate Professor, Deptt. of History, Dacca University.	Member.
7.	Dr. Shamsul Huda Harun, Associate Professor, Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University.	Member.
8.	Dr. K. M. Karim, Director, National Library and Archive, Dacca.	Member.
9.	Mr. Hasan Hafizur Rahman, O. S. D., History of Bangladesh War of Liberation Project.	Member-Secy.

2. The following shall be the terms of reference of the Committee :

To verify, endorse and authenticate the collected data and documents to be included in the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation.

To determine validity and price of documents required for the Committee.

M.A. Salam Khan,
Section Officer.

সূচীপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে যুক্তরাজ্যের ভূমিকা

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে বৃটিশ জনগণের ভূমিকা

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের ভূমিকা

ছবিবিশ

সূচীপত্র

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ

দলিলপত্র : ত্রয়োদশ সংখ্যা

যুক্তরাজ্য

সরকারী ও সংসদীয় দলিলপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে
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PAKISTAN

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) : With your permission, Mr. Speaker, and that of the House, I should like to make a statement on the situation in Pakistan.

The whole House will join me in regretting the loss of life in Pakistan, a fellow member of the Commonwealth and in hoping for a restoration of normal conditions. As the House will appreciate this is an internal matter affecting relations between two parts of a sovereign country, and I will not be expected to speculate on political matters which are the concern of the Pakistan Government. Her Majesty's Government are, however, watching the situation very closely, and we remain in constant touch with the Pakistan authorities.

A fortnight ago, on the advice of the Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca, some 200 United Kingdom and Commonwealth women and children were evacuated from East Pakistan. In the past few days of disturbances, we have had no reports of any injury to members of the British Community in East Pakistan, who now number about 700. The British Council offices and library in Dacca were attacked in the course of operations on the night of 25th March in the area of the university ; the damage cannot yet be properly assessed, but no member of the Council Staff was hurt. There are no other reports of damage to British property, but, as communications from East Pakistan have been restricted and communications between Dacca and other parts of the Province disrupted, the House will appreciate that our information may not be complete. I shall keep the House informed.

Mr. Healey : I thank the Foreign Secretary for that report. The whole House shares his deep sorrow at recent events in Pakistan. We recognise that at the moment information must necessarily be incomplete, and we welcome the right hon. Gentleman's assurance that he will make another statement when more information is available.

The House will be particularly concerned for the safety of British lives and property, and in this connection I should like the right hon. Gentleman to answer two questions. First, does he know who was responsible for the attack on the British Council offices in Dacca, and are steps being taken to obtain

compensation for any damage caused ? Second, has he an assurance from the authorities in East Pakistan that all assistance will be given should it be necessary to evacuate further British personnel ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The answer to the right hon. Gentleman's last question is, "Yes", although the Deputy High Commissioner, as we understand it, dos not advise further evacuation at this time. The Army was responsible, as we understand it, for the attack, on the British Council offices. We have brought the matter to the notice of the Pakistan authorities and we shall in due course ask for compensation.

Mr. Thorpe : We share the sadness which the Foreign Secretary has expressed about these events in a Commonwealth country with which we showed our solidarity at the time of the floods.

In view of the unhappy experience of this country's involvement in another Commonwealth civil war, namely, in Nigeria, will the Foreign Secretary confirm that, apart from offering our good offices if they should be required, there will be no futher involvement, and, in particular, there will be no question of supplying arms to either side ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I have said that we have no intention of getting involved in this matter, which is a civil matter for the authorities in Pakistan. As regards arms, no new contracts have been entered into with Pakistan for a good many months now. I shall review this question, but I think that nothing imminent arises.

Sir F. Bennett : I am delighted to learn that Her Majesty's Government have no intention or thought of intervening in an internal matter, which could only make things a great deal worse, but could my right hon. Friend tell us whether the same restraint is being exercised elsewhere, since what is already a horrible matter could become a great deal worse if any other out side Power—quite apart from Great Britain—intervened ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I have not heard that any outside Power is intervening or intends to intervene.

Mr Shore : These are deplorable events. Will the Foreign Secretary impress upon the Pakistan Government the abhorrence felt by very many people in this country at the brutal and repressive measures which they are taking against the East Bengal people, and will be impress upon them also that we are most concerned that their troops should be withdrawn, that the killing should stop, and that Sheikh Mujib and his followers should not be the victims of repression ? Further, will the right hon. Gentleman do everything in his power to impress upon the Pakistan Government that the people of Bengal have the right to decide their own future, and, if need be, to decide on a separate future for themselves ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I do not think that it would be helpful for me to comment on those matters at this time. Everyone abhors violence. The President of Pakistan, as we understand it, was faced with a situation in which

his country might have been divided in half. We must allow the Pakistan authorities to deal with this matter without our intervention.

Mr. Wilkinson : I associate myslelf with the expressions of deep regret at the tragic events which have be fallen Pakistan, a Commonwealth partner with which we have personal as well as historic links. When my right hon. Friend speaks of a British community of about 700 in Pakistan, does that include Pakistanis of British citizenship who have gone on short trips to East Pakistan, or does he mean British people only ? Further, will my right hon. Friend, through the usual diplomatic channels, try to obtain information about the relatives of East Pakistani citizens who have connections in this country who might be affected by the troubles ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The figure of 700 does not include Pakistanis. At the time when we brought out the 200 United Kingdom citizens, the Deputy High Commissioner was in touch with most of the families in Pakistan. Everyone understands how difficult it is to get communication with those up-country, but at that time we took out all who wanted to come. At the moment, the Deputy High Commissioner, as we understand it - although communications are difficult —does not advise further evacuation, but plans are laid should people wish to have.

Mr. Alexander W. Lyon : May I press the Foreign Secretary on the questions of arms ? There appear to be considerable differences between the situation and the Baiafran situation. It is recognised that we do not supply arms at the moment. Will the Foreign Secretary give an undertaking that, if the Pakistan Government did ask for arms, he would make a statement to the House before coming to any decision about it ?

Sir Alec Douglas -Home : That is a hypothetical situation which we had better leave at present.

Mr. Judd : I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that we must be careful not to intervene in what is essentially an internal affair, but would he not agree that one of the causes of frustration in Pakistan is the disproportionate amount of economic assistance going to West Pakistan as compared with East Pakistan, and will he assure the House that, in the aftermath of this unfortunate incident, we shall do everything possible within the aid consortium to encourage full economic assistance to the eastern half of Pakistan ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The ironic aspect of this situation was that for the first time it was possible for an East Pakistani to be Prime Minister of a united Pakistan, and this opportunity has slipped.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে সামরিক শক্তি প্রয়োগের সমালোচনা : পররাষ্ট্র সচিব হিউম-এর বিবৃতি ও বাংলাদেশের সামগ্রিক পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে বিতর্ক।	কমন্স সভার কার্যবিবরণী	৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

PAKISTAN

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) : With your permission, Mr. Speaker, and that of the House, I wish to make a further statement about the situation in Pakistan.

Since I last reported to the House, the conflict in East Pakistan has continued. Our information about what has taken place is still not complete, but there can be no doubt that many lives have been lost The whole House and country will join me in urging an end to the strife, a start on reconciliation and on the task of bringing relief to the injured and the homeless.

Over the past weeks, we followed with anxiety the course of political negotiations in Pakistan, and my right hon Friend the Prime Minister had expressed to President Yahya Khan his concern that political differences should be settled by agreement We were aware of the endeavours of the President to achieve this end, and we hoped that he would be successful. We feared that violence would do permanent damage to the constitutional fabric of Pakistan To our great regret, negotiations collapsed and military force was used.

We are deeply concerned at the loss of life and suffering of all sections of the Pakistan community and welcome the President's statement that his aim remains the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. It is our earnest hope that this objective will be achieved.

Her Majesty's Government have no intention of interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs, and I wish again to emphasise that this is our position. It is the people of Pakistan themselves who must decide their own destinies, and intervention from outside will only complicate a very difficult and distressing situation.

The British Government and public gave dramatic evidence of their deep compassion for the East Pakistanis who suffered in the cyclone last year. We again stand ready to play our part in an international effort to help in mitigating suffering in East Pakistan, should we be asked to do so.

The House will wish to know that we have still received no report of injury or damage to British subjects or property in East Pakistan, apart from the attack on the British Council premises in Dacca which I reported in my earlier statement. It has, however, not been possible to contact some British subjects known to be in outlying areas. In these circumstances the Deputy High Commissioner advised that women and children and those whose presence was not essential should leave the country if, in their judgment, they could make the journey to Dacca in safety. As a result, about 100 United Kingdom nationals have left Dacca by air, by Royal Air Force and civil aircraft, since my last statement; and about 40 have left Chittagong by sea.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Deputy High Commissioner Mr. Sargeant and his staff in Dacca, to the members of the British community in East Pakistan, and to the members of the Royal Air Force and the Merchant Marine, who have been cool, resourceful and effective in a very difficult and dangerous situation.

Mr. Healey : The House will welcome what the right hon. Gentleman said about the Government's intention to give material aid to those who are suffering in the present situation, and also what the right hon. Gentleman said about the evacuation already carried out of British subjects. We join in the tribute he has paid to those responsible for carrying out that evacuation so competently in such difficult circumstances.

In view of the very convincing reports of indiscriminate bloodshed in East Pakistan and the patent risk of external intervention in these events, may I underline to the right hon. Gentleman the importance of Her Majesty's Government using any influence they can bring to bear on the two issues to which the right hon. Gentleman has himself referred? These are, first, that there should be an immediate end to the bloodshed and, secondly, that there should be a peaceful solution of the political problems of East Pakistan in accordance with the wishes of the people of that territory, expressed with such remarkable unanimity in the recent elections.

All of us in this House will, I am sure, be deeply concerned about the physical safety of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the other leaders of the people in East Pakistan. Has the right hon. Gentleman any information to give the House about their present whereabouts and situation? Can he assure the House that he will express to the Pakistan Government the desire of all of us on both sides of the House that people so recently elected with such an overwhelming vote should be treated with the respect they deserve in a democracy?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : We will certainly use any influence we have to make clear that we hope that bloodshed will be ended as soon as possible. There have been elections quite lately and there was the intention of calling together the Assembly to frame a constitution. We hope that these processes can be resumed. Certainly, too, we are interested in clemency and justice, but the right hon. Gentleman will not ask me to make a judgment about the internal affairs of Pakistan.

Mr. Braine : While it is right that there should be no intervention in the internal affairs of a friendly Commonwealth country, is my right hon. Friend aware that the basic problem facing Pakistan is the sharp economic disparity between the two wings of the country? Is he further aware that the Select Committee Sub-Committee which went to Pakistan at the end of 1969 came away convinced that substantial outside help from the world community would be necessary if that disparity was to be corrected? Will Her Majesty's Government take any initiative in calling an early meeting with, or having discussions with, the World Bank and the Pakistan Consortium to see whether some definite and positive move could be made in this direction?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I have long been convinced, as everyone has, that a programme of economic development in necessary for East Pakistan. We are willing to play any part in an international organisation which would contribute to that end. The first thing, however, is to end the fighting and get back to some kind of political stability in the country.

Mr Shore : We welcome what the right hon. Gentleman has said about ending the strife and the need for reconciliation. Will he add something more about the safety of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and impress upon the Pakistan Government how essential it is to release the leaders of this freely elected democratic party so that the political process can be resumed?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I do not think that I can go further than to say that in our view there will have to be a political settlement. For that purpose there must be political talks. I cannot as a member of the British Government possibly dictate to anyone in Pakistan what form those talks should take.

Mr. St. John-Steavas : While fully supporting my right hon. Friend's declaration of neutrality and non-interference, may I ask him to use his influence to impress upon neighbouring states, including India, the necessity to follow a similar policy ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : As I understand it, the Prime Minister of India has said that India has no intention of intervening in the internal affairs of Pakistan and has cautioned people against creating new difficulties by talking of it.

Mr Thorpe : All of us would agree that we should not interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, but while accepting that the Commonwealth Study Group—for reasons I will not go into—is not exactly a happy precedent, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would not nevertheless approach the Commonwealth Secretary-General to see whether there could not be some Commonwealth initiative for a form of mediation which would bring the two sides together ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : This must be a matter for the Government of Pakistan if they want any assistance.

Mr. Douglas Mann : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the widespread feeling that Pakistan, after the events of the last few weeks, can never again be one country? Is he further aware that to take the view that this is an internal matter of a Commonwealth country—which is most circumstances would be perfectly proper and appropriate—is not in this context the right one, and that the British Government do have influence and should be using it to secure a cease-fire? Is the right hon. Gentleman further aware that there is a widespread opinion on both sides of this House—an all-party Motion to this effect secured over one hundred signatures today—that the right hon. Gentleman should use the significant influence he can exercise to ensure that the fighting in Pakistan ceases as soon as possible?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : Certainly I respond to the hon. Gentleman's request. We will use all the influence we can. We are deeply concerned about the division of Pakistan. We believe that the division should be ended. I do not believe that it will be ended by external intervention, although it may be helped by private advice.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানকে সাহায্য ও ত্রাণ সামগ্রী প্রদান সম্পর্কে বিতর্ক।	কমন্স সভার কার্যবিবরণী	২৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

PAKISTAN

36. **Mr. Prentice** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs if he will make a statement on future aid talks with Pakistan ; and whether he will consult with other aid donors so as to make further aid dependent upon a cease-fire in East Pakistan.

Mr. Wood : We should normally have had talks with the Pakistan Government and other aid donors at a meeting of the Pakistan Consortium in July. As it is, we shall have consultations with other donors before then, and the conditions for further aid will certainly be considered.

Mr. Prentice : Is the Minister aware that many hon. Members would normally oppose the use of our aid programme to impose political conditions upon a recipient country? Nevertheless, if the conditions in East Pakistan are so appalling, this is an exceptional case. In view of the thousands of people who have been slaughered and the imminent threat of famine in East Pakistan, will the Government consider consulting the other aid donors to impose some basis minimum conditions on the Pakistan Government before fresh aid pledges are made?

Mr. Wood : As my right hon. Friend the Foreigh Secretary has announced, we ready to participate in any international effort for relief in East Pakistan if asked to do so. As I have already said this afternoon, we are ready, and, indeed, we have plans, to consult the other donors about conditions of future aid as soon as we can.

Mr. Wilkinson : Will my right hon. Friend inform me whether the aid programme was maintained throughout the period of the Nigerian Civil War? If so, as I believe, surely it is appropriate, in view of the necessity for rehabilitation in the eastern wing of Pakistan and the severe overstrain on the economy of West Pakistan to maintain the aid programme ?

Mr. Wood : We are anxious to maintain the aid programme if we can, but the conditions on which we do so must be resolved.

Mr. Shore : Does the Minister agree that there is a distinction between a relief programme to deal with famine and other consequences which no one would wish to interrupt or interfere with, and the more normal economic investment programme which in this case is probably a suitable vehicle for making it clear to the Pakistan Government that we want to see proper changes in East Bengal and in the political situation there as a condition for continuing it?

Mr. Wood : I appreciate the distinction between relief and other programmes. We have a programme which we were in the process of implementing in East Pakistan, and I should like to continue that programme in conjunction with other donors and the World Bank as soon as possible.

Mrs. Hart : Will the Minister consider two points? The first is that there is probably an urgent need for relief in India where the refugees from East Pakistan have been going so recently. Will he therefore, consider the need for an immediate relief operauion there? Secondly, will he give details, perhaps in the OFFICIAL REPORT, of the precise projects at present under way in East and West Pakistan respectively, because in the light of the very much lower standard of living and G.N.P. in East Pakistan there are many on this side of the House who would wish us to concentrate on projects in East Pakistan?

Mr. Wood : I shall certainly do my best to provide the information for which the right hon. Lady has asked.

41. **Mr. Barnes** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what is the result of his review of the question of arms contracts with Pakistan.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I have reviewed the position, which is as I informed the House on 29th March. No contracts have been signed since 1967 with the exception of one for refitting a naval vessel and another for radar equipment. There is none in prospect.

—[Vol. 814, c. 1149.]

Mr. Barnes : Although Britain is a small supplier of arms to Pakistan, does not the right hon. Gentleman agree that when a Government use arms that they have acquired from other nations for external defence in the appalling way in which the Government of Pakistan did against their own people, surely it is the concern of all nations in the arms-supplying business? Does not the right hon. Gentleman agree that Britain should have reacted immediately in far stronger terms to what happened in East Pakistan than she did?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : We reacted very quickly to the horrible events that took place in Pakistan—but these events do take place in civil wars. As for the hon. Member's Question, I have reviewed the position. There are not outstanding contracts of any significance. I shall keep the matter under review, but I see no reason to alter Her Majesty's Government's policy now.

Mr. Wilkinson : Has my right hon. Friend been in contact with the military or Ministerial representatives of Pakistan in the course of the present S.E.A.T.O. conference? As Pakistan is a S.E.A.T.O. ally of ours, will may right hon. Friend ensure that the military capability of Pakistan, which is a linchpin of that alliance, is maintained as far as possible?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : Pakistan is a S.E.A.T.O. ally, as my hon. Friend says. The Question referred to whether I have reviewed the questions of arms contracts to Pakistan. The answer is "Yes", and I am satisfied that we need not change our policy now.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের প্রতি বৃটিশ সরকারের দৃষ্টিভংগির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বিবৃতি ও সংশ্লিষ্ট বিষয়ে বিতর্ক।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	৪ মে, ১৯৭১

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN
(MEETING)

Q6. **Mr. Barnes** asked the Prime Minister when he next plans to seek an official meeting with President Yahya Khan.

The Prime Minister : I met President Yahya Khan in Islamabad in January. There are at present no plans for a further meeting, but I have since kept in touch with the President through diplomatic channels. In addition, I had a meeting a week ago with Mr. Arshad Husain, the President's special envoy.

Mr. Barnes : Does the right hon. Gentleman accept that if a country is involved with another country's affairs, either by supplying arms or by supplying aid, that gives that country the right to speak up when events happen as they did in Pakistan ? Is the Prime Minister prepared to say to President Yahya Khan that Britain will not enter into any new aid commitments for Pakistan so long as East Bengal is held down by military oppression?

The Prime Minister : There are two aspects to this very difficult question. I would agree with the hon. Gentleman that it is right that we should use all our influence in these circumstances to secure that the President himself has publicly said is his objective, and that is a political solution to the difficulties confronting Pakistan. But the hon. Gentleman will recall, on further reflection, that British policy on aid has on the whole been to proceed regardless of certain political aspects of a country's national life. I would not, on this occasion, like to say that that is a principle which should immediately be overthrown.

Mr. Braine : In view of what my right hon. Friend has said about aid, is he aware that there are now over 1 million refugees from East Pakistan in West Bengal, Tripura and Assam, and that the Indian authorities are encountering increasing difficulty in providing food, shelter and medical supplies ? Is there any step he can take to speed international relief to deal with what appears to be an increasingly tragic situation ?

The Prime Minister : There are, alas, many hundreds of thousands of refugees in West Bengal. The last figure we were given was 600,000 but it may well now be more. We understood that the numbers were increasing at the rate of about 20,000 a day. As to the specific point raised by my hon. Friend, we are in contact with the private charitable organisations which are arranging the transport of relief supplies to West Bengal to help the refugees from East Pakistan. Our understanding is that they are hoping to get the first flight-loads away in two days' time.

Mr. Shore : In view of the many allegations of vey brutal repression in East Bengal, has the right hon. Gentleman pressed upon the Pakistan President or the Government the desirability of introducing observers into that country to see whether these grave allegations are correct, and, if they are, to exercise a restraining influence ?

The Prime Minister : The right hon. Gentleman will not expect me to reveal the contents of confidential exchanges that we have had. I would agree with him that where there are allegations and misrepresentations of a situation the healthiest way of dealing with it is to have observers, under an internaional organisation or from certain countries or from the Press, who can see the situation for themselves.

Mr. Hugh Fraser : While I am sure the House is grateful to my right hon. Friend for the action that he has taken, may I ask him whether there is any chance of getting international relief organisations to operate in East Pakistan ? Up till now, although many are waiting to go, none has been allowed to get in. This is a very urgent matter, and I wonder whether my right hon. Friend can tell us anything about the talks that he is having with the Pakistan Government on this point ?

The Prime Minister : I know that the international relief orgainisations are in many cases prepared to help in this very difficult situation. We are in contact with those organisations which have approached us in this country I hope that in the course of the next 48 hours they will be able torender help. There have also been talks with the international organisations, but I cannot at this moment give my right hon. Friend any firm details as to when it will be possible for them to render assistance.

Mr. John Mendelson : In view of this serious situation, would the Prime Minister agree that it might be time to use the medium of the Commonwealth or perhaps a group of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to make a joint approach ? Would it not also have the advantage of avoding any further sharpening of the disagreement between India and Pakistan ?

The Prime Minister : If I thought there was any reasonable prospect at all of that being a helpful move I would not hesitate for one moment to take it, but the hon. Gentleman and the House will realise that certain frictions exist between Commonwealth countries over this problem and I am not sure that it would be helpful at this moment to bring them together about it.

Mr. Biggs-Davison : Do not some of the questions asked by hon. Gentlemen opposite on this question reveal the impression that some of them have not got used to the idea that Britain is no longer the imperial Power in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent ?

The Prime Minister : I agree with my hon. Friend that we have to respect the territorial intergrity of Pakistan and its sovereignty as a State. I have always made absolutely plain to the President of Pakistan that this is the position of the British Government. At the same time, there is deep feeling in this country and the House about the problems which exist. This was shown in the different situation which arose when part of East Pakistan was hit by the hurricane and there was an upsurge of voluntary effort which amazed the world, as I know from

my own contacts. There is similarly today a very deep feeling about the situation I think it is quite natural that many in this country and the House would want to help.

Mr. Dalyell : Is it not a cause of some concern that many of the weapons that have been used in East Bengal were provided for very different purposes by members of CENTO, including this country ?

The Prime Minister : It is always a difficult circumstance when there is internal strife in a country which is a member of an alliance. On the other hand, many of the weapons which the Pakistan Government had at their disposal were secured from sources quite other than CENTO and the British Government.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানকে প্রদত্ত বৃটিশ সাহায্য প্রসঙ্গে পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বিবৃতি।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

PAKISTAN (AID)

Mr. Stonehouse asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what proportion of aid provided to Pakistan in each of the past five years has been spent in East Pakistan.

Mr. Wood : It is not possible to say what proportion of British aid in any one year is spent in East Pakistan, because disbursements are recorded only for the whole of Pakistan. New commitments of project aid for East and West Pakistan during the last five years were as follows :

East Pakistan	*£ Million*
1966-67	3·4
1967-68	4·2
1968-69	1·0
1969-70	0.4
1970-71	0·122

West Pakistan	*£ Million*
1966-67	1 9
1967-68	1·6
1968-69	2·5
1969-70	3·6
1970-71	1·6

New commitments of non-project aid during the same period have totalled £28.8 millions but no figures are available of the division of non-project aid between the Provinces.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানকে বৈদেশিক সাহায্য দান সম্পর্কে বিতর্ক।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	৭ মে, ১৯৭১

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

Pakistan

Mr. Stonehouse asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what is the amount of United Kingdom aid *per capita* spent in East Pakistan and West Pakistan, respectively, during the period since independence.

Mr. Wood : From the financial year 1951-52, when Britain first provided aid to Pakistan, until 1969-70, the total disbursements of British aid to Pakistan were £104 million. It is not possible to provide separate *per capita* figures for British aid to East Pakistan and West Pakistan as aid has been provided to the Central Government.

Mr. Wilkinson asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what further steps he is now taking in concert with other nations to provide special aid for Pakistan.

Mr. Wood : At a recent meeting of aid donors, the British delegation ano others expressed their willingness to participate in an international programme of relief in East Pakistan. The Pakistan Government has not yet asked for any relief aid, but I understand that it has the matter under consideration.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ত্রাণ সাহায্য প্রদান ও সামগ্রিক অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে পররাষ্ট্র সচিব হিউম-এর বিবৃতি ও এ সংক্রান্ত বিতর্ক।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	১১ মে, ১৯৭১

PAKISTAN

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) : Last Thursday, during business questions, the Leader of the House was asked by the Leader of the Opposition whether I could make a statement about the situation in Pakistan which might assist hon. Members in the debate which is to take place on Friday. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, and that of the House, I should now like to do so.

In previous statements to the House I have expressed Her Majesty's Government's concern about the situation in East Pakistan and our wish to assist in alleviating the suffering and stress.

Within East Pakistan Communications have been disrupted as a consequence of the recent strife and there may well be food shortages later this year, particularly in areas already affected by last year's cyclone. I repeat that Her Majesty's Government stand ready to play a part in any international relief effort, and that it is our view that this can best be organised through the United Nations.

After consultation with the American Secretary of State, I recently sent an agreed message to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in which we suggested that he should approach the Government of Pakistan to renew his offer of international humanitarian assistance. U. Thant is in touch with the Pakistan Government on the problems of relief.

I hope that they will be ready to allow a team of experts to make an objective appraisal of what is needed and that they will be prepared to accept assistance, if that is judged to be needed, on an international basis. Clearly any relief effort must be made with the agreement and co-operation of the Government of Pakistan. We are, of course, ourselves in close touch with President Yahya Khan about the situation.

There is the separate problem of aid and assistance to the Pakistan economy in general. Pakistan faces serious economic difficulties, including shortage of foreign exchange. Consultations about these problems are proceeding within the framework of the aid consortium under the chairmanship of the World Bank, and decisions about future action must await the result of these consultations.

There is, finally, the problem of the very considerable number of refugees who have crossed from East Pakistan into India. Already a consortium of British charities had decided to offer assistance. They asked for Government assistance to transport supplies necessary for health and shelter. I decided that Her Majesty's Government should make an immediate contribution, and this has been done. Supplementary provision for approximately £18,000 will be sought in due course and, if necessary, an advance will be made in the meantime from the Civil Contingency Fund.

The Indian Government have since approached the United Nations for assistance over the refugees, and a United Nations team is now in India to assess the need for international help. As with the other two problem which I have mentioned, I consider that this matter is best handled by international organisations.

Mr. Healey : I thank the Foreign Secretary for the statement, which will be useful in our debate on Friday. I am sure that hon. Members on both sides of the House agree with the advantage of involving the United Nations in this problem. Indeed, some of the dangers in prospect might well justify the United Nations concerning itself with some of the political aspects of the problem, no less than with the relief aspects.

Does the right hon. Gentleman agree that the bald terms of his statement conceal a human tragedy which has few precedents in recent history? Is it not a fact that there are already 1½ million refugees in West Bengal who, according to Indian Government estimates, will require £25 million per month to feed ? Is it not a fact that even more people require assistance in East Pakistan itself ?

Is the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that aid is now getting through to those in need in East Pakistan ? Is he aware that a Red Cross aeroplane loaded with medical supplies was refused permission to land and that there are well authenticated reports that a large volume of stores is already stocked in Chittagong, but that permission has not yet been given for these goods to be distributed to those in need?

Does he agree that little can be achieved to relieve the suffering in this area or, indeed, to aid the economy of Pakistan unless there is a rapid movement towards a political settlement of the problem, in conformity with the wishes of the people of East Pakistan, as recently expressed in democratic elections?

As he promised when I last questioned him on this matter that he would make a statement, would the right hon. Gentlemen tell us whether Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is in prison in West Pakistan awaiting trial? Does he agree that if Pakistan is left without democratic leadership, other forces may take over and that this could be a desaster not only for Pakistan, but for the whole of the subcontinent.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : As the right hon. Gentleman says, this is, of course, a very real human tragedy. The scale of it, considering the number of refugees in India and the possible problem of the relief that may be necessary later in the year, is very great and, therefore, it justifies bringing in the United Nations, which is perhaps the only body that can handle it, and that, I hope, will be done.

O—

The answer to the right hon. Gentleman's question about a political settlement is that this must be for the people of Pakistan. Nobody from outside can dictate it. As I have said, we have been in constant touch with the President of Pakistan about the need for a political settlement. That is the only way, in the end, to solve the problem. But this must be for the President and the people of Pakistan.

Mr. Healey : Would the Foreign Secretary answer the specific question that I asked? Has he any information about the refusal by the authorities in East Pakistan to allow distribution of medical supplies and other assistance already available?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : One consignment from the Red Cross was refused entry by the Government of Pakistan. The difficulty, so we understand, of distributing the food which is at present there in sufficient quantities is one of communications, and the distribution, according to our information, has to be done at present by the Pakistan Army, and this in itself presents difficulties. That is why I urge that the team should go in as quickly as possible to assess the need and to see how food can be got to the people. The other problem does not arise at the moment.

Mr. Woodhouse : Is my right hon. Friend aware that the Charity Commissioners in this country have ruled that money in the Pakistan Flood Relief Fund may not be used for relief in the present clamity? If the objection to that is purely of a technical character, would my right hon. Friend indicate whether it may be possible to remove it?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : We have looked at this matter It would be very difficult to remove it after the conditions applied. One of the areas worst affected is, in fact, the cyclone area, and if we can get the food moving, certainly the money subscribed for that purpose can be used.

Mr. Thorpe : Is the Foreign Secretary aware that we welcome his recognition of the importance of the United Nations as the appropriate agency for relief ? Further, is he aware that reports of appalling atrocities are still coming out from East Pakistan? Can he say whether Her Majesty's Government can take some further initiative, either through the Commonwealth Secretariat or through the United Nations for a team of observes either to establish or to disprove these disquieting allegations?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : At present, I do not think that it would be helpful to ask that observers should be admitted to Pakistan. We have no reason to believe that they would be accepted. As the right hon. Gentleman probably knows, six international journalists are being let in this week, so more information will come from the country.

Sir F. Bennett : All other considerations apart, would the Foreign Secretary agree that the precedents show, without any doubt, that however well-meaning an attempt to interfere politically in the affairs of another Government may be, the result is counter-productive for the people themselves?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : Without generalising, in this particular case that I am dealing with private representations are certainly better than any public statements.

Mr. Shore : Can the Foreign Secretary clear up this matter and say whether relief and aid personnel have free movement in East Pakistan at present? What response has he had from the Pakistan Government to the representations which we hope he has made about a political settlement and respect for democratic decencies in Pakistan?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The response that we have had is the desire and wish, as expressed by the President, that there should be a political settlement and that talks should be resumed between representatives of East Pakistan and the President. We must hope that this will take place. As for the introduction of aid into East Pakistan now, the great trouble is the lack of communications, which have been almost totally disrupted in the last three months. When they are restored, aid will begin to flow.. ...

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতির প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী এম, পি'দের বিবরণ ও বিবৃতির ভিত্তিতে বিতর্ক এবং কমন্স সভার প্রস্তাব।	কমন্স সভার কার্যবিবরণী	১৪ মে, ১৯৭১

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Friday 14th May, 1971

EAST PAKISTAN

11-5 a.m.

Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann (Kensington, North) : I beg to move,

That this House, deeply concerned by the killing and destruction which has taken place in East Pakistan, and the possible threat of food shortages later this year, calls upon Her Majesty's Government to use their influence to secure an end to the strife, the admission of United Nations or other international relief orgnisations, and the achievement of a political settlement which will respect the democratic rights of the people of Pakistan.

This Motion is a little more specific than Early Day Motion No. 509 which I tabled, calling on the Government to use all their influence to secure a cease-fire in East Pakistan. That Motion has been signed by 300 hon. Members, which I believe is a record for this Parliament, and it reflects the concern felt in the House and the country about the situation in East Pakistan. I hope that the change in the wording of the Motion will not detract from the support which that previous Motion gained. This second Motion only spells out in more detail what is implicit in the first -that there is a tragic situation in East Bengal, over which the British Government can and should exert some influence

The nature and extent of the tragedy are well-known. Estimates of the numbers who have died vary widely. The official estimate of the West Pakistan Government is that only 15,000 have died, but the lowest independent estimates start at 100,000 and many estimates are that over a million have died already. But whatever the numbers who have died, what is certain is that over 2 million people have thought that the situation in their country was so terrifying, that they have left their homes and taken refuge in India in absolutely appalling conditions.

On 22nd April. I and my right hon. Friend the Member for Wednesbury (Mr. Stonehouse) visited a number of the refugee camps in West Bengal. The camps were appallingly overcrowded. They consisted of roofs of trapaulins slung on poles, with corrugated iron laid on the ground and a straw mat on the top. The space allocation at that time was 10ft. by 10 ft. per family. The camps are nearly all situated in flat, lowlying ground, and at the time that I was there the rains were just starting Immediately one stepped off the corrugated iron, one was in soft mud.

The fact that thousands of families have been compelled to take up their residence here with the monsoon [illegible] coming, in circumstances in which the space where the camps are situated is likely to be flooded in the near future – if it is not flooded already- so that there will be barely enough standing room on dry ground for the numbers there, reflects the conditions from which the families fled.

The food in the camps was adequate, but that food is costing the Indian Government one rupee per head per day - about 6 new pence. When one reflects that over 200 million Indian citizens are living well below the standard of one rupee per head per day, one can appreciate that this is a strain which the Indian Government cannot possibly continue to bear by themselves for very long. It is essential that international aid be provided to help deal with the problem of the rufugees, which is imposing a tremendous social and political problem on India, as well as a financial problem.

But, apart from the problem for the refugees in India, we can only speculate about the conditons of those still in East Pakistan. I made a brief visit into East Pakistan on 24th April, without the knowledge or approval of the Indian Government, as they had told me that they would be concerned for my safety if I went inside. I was anxious to see what I could of the areas held [illegible] the Bangla Desh.

I wanted, first, to get the story from the refugees, and the right hon. Member for Wednesbury and I spoke to a number of them in the camps. The stories they told were all extremely similar. I assure hon. Members that we were careful not to make stories from those who pushed themselves forward to tell us of the [illegible] that had occurred. We went to speak with families who were sitting by themselves disconsolately, and we asked them why they had left their village.

Time and again we were told the same story: troops of the West Pakistan military authorities had come to the village, which had not then been defended, had shot the men in the fields, and killed the women and children and then, having killed [illegible] number of people from the village, had burnt it down and left.

Inside Bangla Desh territory I met more refugees, who told me more or less the same story. These people were heading towards the Indian frontier. Their village, which was about four miles away from the point at which I met them, had been burnt down that morning. The refugees told us that crops were not being planted and that in the villages through which they had passed on their way to the Indian frontier, crops were not being planted, either. Only in areas controlled by the Bangla Desh was any planting going on.

It was abundantly clear that the hatred of the Punjabis, which has been generated in the last six weeks among the people of East Pakistan, who are overwhelmingly Bengali, is now so deep that it is quite impossible that Pakistan can ever again be one country.

There have, no doubt, been atrocities on both sides. War is a foul business and killing begets more killing. We have heard conflicting reports

from many sources, and particularly from the British Press, of the nature of the atrocities. On 2nd May the *Sunday Times* carried an account which appeared to present the entire situation as one in which all the atrocities had been committed by Bengalis and it blamed the whole tragedy on a planned Bengali mutiny.

Whether that account was true—it was regretable that a paper of the statute of the *Sunday Times* did not make it clear that the reporter who had presented the account was not only a West Pakistan national but the news editor of the *Karachi News,* which is controlled and owned by the West Pakistan Government National Press Trust—or whether the accounts of other, more independent. Western journalists are true, it is clear from all accounts and from the public relations statements which hon. Members will have received from the High Commission of West Pakistan, that the killing was started by West Pakistan forces, wheher or not to prevent a possible mutiny.

That is the first point that is clear. The second is that fresh victories are being claimed with each day's handout. I received a release this morning, from which it appears that serious fighting is still going on. The third point is that the scale of the killing and of the hatred is such that Pakistan as a single State is now dead. In the words of Mr. Taijurddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of independent Bangladesh :

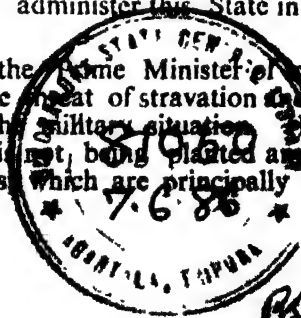
"Pakistan is dead and buried under a mountain of corpses".

It is possible to hold East Pakistan down only by large military forces.

I met the Prime Minister of independent Bangladesh at an army camp inside East Pakistan. From the talks I had with him, and the second in command of the Bangladesh Army, Major Osman, certain things became clear in my mind. The first is that the war will continue until West Pakistan is forced out. The second is that there is a capacity on the part of the Bangladesh forces and the awami League to organise and continue the guerrilla war, remembering that, according to what we have been told, the rural areas are still largely under the control of the Bangladesh forces.

It is, of course, true that West Pakistan forces, with better equipment and supperior fire power, can force a way through any area in which it chooses to take that course, as long as the bridges are not blown up. This country is dependent on bridges for it communications, and without bridges over the waterways progress would be difficult.

Basically, the administration in the rural areas is carried on by the Bangladesh Army. They have substantial support from the population, which is overwhelmingly hostile to the West Pakistan forces. Indeed, it would be impossible for West Pakistan to administer this State in a satisfactory fashion.

The point stressed to me by the Prime Minister of independent Bangladesh is that he is more worried by the threat of stravation and disease for the people of East Pakistan than he is by the military situation. He told me that approximately one-third of the country is not being planted and that the proportion is higher in the rice-growing areas which are principally relied on for the food crop.

In any normal year East Pakistan imports between 2 million and 3 million tons of food-grains. This year the West Pakistan authorities are not allowing in any imports. There has been destruction of stocks of grain, particularly rice, and there was the appalling damage caused by the cyclone last November.

The independent Bangladesh Government are extremely aware of the danger of starvation that exists for millions of their people. They are trying to ensure that crops are planted, at least in the areas which they control, but many areas are far too dangerous for men to be willing to work the fields.

The next point which the Prime Minister of Bangladesh impressed on me was that the Bengali people are deeply aggrieved at the fact that the rest of the world should be treating this situation as part of the internal affairs of Pakistan, and it was in this connection that I was reminded of the history of the establishment of Pakistan —of the Mountbatten proposals and so on.

The House will recall that originally there was a proposal that there should be a federation of three States. West Pakistan, East Pakistan and Assam, and then the rest of India. That was rejected, and then the Mountbatten proposals were put forward in 1947 ; for the legislative assemblies in each area to make a decision. In some areas there were referenda, but in East Bengal it was a voluntary decision of the Legislaitive Assembly to associate with West Pakistan in one country. It is that decision which the East Bengali people are now trying to rescind.

I was also reminded of the economic exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan that has continued since Pakistan was set up. The information I now give the House is derived not from the Prime Minister of Bangladesh but from independent sources, and I would refer in particular to an article in the *Financial Times* on 29th March.

In 1947 the per capita income of East Pakistan and West Pakistan were approximately equal. However, as a result of discrimination in the spending of aid, in the collection and spending of taxes, discrimination in jobs, with job preference for Punjabis, and the ban on trade between East Pakistan and India, which has resulted in East Pakistan losing its nautaral trading partner in West Bengal and West Bengal losing its natural market in East Pakistan, enormous economic hardship has been inflicted on the people of East Pakistan. Whereas prior to partition the per capita incomes were about equal last year the *per capita* income of West Pakistan was 47 per cent. higher than that of East Pakistan.

It is not surprising that in the elections last year the Awami League, which had of programme for the economic autonomy of East Pakistan but within the State of Pakistan, gained 167 of the 169 seats, gaining 80 per cent. of the popular vote. As a resutlt of this overwhelming victory, the Awami League is entitled to be regarded at the Government of the whole of Pakistan. It is not claiming that. However, as a result of what has happened—of the declaration of war at 11 p.m. on 25th March— it is claiming the right to represent the people

of its own country—the people who overwhelmingly elected it.

The Prime Minister was anxious to see that his Government was recognised by other Governments and above all, because of the historical relationship, by Britain. I explained to him - and I think that he accepted and appreciated this-- the difficulty of granting that recognition particularly since, unless and until the Bangladesh forces control a large part of East Bengal, it may be necessary, in order to provide aid to the people of East Pakistan, for foreign Governments to work with the military Government of West Pakistan. They are desperately anxious that as the elected Government of their country they should be recognised as such. I was impressed by the calibre of those I met. The members of the Government were overwhelmingly liberal social democrats and I believe that I could match them person to person with Members in this House.

They are aware of the difficulties that face them in fighting a guerrilla war and retaining their social democratic ideal. It is difficult to be a guerrilla and a liberal at the same time. I came away convinced that a long guerrilla war is inevitable. At the worst, if the West Pakistan authorities are more successful than they have hitherto been, it will be a guerrilla war conducted largely from bases inside India.

The Indian Government's attitude is a very correct one. I spoke to the Foreign Secretary and other Ministers in Delhi and they impressed upon me that they were aware of the danger of getting into a conflict with West Pakistan and of subsequent involvement with China. Nevertheless, Indian public opinion would not permit the Indian Government, however much it might wish to do so - and I do not think it does- to seal the frontier.

Consequently it is inevitable that the refugee camps will become the bases from which guerrilla activity begins. That is liable to lead to a good many border incidents which could escalate dangerously, possibly into war. The fact that the Bangladesh forces are pushed back to the frontier, will mean that the incidents will occur at the border and there will be a greater danger of the war being conducted from bases inside West Bengal. Unless action is taken this situation will result in a long and tragic war, with millions of deaths. However, it is a war which could be prevented. It is one in which economic sanctions might seriously and rapidly affect West Pakistan. West Pakistan has a large import bill. Its overseas debts are estimated at about £1,800 million. At the beginning of the war its reserves were about £3[illegible] million and it has already repudiated its liability for debt repayments of about £80 million due in May, postponing them until December, when even then it seems unlikely that it will be able to meet them.

Today's *Times* reports yet again on the acute financial crisis in West Pakistan. The article in this week's issue of *News-week* discusses this as did yesterday's *Financial Times*. The economy of West Pakistan is bankrupt, on the point of ruin. The war is costing the West Pakistan Government nearly £1 million a day. In these circumstances the rest of the world has a good deal of influence to exert. I urge that we should suspend all payments of aid while West Pakistan is fighting a war of this kind against East Pakistan. In any event, we should certainly not enter into any new aid commitments and we should appropriate instalments on existing debt commitments to the servicing of existing loans.

I hope that the British Government will press the aid consortium to apply similar sanctions to West Pakistan to suspent aid payments while the war continues. I hope that will use our influence with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to ensure that they do not provide assistance to West Pakistan to fight what is clearly and undoubtedly an aggressive war against East Pakistan. We should end all military assistance and cease to provide any spare parts or ammunition, following the example of the United States Government. I hope that at the United Nations we will be joining with other countries in pressing for the admission of relief organisations and for the organisation of international funds to help with this relief problem and to ensure proper distribution. The relief handled by the West Pakistan Government and its military forces is likely to be used to feed the forces to help them kill more people rather than feed those who are starving.

Above all, we should be using whatever international pressure we can exert to compel West Pakistan to withdraw its troops from East Pakistan, to allow the Government of Bangladesh, the Awami League, to take over the administration of East Pakistan. There is still a good chance of securing an independent East Pakistan under a moderate and responsible leadership. It will still be one of the poorest countries in the world but it will benefit enormously from freedom to trade with India. The goods and products for West Bengal are exactly those which East Bengal needs.

The desperate poverty in two of the poorest regions of the world would be alleviated at one stroke if East Bengal were free to trade. The longer the war continues the greater the poverty, the greater he distress, the smaller the chance of moderate and democratic leadership surviving and the greater will be the number of people who will die.

Mr. Speaker : A great many hon. and right hon. Members wish to speak. I hope that those who do catch my eye will be resonably brief.

11 27 a.m.

The Minister for Overseas Development (Mr. Richard Wood): The hon. Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) has touched on a great many aspects of the recent wretched events in Pakistan. I hope that the House of Commons will forgive me for rising very early in this debate to join him in expressing the concern that we all feel at the suffering which, not tens or hundreds of thousands, but literally millions of human beings have undergone as a result of these recent events. I think that there will be general agreement today that we must try to do all we can to alleviate this human distress and to bring about the return of political and economic stability.

This House is naturally, and rightly, reluctant to debate the internal affairs of other countries, but in my opinion it is necessary to try to understand the background of the present situation to decide what our attitude should be. Anyone who travels from East to West Pakistan, or in the other direction, must be struck by the utter dissimilarilty of the two parts of that country. It is a country which geographically, seems to be unique. On the other hand, if those two parts are visited. As I visited them during the Fast of Ramadan, I think it is equally evident how close the ties were between the two in the Muslim religion. Pakistan was founded on the establishment of an Islamic homeland for 100 million Muslims in the areas where they were clearly in the majority. Many hon.

Members who have seen it for themselves would agree that it would be hard to exaggerate the difficulties inherent in the government of a nation divided into two parts at least 1,000 miles apart from one another. But these inherent geographical difficulties are only too well known and so, in the House, is the short history of independent Pakistan.

After the Presidency of President Ayub Khan, Martial Law was again declared by the present President when he came to power in March, 1969. But the declared aim of President Yahya Khan has been the early transfer of power to a civilian democratic regime.

Last November I had the opportunity of meeting the President during the visit I paid to Pakistan immediately after the cyclone in the Ganges delta, and my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, as the House Knows, held discussions with him during his visit to Pakistan last January. I was convinced then—and I remain convinced today—that the President was wholly sincere in his desire to establish a civilian democratic government.

But the President insisted then, and has insisted since, that it was essential to maintain the unitary Islamic State of Pakistan. The results of the elections, which were the first in Pakistan to be based on universal sufferage, were clearcut. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League won an overwhelming victory in East Pakistan and an overall majority in the Constituent Assembly. Sheikh Mujib and the League had long campaigned on the basis of a programme calling among other things, for a large degree of authonomy in East Pakistan. with a relatively weak central government controlling only defence and foreign affairs.

As the House knows, after those elections there were preliminary talks between the President, Sheikh Mujib and Mr.Bhutto, the leader of the majority party in West Pakistan. As the House also knows, agreement unfortunately could not be reached, and after a long series of talks in Dacca, the President took military action towards the end of March.

As the hon. Member pointed out, there have been acts of brutality in East Pakistan committed—as he rightly said—by both sides in this dispute. This is the basis of our deep concern today at the loss of life and suffering in all sections of the East Pakistan community, in a country with which Britain and many people who live here have a great many ties, a country which is a fellow member of the Commonwealth and a country from which a great many people have come to live in Britain. It is because of these close ties, both past and present, that we tend to be more concerned with a country such as Pakistan than with other parts of the world.

In the disturbed situation that existed at the end of March and the beginning of April, it became necessary for us to help our own nationals resident in East Pakistan to leave the country if they thought it necessary to do so on the ground of safety. About 800 British citizens left the country under these arrangements.

The right hon. Member for Leeds. East (Mr. Healey) this week asked my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary about the safety of Sheikh Mujib, and my right hon. Friend omitted to answer and has asked me to apologise to the right hon. Gentleman and to do so. This question, among a great many others, is a matter about which he has been in touch with the President of Pakistan.

and our latest information is that the Sheikh is in custody in West Pakistan and that it is likely that he will be brought to trial, but we have no confirmation of reports that he has been flown back to East Pakistan.

I doubt whether there will be any substantial differences among us today about what is the immediate necessity in Pakistan, although I am perfectly clear that there will probably be deep differences upon the means by which that objective could be achieved. The only sensible ojbective is the re-creation of peace and stability in that country. We have made our interest perfectly clear to the Government of Pakistan, and that Government have made perfectly clear to us that they are wholly committed to this objective.

But for Her Majesty's Government, and for other Governments outside Pakistan, there seem to be three separate problems. The first is that of relieving distress and possible food shortage within East Pakistan ; the second, as the hon. Member mentioned, is the problem of relieving suffering among the refugees who have crossed from East Pakistan into India and the third problem is one of long-term development aid.

In his statement here on 11th April, my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary repeated the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to play apart in any international relief effort, and he said on 11th May, after consultation with the American Secretary of State, that in our view this could best be organised through the United Nations. Therefore, a message was sent to U Thant seggesting that he should renew his offer of internation assistance. U Thant is in touch with the Pakistan Government about the problems of relief with a view to their allowing a team of experts to make an objective appraisal of what is needed and accepting any assistance needed, on an international basis.

The second question to which the hon Member devoted much of his speech is that of the very considerable number of refugees now in India. I am aware of the deep concern of the Indian Government about this matter, and I can express this Government's deep concern that the situation should be dealt with. The Indian High Commissioner discussed the situation with me only two days ago, and again the problem is to be quite sure about the actual needs that we must try internationally to resolve.

As the first step, as my hon. Friend has told the House, we made an immediate contribution by offering assistance to certain British charities to enable them to fly out relief supplies on 6th May. We are very glad that the charitable organisations have taken these steps, and I hope that that will continue. I understand that representatives of the charities—perhaps the right hon. Member for Wednesbury (Mr. Stonehouse) and other hon. Members may be able to comment upon this—are now in India appraising the situation. I also understand that the Indian Government have approached the United Nations for assistance, and that a team from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees is also now in India. We shall await its report also with great interest. An international relief effort is clearly required. In our view, it must be handled by the United Nations in co-operation with the Indian Government.

The third problem I mentioned was the separate problem of the difficulties facing the economy of Pakistan and the aid which may be required to meet them. This is a matter which we are discussing with the World Bank and the other members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium to try to establish the conditions under which such aid might be more effectively provided.

I also discussed this recently with Mr. McNamara of the World Bank. It is clear to me that the other donors share all our anxieties and agree with us that the donor countries and institutions must act together. We are therefore hoping that a consortium meeting on Pakistan will before long be arranged, at which it may be possible to reach decisions on further aid.

When she intervened on Tuesday the right hon. Lady the Member for Lanark (Mrs. Hart) mentioned the inequality between East and West Pakistan. The hon. Gentleman referred to this matter this morning. We and the other members of the consortium are very conscious of this, and we had been laying plans long before these tragic events took place to spend the greater part of our aid in East Pakistan. It is not only we who reached this conclusion. When I was in Islamabad before I set foot in East Pakistan last November, I was made perfecty well aware of the intention of the Pakistan Government that the imbalance that had created in the past, and which they recognise, should be redressed in the future. I remember that the phrase that was continually put before me was—"the necessary transfer of resources from West to East". Therefore, this is not something which we have thought up on our own ; it has the support of the Pakistan Government.

Our aid was to be directed particularly, as the right hon. Lady knows, into the Action Programme for Water and Agriculture Development which the World Bank had prepared last July. This is, as the right hon. Lady well knows, a very large and ambitious programme for irrigation and flood control throughout the country of a kind which is bound to be needed as a basis for any economic development.

After I returned from East Pakistan last autumn, we went some way in agreeing with the Pakistan Government what from our own British contribution to the Action Programme should take. We discussed various possibilities. Some were getting under way ; but, as the House will be well aware, all this has now come to a halt. Our experts and consultants have had to be withdrawn from East Pakistan and the supply of British goods under out loans has been interrupted.

Hon. Members may have seen that the Export Credits Guarantee Department has been obliged to cease covering further export transactions to Pakistan. I am told that this is a step which has been taken with the greatest reluctance, but, given the Department's obligations to operate on a self-supporting basis, it is inevitable in the light of present economic conditions in Pakistan. Not only has the internal business of the country been disrupted by the disturbances but, much more serious, future export earnings are likely to be severely reduced. All this, coming on top of the strain of the earlier floods on an already delicate economy, must raise the gravest doubts about Pakistan's ability to continue to service her existing burden of foreign debt.

This existing economic difficulty which I have mentioned brings into focus a controversy which is likely to loom large in this debate. Her Majesty's Government are anxious, as I hpope that I have already made clear, to resume, when it can be resumed, development aid to Pakistan. The hon. Gentleman argued, as no doubt other hon. Members will argue during the debate, that we should give no further aid to Pakistan unless President Yahya Khan agrees to certain specific action. Although aid may play apart in a general solution of problems. I profoundly disagree that it can be used as a lever to enforce a particular solution which observers here, thousands of miles from Dacca or Islamabad, with knowledge that must be imcomplete, may wrongly think will contribute to peace.

Therefore, I would prefer to solve this dilemma in what I consider to be a more positive way. We are ready, I repeat, to resume aid for development, but we can clearly do so only if conditions are restored in which that aid could be effectively deployed. Therefore, it remains the view of Her Majesty's Government that a political solution in East Pakistan is necessary and that this must be a matter for the Pakistan Government and people to achieve. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister has been in touch with the President on a personal and confidential basis, asking him to work towards such a settlement. I am aware that the President intends to do so. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs has expressed our concern at the suffering in East Pakistan, which I hope I have adequately underlined this morning, and our hope that a settlement to the dispute will be achieved as soon as possible on a basis acceptable to all the parties to it.

I hope that it is clear from what I have said that I am not in any way giving advice to the House to take the step, which I think would be wrong, of voting against the Motion, which has given us an opportunity to have what I hope will be a useful and constructive discussion. The Government are aware of the concern of the House and especially the concern of a great many hon. Members who may have constituents with personal and economic ties with Pakistan. This is a concern which we fully share, and we intend to continue to work for a solution which will enable us to go on playing the part which we should like to play in the future development in the whole of Pakistan.

11.47 a. m.

Mr. Michael Stewart (Fulham) - We are all grateful to my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann), who raised this subject and who spoke so movingly and moderately about it. We are obliged to the Minister for Overseas Development for intervening early in the debate. We were glad to hear of the steps the Government have already taken with regard to the possibility of relief in the future—the discussions they have had with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and with the charitable organisations.

There will remain, and it will become increasingly acute with every week that passes, the question of what will be the attitude of those who may happen to possess power in the afflicted areas—be they the authorities of West Pakistan of Bangladesh—towards the getting in and the administration of relief.

Similarly, as the Minister said, if aid is to be resumed and if it is to show tha leaning towards the needs of East Pakistan which he described, the turning o these policies into relities will depend upon the reaching of a political solutio in East Pakistan. We are therefore obliged to consider that aspect.

I know as well as anyone here the difficulties that beset a Government in tha situation. *There are many dissimilarities between this conflict and that in Nigeria but there is one formal and legal similarity which has some importance. It is that in both cases this is a civil war in a Commonwealth country. I realise that the problem facing the United Kingdom Government is —how can we do any-*thing useful without simply being subjected to the charge by Pakistan that we are interfering in its internal affairs and possibly finding that anything we do is counter-productive?

I believe that there is one answer to that which I hoped that the Minister would give. It is to try to act through a Commonwealth framework. For Britain alone to try to act in a matter like this is to arouse all the suspicions that we are trying to be the imperial power again.

One of the reasons for building up the whole idea of the Commonwealth and for creating the Commonwealth Secretariat was that the Commonwealth nations can be in touch with one another in a way that ought not to provoke hostility or accusations of interference. I do not say this merely as a general or theoretical principle. Here is an instance where the Nigerian parallel is of some importance. I remember that early in 1969, at the time of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, Chief Awolowo was here in this country representing the Nigerian Government. There were also in London representatives of the secessionist regime. The British Government were able, against the background of the Commonwealth Conference, to get Chief Awolowo to agree to meet representatives of the secessionist regime under, in effect, Commonwealth auspices. It was very unfortunate that those representatives refused that opportunity. In that case, the country that was saying "This is our internal affair" as none the less prepared in a Commonwealth framework to discuss the possibilities of a settlement. I wonder whether the Government could not do a bit more than they have in trying to use the Commonwealth framework to promote a political settlement in this appalling dispute.

We should also remember that the Nigerian Government, despite their undoubted status as a sovereign state, were willing to have international observers accompanying their forces actually to watch how they behaved and to report to the world. They did not think it beneath their dignity as a sovereign State that should be done. I do not know what might be the attitude of the Pakistan Government. But, in view of the example set by Nigeria, in view of the undoubted concern of people the world over at the fearful slaughter in Pakistan, I believe that this is something that they ought to be invited to consider.

I will not say more than this as I know that many others wish to take part in the debate. I suggest as moderately as I can that we thank the Government for what they have done so far about relief. I believe they may be assured of the full support of the House in any further steps which they may take to that end. I want only to suggest, in addition, that there is one line of political approach that perhaps has not been used as much as it might have been and that might possibly be fruitful.

11.52 a.m.

Mr. Hugh Fraser (Stafford and Stone) : I too wish to congratulate the hon. Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas Mann) who opened the debate in such a reasonable and statesmanlike way. I also wish to congratulate my right hon. Friend the Minister for Overseas Development on what he has said in what *inevitably had to be an extremely guarded speech. I think it is fair to draw the conclusion from what he said that the influence [illegible] ch we have will be brought to bear to see that a solution can be found*

It is with some emotion that I follow the right hon. Member for fulham (Mr. Michael Stewart), after the times when we were in conflict over the Nigerian civil war. I, too, in a short speech would like to join with him in suggesting that there are other means whereby more can be achieved than merely through the United Nations or by this country acting alone.

There is no question that the present horrors in East Pakistan present a real problem which affects not merely the moral sense of the House but the whole question of stability in that part of the world. As the hon. Member for Kensington, North made clear, there are other forces trying to batten on the misery of people so as to disturb an area where absence of strife is essential for world peace. I regard this as a matter of real concern, not just because of the feeling we have for these people who are suffering—and many of us have friends in Pakistan—but because of the real danger that this could create to the stability of Asia. Therefore, just to rely on the United Nation to produce an improved situation is, alas, not enough. With our experience from the past, this effort would have to be on a larger and far more profound scale than has so far been envisaged by Her Majesty's Government.

Here I immediately join forces with the right hon. Member for Fulham. I believe that the Commonwealth Secretariat would have a real part to play, and I think that that should be invoked. But there are two other areas outside the United Nations where pressure could be brought and help could be made available to deal with the immediate problem of food distribution. I believe that under the CENTO pact—which, after all, is of great importance to Pakistan, and of which we and Turkey, among others are members—a proposal should be made that engineering troops should be made available to deal with those problems which are essentially of an engineering nature and which are clearly beyond the possibility of the Pakistan Army to deal with. I believe also, as has been suggested by the right hon. Member for Fulham, that it should be put to the Pakistan Government that observers should be allowed to see that the food which is available is getting in and is being deliverd.

Lastly, I believe that we have a position of responsibility and of importance, which has been touched on by my right hon. Friend, and that we should make it clear that it is impossible to extend aid until such time as the infrastructure is there for the reception of aid. I do not believe this is a threat. This is a matter of reality, and my right hon. Friend touched on it with a great sense of responsibility and of not pushing the point too far.

Quite apart from any humanitarian matter—and that affects us all as individuals—but as a House of Commons bringing influence to bear on our Government. We suggest that this country and our Government should not be timid in what they attempt to do. As a leading member of the Commonwealth, as a leading economic power and as possibly the most important and dynamic member of the CENTO pact, we have the opportunity of seeing that this terrible situation is controlled and does not become, as it so easily could, a menace to the peace of the world.

11.59 a.m.

Mr. Peter Shore (Stepney) : I join right hon. and hon. Members in congratulating my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) on bringing his Motion before the House. I express thanks to him, also, and to other right hon. and hon. Members who have been to East Pakistan so far as they were able to do so, and who have come back with first-hand accounts of what they found there. I pay that tribute for the simple reason that one of our great problems in assessing the situation is the "iron curtain" which has descended over East Pakistan for the greater part of the past six weeks.

We knew in detail the events which immediately preceded the seizure of power or the occupation of the various centres in East Bengal by the Pakistan army We knew about events until then, and we knew, incidentally that it was not a situation in which the leading political figures in East Bengal had declared independence but was one in which they were still insisting upon a political programme which they had put to the people in their own country and, indeed, to all-Pakistan elections.

Since then, however, and within a few days of the army's moves and attack in East Bengal, we have been deprived of systematic and continuing information. Correspondents were brought together and despatched from the country at the earliest possible moment. Now, five or six weeks later, we are beginning to receive further reports as a number of correspondents, in tightly controlled conditions, have been allowed by the Pakistan army to see some part of what is happening.

I turn for a moment to the report which appeared in the *Financial Times* of Wednesday, 12th May, sent from Dacca the previous day by Mr. Harvey Stockwin. He wrote :

"All reliable and impartial sources are definite that the dead run into hundreds of thousands".

and he reports that,

"De-urbanisation is continuing on a wide scale : the majority of workers continue to be absent from factories and peasants from their fields."

In addition to these reports such as they are, from inside East Bengal, we know of the great flood of human beings who have been driven to cross the frontier into West Bengal and into India.

Clearly, we are witnessing a catastrophe, and I have the unhappy feeling that the scale of it is much greater than we have yet begun to understand or believe. We have to ask ourselves, therefore, the difficult question—always difficult for a British Government in relation to what have previously been the affairs of not only a friendly country but a fellow member of the Commonwealth : what are our duties and obligations in respect of these events?

I have never been one who would lightly urge that we should, as it were, as a first priority in order in some sense to satisfy our own inner anxieties, act in any way which did not objectively help the true situation. In this case, however, after hearing several statements from the Foreign Secretary, and knowing that he has made private representations to the Pakistan Government, though believing, unhappily, that those private representations have had very small effect, at best. I feel that we are right to speak out, and plainly, about what is happening.

When I say "we", I mean virtually all Members of Parliament, and I hope, also, that the Government themselves, though perhaps not in quite such strong language, will see fit to express their views unmistakably, and in public.

This brings me to one part of the Minister's analysis of the events which led up to this tragedy, with which I cannot agree. Very rightly, the right hon. Gentleman drew attention to the extra ordinary construction of the State of Pakistan. So far as I am aware, no other State in the world has ever been divided in this way, one part separated from the other by over 1,000 miles. Such a State can be held together only by some strong common impulse.

That strong common impulse was there in 1947 and was represented by the Muslim faith The truth now, after the 20 years or so which have elapsed since then, is that that common impulse has weakened and no new bonds of common purpose have been forged to take its place.

A State of this kind cannot be held together unless there is a will in both areas to keep it as one. That will, it seems to me, has been broken and is unlikely to arise again.

The point in the right hon. Gentleman's account at which he lost my assent and sympathy came when he told us of how negotiations had gone on. He said that President Yahya Khan had been interested at one stage in carrying out a transfer of power to a civilian democracy, and that is what he had wanted to do. Perhaps that is so. But at the very moment when that democracy emerged, the very moment when it appeared to have a will different from his own, he smashed it. That is his crime, his offence. He broke it. He could not stand the result and implication of what the people themselves wanted. It was as though, on 18th June last year, as we watched the numbers changing, we decided that we did not like the results of the General Election and called out the troops to make sure that the right hon. Gentleman did not have his present place on the Government Front Bench.

That is a crime; a crime against democracy. Let us state it clearly. I do not want to decide, any more than the right hon. Gentleman does, the future of that country, and whether it is to be two or one. What I want is that the people should decide, but they have been deprived of that right of decision by the action, the brutal action, of the Pakistan Army.

Having said that—I am amazed at my own moderation, for it is a horrible sequence of events which has taken place—I turn for a moment to consider the aims of our policy and what we can do. I fully understand what the Minister said about the use of our aid programmes, and I see the implications of his remarks. While accepting that aid programmes must not, as it were, simply be carried along by political judgments, he is saying that there can be no possibility of aid being resumed while the political infrastructure, as the right hon. Member for Stafford and Stone (Mr. Hugh Fraser) pointed out, makes any kind of serious economic aid impossible to support. That must be so, and it is right that the Pakistan Government ssould understand it. As regards sending in aid for relief purposes, I agree that we must mobilise all the agencies and forces available to us. I warmly support the initiative taken with the United Nations, and I very much hope that it will succeed.

I also attach enormous importance—as, I believe, do the right hon. Member for Stafford and Stone and my right hon. Friend the Member for Fulham (Mr. Michael Stewart)—to the question of getting observers of one kind or another into the country. The pressure, the influence and the restraining effect that people who are free to move and witness events can have upon a Government, however insensitive it may be to internal opinion, can be very great. Indeed, the precedent established, as my right hon. Friend the Member for Fulham reminded us, in the case of the Nigerian civil war was extremely important and one which, I hope, will be urged strongly upon the Pakistan Government to adopt.

Finally, I come to the question of what we can do and whom we can bring into this to bring, as it were, further pressure to bear in the right direction. The right direction must be a political solution—of that I have no doubt—and a political solution must, in the end, be one that the majority of the people themselves desire.

It should not be beyond the possibilities of vigorous diplomacy, looking now not only to the Commonwealth forum, not only to the forum of CENTO, in which we are both strongly based, but thinking also of the known views of so many of the great Powers, including the United States, the Soviet Union and India as an important neighbouiring country, to find ways and means of bringing international pressure to bear, as diplomatically as any right hon. Gentleman wishes, with the purpose and aim of achieving peace, an end of the carnage and the restoration of the rights of the people of that land.

12.12 p.m.

Sir Frederic Bennett (Torquay) : Having listened to your reminder, Mr. Speaker, that we should try to keep our speeches short. I hope that I may be foregiven if I do not refer to the remarks of the right hon. Member for Stepney (Mr. Shore) but revert to the opening speech of the hon. Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann), to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude for moving his Motion today.

Having listned to the hon. Member, there are only three points that I wish to make. The first—and I can understand how this happened—is that when

the Motion refers to a cease-fire, although there may well be sporadic fighting, my information differs from that of the hon. Member in that I believe that to a large extent the active fighting on any scale has now died down, if it has not ceased altogether, in East Pakistan.

My second point is that with a nation of 60 million or more people—I am referring to East Pakistan—however many troops the West Pakistan Government can send, in the last resort it will be impossible to hold that country together by military force alone. Therefore, if it is to survive, as, I am sure, most of us at least would wish, we cannot do anything other than harm by urging that any future rejoining of the two halves is out of the question. The political consequences, which have already been mentioned, are all too clear for anyone who wants to see : namely, that the creation of an impoverished and stricken East Pakistan as a separate nation State today—let us not forget that it has no wish to go to India, even though it may not currently have any wish to go to West Pakistan—would be a sore which had repercussions far outside its borders.

We do not need to look far to think of the countries which would immediately take advantage of such a situation. Incidentally, India would be one of the first losers from the standpoint of her own stability. Therefore, even with all the difficulties, our aim should be to try to heal the wounds and keep Pakistan all together, if possible, rather than face a *fait accompli* that the damage is already irrevocable.

My only other remark in this context is that I deplore the suggestion, which I find wholly illogical, that we should suspend all aid to Pakistan. That would be the converse of what hon. Members are trying to acheieve, because facts are facts and the only effective way at present to get aid to East Pakistan is with the concurrence of the West Pakistan authorities They are in charge in Dacca, Chittagong and the other ports and the airfields.

Therefore, if we were to use a form of indirect sanctions by cutting down aid to Pakistan as a whole, and West Pakistan had to tighten its belt even further, there would be even less aid available for East Pakistan. Rather should we be bending our efforts —this was why I listened with respect to my right hon. Friend to increase the aid from international and other sources to West Pakistan by doing our level best to ensure that a right and fair proportion goes for the benefit of East Pakistan. That is the way to tackle the situation rather than to threaten to withdraw aid, which would certainly not have the effects that some would wish.

This is as tragic an occasion for me as it is for anyone else, because no one in the House has closer personal ties than I have with Pakistan, dating back over more than one generation as regards the Muslim community in the subcontinent, which I remember from childhood from my father, who was a great personal friend of Jinnah.

I do not think that we do a service by twisting the history of Pakistan and forgetting two factors. The first is that this country, and all parties in it, bears a great responsibility for the creation of Pakistan. To talk now about its absurdity is to forget that, to a large extent, Britain was responsible for creating his State. Having said that, however, it should be added that it was also in accord with the wishes of the people. One must go back far further in history to understand what might seem to be a rediculous thought geographically that the two main

Islam communities on the Indian subcontinent wanted to come together, as they did. To do that—and I have no wish to raise the temperature about Indian history—one must go back scores, sometimes hundreds, of years to appreciate the tensions between Hindu and Muslim. These are facts of history.

In what is now East Pakistan, there was a great feeling that the people wanted to become part of an Islam Muslim community and escape the previous economic domination of the Hindus. This is a historic fact which led to the demand for Pakistan to be equally strong from the east as it was from the west at the time of its creation. The fact that since then there have been undoubted faults and mistakes—which, I must admit, I have always found West Pakistanis ready to admit—in which the greater amount of concentration of economic progress has come to the West, is undeniable. To say that, however, is no excuse for saying that because of that we should not try to reach a reasonable solution, in which obviously West Pakistan will have learned its lesson in this respect as well as anyone else.

As the right hon. Member for Stepney gave a little of his interpretation of recent constitutional history, I have decided that it is fair to put on record exactly what happened that led up in a constitutional sense to the appalling tragedies that we have been witnessing. Sheikh Mujib himself agreed to a legal framework before the elections were held. It was the framework which he and the Awami League accepted unanimously and without question as the basis on which they would fight the election.

I shall quote only one sentence from that framework :

"The Federal Government shall have adequate powers, including legislative, administrative and financial powers, to discharge its responsibility in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the whole country."

Sheikh Mujib's party having won a decisive victory at the election, I should like to mention one or two of the points in the programme which he then put forward.

On a national currency, he said that there might be two freely convertible separate currencies, or possibly one currency for the whole could be maintained. That is not very serious. A separate banking preserve was to be made for East Pakistan. There was to be a separate fiscal and monetary policy for East Pakistan. On taxation, the federating state should have exclusive authority to levy all taxes and duties within the area. The Federal Government would have no tax levying authority. In regard to external trade, everything to do with it including drawing up trade treaties and the maintenance of overseas trade missions was to be in separate hands.

Does that really accord with the legal framework for maintaining the integrity of the country? Could any sovereign State accept that as forming the foundation of a separate State? That list shows the compelling reasons why, when these points were put forward, General Yahya and his advisers decided that the legal framework upon which the elections had been fought had been abandoned. Although it has been said that he made no attempt, event then, to reach agreement, I was glad that my right hon. Friend paid tribute to the serious way in which he tried to reach a compromise. When Sheikh Mujib refused to go to the Federal

capital to discuss matters, General Yahya flew to Dacca to try to persuade him on the spot to co-operate. No head of State could have gone further. Instead of summoning Sheikh Mujib to the capital, he made two separate fights to East Pakistan. It was only when he became convinced that there was no intention to maintain the unity of the State, on which the elections had been fought by mutual agreement, that the war broke out.

Mr. Julius Silverman (Birmingham, Aston) : But did not Sheikh Mujib succeed in getting not only an overwhelming majority of the people of East Pakistan to support him, but also an overall majority in the whole Legislative Assembly?

Sir F. Bennett : I think that that intervention shows how unwise it is to give way to an hon. Member when one is making a reasoned case. I did not say that. I said that Sheikh Mujib fought the election on a previously agreed legal framework to which he showed subsequently that he was not prepared to adhere. He won the election in his half of the country decisively, and it is true, because there are more voters in East Pakistan, that he had a majority in the whole of Pakistan. But the situation cannot be compared with similar circumstances in the United Kingdom. The Awami League did not win one single seat in the whole of West Pakistan, and the only way that the country could be kept together was on the basis either of fighting it out or of accepting the legal framework and reaching a compromise.

The people of Pakistan are intensely proud. They are well aware that theirs is a wholly independent country in the Commonwealth. They are also aware that their difficulties have been caused in part by Britain, which was responsible for the creation of the country. We must be extremely careful not to make the situation worse by attempting to bring influence to bear, or even, however well meaningly, moralising in this House.

I want to try to end the misery, and not merely make points blaming one side or the other. I have sedulously avoided doing that. Immediately the Government of one State appears to interfere in the affairs of another nation State, the result is nearly always counterproductive. A Pakistani asked me the other day how we in this House would feel if one of the first debates in the newly-elected Pakistan legislature were aimed at using its best influences to end the trouble in Northern Ireland. That may not seem to be a parallel to us, but it does to the Pakistanis. The same would apply to the French in Canada. The Federal Government in Canada are always careful to rebut outside influence. We saw what happened with General de-Gaulle's interference, and the trouble that that caused in Quebec. If we want to help, we must not take up sides. We must concentrate on giving the maximum aid. If any initiative of ours suggests in any way that we are trying to interfere, we shall make matters worse.

I understand that there is a real prospect if the present increasing calm develops in East Pakistan, that the President of Pakistan seems to be inclined to call together the provincial assemblies of both the East and the West. If and when that moment arrives, it seems to be well on the cards that there will be no need for fresh elections but that the points in the legal framework will be carried out and maintained by the members who were elected for the Awami League in the provincial assembly. If that happens, it will be a good start to the restoration of normality in the country.

I have already said what we can do to help. The way to do it is not by cutting aid or by any form of sanctions. We must increase our aid and ensure that it goes in full measure to East Pakistan. I welcome the idea of an initiative by the Commonwealth Secretariat, because that was a chance of doing what no independent country in the Commonwealth could achieve. I hope that we shall support that concept.

I can see a very good case, too, for British Members of Parliament who are genuinely interested in the situation going there. There are grounds for thinking that Pakistan has it in mind to encourage such a visit from this country before long on a non-party basis. However, if that initiative should come about, the worst possible move would be for the visiting Members of Parliament to go first to India and then to East Pakistan. In view of the undoubted tensions over Kashmir, and so on, any visit to India must be a separate initiative. The same group of Members of Parliament must not first visit India and then cross to East Pakistan. If that were to happen, any positive good would be undone.

The events in East Pakistan are appalling. I am passionately convinced that the more that we try to heal the wounds, not deliver strictures, the greater the service that we shall do not only to East Pakistan but to the security of Asia as a whole.

12.29 p.m.

Mr. Denis Healey (Leeds, East) : The whole House is grateful to my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) for opening this debate and for the moving and well-informed speech that he made. Hon. Members taking part in the debate have followed the lead that my hon. Friend set in that respect.

The Pakistan disaster has two aspects. The first, and the one which is most fresh in our minds is a colossal human tragedy, and the second is a tremendous political danger. The world is still so stunned by the human tragedy not yet to be fully alert to some of the longterm political dangers, which could bring even greater human tragedies than we see today.

The scale of the human tragedies we cannot yet fully appreciate. We know the scale of the refugee problem in India. Over two million people—roughly the population of New Zealand or of Israel—have moved away from their homes and out of their country in the last few weeks to live in what they regard as greater security. The cost of looking after these refugees is estimated by the Indian Government at about £140 million a year. Yet the refugees are still said to be leaving East Pakistan at the rate of about 60,000 a day. The Indian Government have estimated that the number could reach five million, unless the flow stops in the near future or is reversed.

We have very few details so far about the scale and nature of the problem inside East Pakistan because administration and communications have pretty well collapsed throughout that territory. But we know that there are large areas of chaos outside the cities and that some cities have become largely depopulated as a result of recent events. We have heard terrifying stories of communal violence. There have been appalling massacres—by no means carried out by one community only. We know that fear is the dominant factor in society throughout the territory. The result is a risk of widespread famine affecting 70 million or 75 million people and accompanying disease. This is the human problem.

I think that all right hon. and hon. Members in this House recognise that the immediate problem is relief of this human suffering. We all agree with the Government that relief is far too big a problem for one country alone, or even for one group of countries. The only agency which can hope to collect and administer relief on the scale required by the tragedy is the United Nations. We welcome the fact that the Government have already asked the Secretary-General to intervene, and so, I understand, have the Indian Government, concerning the problem in West Bengal. Immediate action by the United Nations in West Bengal could be effective. The Indian Government have said that they want United Nations help and that they are capable of helping to administer any relief supplies which are sent.

East Pakistan is still a bit of a mystery. I think that the Minister said that the Secretary-General was in touch with President Yahya Khan, but, as I understood him, no agreement has yet been reached about the reception of a United Nations team. The tragedy in East Pakistan is that, even if the Pakistan Government are willing to receive United Nations aid, the physical problem of distributing it is likely to be appallingly difficult.

We know, for example, that in that part of East Pakistan which is still suffering from the disastrous floods of last November the lives of 4½ million people depend on relief supplies from outside. Yet 150,000 tons of those supplies are at this moment held up in Chittagong and there appears to be no way of getting them to those in need.

We also know that when the International Red Cross sought to send an aircraft to Dacca immediately the scale of the current tragedy became known, the Pakistan Government refused to allow it to land. The United Nations must have an immediate chance to evaluate the problem and to make recommendations on how to meet it. We would all wish the Government to use their influence on President Yahya Khan to reach agreement on this in the near future.

Several hon. Members have speculated about the proper role of the United Kingdom in these events. The Minister said that we have an historic connection with Pakistan; we have many human ties. We were responsible for the 1947 settlement which brought Pakistan into being. My right hon. Friend the Member for Stepney (Mr. Shore) was not historically accurate when he said that it is impossible for a State whose components are separated by 1,000 miles to survive.

Mr. Shore : I did not say that.

Mr. Healey : It is possible for this to happen. It happens in the case of Malaysia and the United States, where Hawaii and Alaska are States separated by large distances. We all hope it will happen with the United Arab Republic. But we know from our own history that if a State has components widely separated, it is vitally important that the Government responsible should show the same respect for the interests and aspirations of the distant component as for those nearer at hand. We learned this problem the hard way in the 18th century, or the United States of America would not exist.

We are also an ally of Pakistan in S.E.A.T.O. and CENTO. I hope that the Minister will give an assurance that we are not sending any arms to Pakistan and would not propose to do so until we are satisfied that this tragedy is moving towards a solution.

As has been said by several hon. Members, Britain, as the ex-Imperial Power, is in a difficult position. We have no right to decide what the Pakistan Government should do. Any advice we give may perhaps often be less welcome than advice which comes from others. As the hon. Member for Torquay (Sir F. Bennett) said, our experience in Northern Ireland shows that even with good will and Government power it is not always easy to solve a problem which derives from communal and religious differences. Certainly a nation which produced Lord North has no right to pride itself on a unique political wisdom in dealing with this type of problem.

Nevertheless, while we recognise that the Government must inevitably in some areas confine themselves, as the Foreign Secretary said the other day, to private representations, the nature of our connections with East Pakistan and our responsibility there give hon. Members who are not members of the Government both the right and the duty to express their concern a little more directly.

The central problem, identified by several hon. Members, is that there is no possibility of distributing relief on the scale required and of giving effective economic aid to Pakistan unless that country is moving towards a political settlement of the problems in East Pakistan. I confess that I believe that the re-establishment of what might be described as normal administration in East Pakistan will be slow and difficult, even after a political settlement.

There is one issue on which I disagree with my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North. I think that he exaggerates the ability of even an independent Government in East Pakistan to cope with the administrative and social problems which it is certain to inherit. One central fact about the way that this tragedy came about is that the Awami League which, as has been rightly said, received overwhelming support—167 out of 169 seats—was neither politically nor administratively prepared for secession or for independence. Indeed, if it had been, as General Chaudhuri, writing as a disinterested Indian observer, wrote the other day, the course of events might have been very different indeed.

The situation which any Government would inherit now—a situation in which a large part of the police, a large part of the army, and a large number of civil servants in East Pakistan, have been killed—is one which is bound to tax the abilities even of groups of people far more experienced, skilled and prepared than the political leaders in East Pakistan are likely to be. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the central point is that the people of East Pakistan gave an overwhelming vote of confidence to the Awami League in the recent elections, and this cannot, and must not, be ignored by anyone concerned with a political settlement.

I hope very much that the Pakistan Government will not put Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on trial. It seems to me that if they were to do that they would make any political settlement totally impossible. Worse than that, other leaders of the communities in East Pakistan would be bound to appear. Indeed, the destruction of the existing political elite in that territory would make any sort of peaceful settlement absolutely impossible. I hope that the Government will do what they can to present those considerations to the Pakistan Government. It seems to me that if there is to be progress, a far better act would be to release Sheikh Rahman and to invite him to accept responsibility for helping to solve the problem.

My second point is that if there is not rapid progress towards a political settlement, the overwhelming probability is the collapse, for a very long time, of any sort of organised government and, indeed, in many respects, of organised society in East Pakistan. The anarchy that would attend such a collapse would be profoundly tragic and dangerous, not only for the people of East Pakistan or, indeed, of East and West Pakistan, but for the whole of the sub-continent. We know that stability is fragile in West Bengal, and one shudders to think of how infection might spread throughout that part of the world if there were a total collapse of government in East Pakistan.

That leads me to my third point, which is the threat to peace. I do not think it can be denied that if there is not a rapid and early movement towards a restabilisation of the situation based on a political settlement in conformity with the known wishes of the people, there will be a real risk of further clashes—there have been one or two clashes between the Armed Forces of India and Pakistan—and certainly the tragedy of communal strife will continue. If the present situation continues, there is a risk, not just of the Indian and Pakistan Governments becoming directly involved in a conflict with one another, but with Russia and China having taken sides on the issue—China supporting the Pakistan Government, and Russia supporting the Indi n Government and criticising the Pakistan Government—of a real threat to stability in the whole of Southern Asia.

Against that background, I should like to say a few words on the problems in order of priority. First, there is the problem of relief. I hope we all agree—and perhaps the Minister will say something about this if he seeks leave to speak again—that the critical thing is to get the United Nations aid moving and to persuade the Pakistan Government to accept the Secretary-General's offer.

I hope that the British Government will make a generous contribution to United Nations aid, and so set an example to the rest of the world. I know the Minister would not claim that the £18,000 already given is anything like commensurate with the scale of the problem, and again I hope that, as the country which has some historical responsibility for, and close human ties with Pakistan, we shall set an example which is commensurate not only with the scale of the problem but with what we hope others in the world will give.

There is something in the idea put forward by the Hon. Member for Torquay that a parliamentary delegation might be sent to that area. I should not care to say whether it should be the same delegation that visits both West Bengal and Pakistan, but it seems to me that not only should we inform ourselves better as a Parliament if we were able to send an all-party delegation, but that those who go might be able, on their return, to generate more public interest in the problem of relief and in the problem of a settlement.

The next problem, beyond the immediate problem of relief, is that of aid. I fully accept what the Minister said. We cannot dictate the nature of a settlement, but I think that we can, and must, insist on visible progress towards a settlement as a condition of effective aid. After all, as has been said, the E.C.G.D. has already been compelled, by its own charter, to refuse to guarantee credits for Pakistan because the physical conditions do not exist which would justify that, and I think I am right in syaing that the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund are both differently bound by the statutes which set them up to insist on certain conditions as justification for aid. This is not a question of political strings in the vulgar sense. It is a question of institutions which are

spending the money of their taxpayers all over the world in giving aid having to insist, in duty to those who contribute the funds, that the situation in the recipient country exists which will allow aid to be used effectively, and there is no question but that we have the right, and the duty, to insist at least on that.

I disagree with my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North about cutting off aid altogether. I hope that I interpreted the Minister correctly when he said that the bulk of aid now given by Britain is being concentrated on projects in East Pakistan. In the light of the two tremendous hammer blows which that territory had suffered—first the floods last year, and now this tragedy— we should insist that aid which is given, either by ourselves or by international organisations to which we contribute, is concentrated largely in East Pakistan.

Mr. Wood : I should not like the House to be under any misapprehension. That is our firm intention, and in that we are supported by the Government of Pakistan, but, as the right hon. Gentleman is explaining, and as I tried to explain, until conditions in East Pakistan are restored to relative tranquillity, it will be impossible for us to make progress with our programme.

Mr. Healey : I accept that, and if my right hon. Friend the Member for Lanark (Mrs. Hart) takes part in the debate perhaps she will follow that up.

The next matter is the critical importance of United Nations involvement. I agree with my right hon. Friend the Member for Fulham (Mr. M. Stewart), that the Commonwealth Secretariat might well have a useful role to play, but there could be special difficulties in involving the Commonwealth, because the largest Commonwealth country in the area is India, and it could be that on this issue the United Nations has a better chance of obtaining acceptance than a Commonwealth organisation, but it is worth trying.

Given the scale of the problem, the human problem, and the nature of the political dangers which could follow if there is not rapid progress towards a settlement, it seems to me that the involvement of the United Nations is vital. This is the only way, in the short run, of alleviating the suffering caused by the recent tragedy. I believe that the involvement of the United Nations is the best hope of preventing the present tragedy from developing into an international conflict and so threatening the peace of the world. The involvement of the United Nations might help to create conditions for more rapid progress towards a political settlement.

In this respect, the precedent is not so much Nigeria as the Congo, Indeed, the more one thinks about the Congo problem, the closer the analogies appear. The big difference, of course, is that the Congo tragedy was caused by the abdication of an imperial power, while the tragedy in East Pakistan is caused by the collapse of a post-imperial settlement for which we in Britain had a major responsibility. This, if nothing else, justifies the concern which all of us are showing in this tragedy.

12.51 p.m.

Sir Richard Thompson (Croydon, South): Like all other speakers in this debate, I congratulate the hon. Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) on the terms in which he moved his Motion and on the opportunity which he has provided for us of discussing this vitally important matter.

For me, this is a moving debate, because I have, by birth and association, long been involved in the affairs of the sub-continent, particularly Bengal. More than a quarter of my life has been spent in that part of the world. I was born there, I have earned my living there. The earliest tongue I learned, other than my own, was Bengali: although I would not choose to be cross-examined in it now—it is very rusty—it has given me a deep personal concern with this part of the world, where, if I were not in my own country, I would feel more at home than anywhere else I know.

There was a follow-up to this, because, in a previous incarnation, when I was for a time Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, I was involved in the signing of the Indus Basin Agreement with India, Pakistan and other countries and the World Bank, which I believe to have been the most fruitful single act of co-operation between those two countries—India and Pakistan—which has ever been contrived since their independence, and from which those of us who signed it hoped would spring a new era of co-operation and mutual trust.

I said that I have the deepest sympathy with the people of East Pakistan in the terrible dilemma and the appalling catastrophe in which they now find themselves. Equally, I can see that the Government of West Pakistan, faced with the imminent threat, and fact, of an attempt at secession, had to act drastically at the time—I do not condone the excesses which we believe have occurred—if they were not to be overwhelmed and faced with a hopeless long war of reconquest or a *fait accompli.*

It is a thousand pities that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman felt himself unable to accept the new constitutional arrangements which were the basis of the general election which he so handsomely and overwhelmingly won in his own province. This was an end to the long period of martial law which was the only administration known to Pakistan. There was no constitution. The whole object of holding this general election for a constituent assembly was to make it possible, at long last, on a one-man, one-vote basis which we can understand and applaud, to set up a genuinely democratic constitution, with five provinces, of which East Pakistan would be one, and with the old discriminations against East Pakistan, which have been the subject of a number of speeches today and which I fully accept existed, removed. If only he had been content to go ahead with this, he could well have become the first Prime Minister of a democratically elected Pakistani Government. Indeed, the President of Pakistan is on record as having said that he foresaw this possibility.

But the chance was cast away, for reasons which are perhaps not our concern. Rahman chose to opt for U.D.I. by putting forward conditions which went beyond those on which the general election had been fought, including the demand for virtual secession, which was certainly not put to the people of East Pakistan in the election, and which went so far that no central government could accept it.

I agree with my hon. Friend the Member for Torquay (Sir F. Bennett) that a *de facto* cease-fire has already occurred. This is not to say that sporadic fighting, shooting, looting, border incidents and the like do not go on, but I believe that the army is in pretty firm control of the situation.

Despite reports to the contrary, I believe that things are beginning to return to normal. Chittagong port and its installations are operative again, which means

that exports are now beginning to leave the country. People are trickling back to the town, work is restarting and, contrary to what has been said in this debate, I believe that the effect on the rural population and the cultivation of their land which is so vital to the food supply has not been as catastrophic as appeared. I believe that cultivation is going on.

Nevertheless, although the formal war—if we are right to call it that—may be over, despite the desperate efforts of emigre groups and various individuals to maintain that it is still going on, an appalling problem of rehabilitation and political settlement remains.

We must turn our minds to the future. Pacification, if it can be achieved, and a return to normality will take time. These wounds will not be healed readily, but two great tasks lie ahead. The first, clearly, is relief and rehabilitation, and the second is a political settlement which has some hope of enduring.

On the first, the main problem is the restoration of communications, which is much more acure and urgent than the actual question of the availability of food and medical supplies—important though that is. The West Pakistan Government have said that the food supply position is not yet critical, but the distribution is.

Therefore, I hope that the Government of Pakistan will be more flexible than they have been up to now in allowing in relief teams through whichever ag ncy—the United Nations, the Commonwealth or CENTO. All sorts of suggestions have been made along these lines. I like the CENTO suggestion, because, unlike ourselves, the powers involved are basically Muslim powers, and this could count in dealing with a highly emotional situation like this.

But I hope that the Pakistan Government can be more flexible in the way in which they would be prepared to deal with possible teams of observers, in order to ensure that the supplies diverted for this purpose were properly and promptly distributed and to the right sort of recipients. I would urge them to consider this very seriously. I know that matters of national pride are at stake here and how prickly we can all be about them, but the important thing is to get the relief going and doing the task that it is intended for.

As the right hon. Member for Leeds, East (Mr. Healey) said, if aid is being provided from international sources on a very large scale, it is reasonable and proper that those who supply that aid should be satisfied that the proper and intended use is being made of it. If I am right in thinking, and I am sure I am, that the immediate requirement is to get communications going again, then this means the provision of, for example, cement, railway lines and flatbottomed boats, which are particularly useful on the myriad of creeks and rivers which are characteristic of the country, and we should not waste resources by supplying things that are not needed.

In the recent hurricane disaster on the coast of East Pakistan an enormous consignment of babies' milk bottles was included in the aid, teats and all. Everyone knows that every child in Pakistan is breast fed. The recipients of these bottles did not know what to do with them. I accept that this was a well-intentioned mistake. However, it is important to see that the right kind of aid goes in, and initially it must be designed to restore communications, rebuild railways, culverts and bridges and so on.

As for a political settlement, I am firmly on the side of those who say that there is no conceivable viability in an independent East Pakistan. [*Interruption.*] The idea of a separatist Muslim group, starting with no resources, with minimal means of administration and surrounded by the India from which 25 years ago they were so anxious to be separated, does not make any sense at all.

The whole historical reasons for East Pakistan's existence, and this is still true, is the traditional fear of continued domination by a Muslim community; by an enormous surrounding Hindu majority. A quarter of a century has elapsed since Pakistan was set up, but in my experience, which is considerable, nothing that I have heard or seen or have learned from friends and official and unofficial sources suggests that there is any real fundamental change of attitude in that state of affairs. I wish there were.

Mr. Julius Silverman : Is it not a fact that there are today in India 60 million Muslims who prefer to remain in that country, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of Muslim refugees who are now pouring into India? Does not that contradict the hon. Gentleman's statement?

Sir R. Thompson : Not at all. There has always been a very large resident Muslim minority in India. It was there long before partition and independence. Those people have their roots firmly established there and nothing is likely to change that position.

However, in East Pakistan we have a homogeneous group of Muslims, over 80 million of them, and one of the most difficult points to overcome in the past, when the independence of India was being hammered out, was the absolute insistence, in which the Bengali Muslims were pre-eminent, that they should have their own enclave and be linked politically to their Islamic brothers in the West. Although time may change these things, it will need a great deal of time. A quarter of a century has proved to be nothing like enough.

This fear remains and I am sure that total independence for East Pakistan which is advocated by some people, would undo at a stroke the whole bedrock and reasoning behind the setting up of the original Muslim State. There is no economic or strategic basis on which such a State could conceivably prosper. Although we are conscious of the fact that East Pakistan has been under-privileged and neglected, this neglect and poverty does not stem from independence.

For centuries East Pakistan has been traditionally poor, backward and mainly agrarian. We used to say that they grew the jute while Calcutta reaped the profits. That is still true. The industrial complex around Calcutta has profited from industrialisation and, on the whole, West Pakistan has profited while the illiterate peasants in the East have continued to live at subsistence levels.

Mr. Sydney Bidwell (Southall) : The House has enormous respect for the hon. Gentleman's experience in this part of the world. Is it not a fact that West Pakistan has continued to treat East Pakistan as some sort of poor relation? Is it not also a fact that a political solution is virtually impossible while the economic resources, in so far as they exist, in East Pakistan continue to be used for the profit and benefit of West Pakistan—in other words, while the West continues to treat the East as a sort of colony?

Sir R. Thompson : I am familiar with that argument. I am saying that the poverty in East Pakistan *vis-a-vis* the rest is not wholly attributable to the setting up of Pakistan as an independent country. It goes back much further.

It has often been urged that one of the reasons for the difficulty is the economic disparity between the two. I am satisfied that the Pakistan Government have at last hoisted this one in. Certainly in seeking to set up a democratic constitution and in accepting that the results of a general election could mean East Pakistan having a majority of elected representatives over the whole country—

Mr. Bidwell : What about the supression?

Sir R. Thompson : This was the safeguard that would have redressed that position and if it had been given a chance to work I am certain that, in the end, it would have redressed it.

Mr. Bidwell : Redressed bloody military suppression?

Sir R. Thompson : The hon. Gentleman is entitled to his views on this subject. This is not a new problem. It started with the independence of Pakistan as a whole. We have realised for a long time that East Pakistan was not getting the full benefit from the export of jute, on which the economy of that area is dependent.

It was intended that this should be redressed, but a chance has not been given for that to happen because of this rebellion. However, it can still happen. I am hopeful that if the Government will now permit the rehabilitation and aid programme to get under way and will turn to the elected representatives of East Pakistan—many of whom survive; some of them are moving to co-operate with the Government in reforming and setting up the administration—the future can still be fair.

The proposals outlined in the legal framework of the Order for the new Constitution include the concept of one man one vote, a wide devolution of authority to five provinces and the realisation by the Government that East Pakistan has had less than its share of public works and expenditure. I believe that the balance can be redressed and a reasonably satisfactory outcome secured, with a new constitution being drawn up to replace the old martial law. This is the best prospect of reconciliation and eventual stability for Pakistan, and I conclude by quoting some words of the President, who said—and I am sure that he was being absolutely sincere—on 25th March of this year:

"Let me assure you that my main aim remains the same—namely, the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. As soon as the situation permits, I will take fresh steps towards the achievement of this objective."

1.10 p.m.

Mr. John Pardoe (Cornwall, North): I, too, would like to add my congratulations to the hon. Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) on introducing this debate, and to extend my gratitude to him. I join with him in expressing the horror which all hon. Members share at what has happened,

what is happening and what will happen if nothing is done. I was particularly grateful to him for pointing out earlier that this was a somewhat unfamiliar situation, since, if we are faced with any kind of revolution at all, it is not a Marxist or Socialist revolution, but a good old-fashioned 19th century Liberal revolution. Perhaps we have lost the knack of dealing with it.

There is a grave danger that this debate will be simply an expression of horror, simply a matter of saying, "Well, there is nothing concrete we can do". There has been running through some of the speeches, and, before the debate, through some of the reactions to this event, even a feeling that there is nothing we should do, that we are no longer an Imperial Power, that *pax Britannica* is dead, if it ever existed--which is somewhat doubtful—and that therefore we should stay out of it, with due expressions of horror, alarm and agony.

I do not believe that the fact that we are a post-Imperial Power means that we must spend our days continually passing by on the other side. If we can act, we have a moral duty to do so, and our desire and determination to do so is an honourable reaction and not just a post-Imperial twitch. The Pakistan situation is important, not only in human terms and because it raises immense human sympathies, but because it is a microcosm of the problems faced by the world. These are problems of over-population, hideous poverty, starvation the continuance of community violence and the tremendous problem of what exactly we mean by self-determination.

As has been said, anyone who looks at the map of Pakistan can see that the country has inherent geographical contradictions. It is perhaps not geographically unique because there are other countries which have at least as wide a spread between their component parts. When looking at a country as geographically divided as this, all history cries out that it is impossible for the two parts to hang together simply through religion alone. There must be a community of interest and I do not think that it is an over-Marxist interpretation of history to say that there has to be, first and foremost, an economic community of interest.

There is not, and there has not been for some years, in the Pakistan situation that kind of community of interest between the two component parts. The State depended for its foundation and existence on a fear, even a hatred, of India. East Bengal has for obvious reasons no great interest in such fear or hatred now. The hon. Member for Croydon, South (Sir R. Thompson) raised the point that 25 years ago it was different. Of course it was. But one of the factors in that difference was—and this is my reading of our imperial history, if it is not his —that we used the religious division between these communities to divide and rule the whole of the Indian sub-continent. To a large extent we whipped up, just as we have done in Ireland over the years, for our own imperial reasons the division between the two communities.

Sir R. Thompson : I can assure the hon. Gentleman he is quite wrong. We wanted the unitary state in the Indian sub-continent. We jolly nearly got it, and it was only because we were at a state of total deadlock where we could not withdraw from the sub-continent, without leaving some effective government behind that we had to settle, against our better judgment, but because it was the best thing that could be achieved, on the division of the country into two groups, one of them religious.

Mr. Pardoe : Of course we wanted a unitary state when the Labour Government tried to create one. I am not denying that. My point was that a long time

before this, throughout our Imperial past in the Indian sub-continent, there is a great deal of evidence that we used these two communities for our own ends.

The hon. Gentleman said that a separate Bangladesh would not be economically viable. I do not believe this and nor does the Awami League. If he takes into account that over the last two decades or so about 70 per cent of all investment has been in the West, about three-quarters of all Government revenue has been spent in the West, about 80 per cent of all foreign aid has gone to the West, and that many economists estimate that £3,000 million worth of real resources have been transferred from East to West since independence, he will see that these figures make a complete nonsense of any suggestion that Bangladesh would not be economically viable.

They also show that it is entirely natural that the people of East Pakistan should demand autonomy, if not total independence. They would not need to be raging nationalists to do so in the light of those figures and the treatment meted out of them. They sought to gain that autonomy—and this is the important point—in precisely the same way that we Western Liberals are always telling the under-developed countries of the world to seek it, through the ballot box. We told them. "Do it democratically". They did it, correctly, according to the Western rule book. If we deny their right now, what do we mean by the words in the United Nations Charter.

"The right to self-determination of peoples."

This was, of course, the first general election that had been held in free conditions. The League won a complete majority. There was no doubt about its policy. It was a clear vote for autonomy and even, perhaps, for independence. It could well have been interpreted that way. Why should they not have it? I believe that the West Pakistan Government were taken by surprise by the tremendous size of the Awami League vote. That vote showed their total lack of comprehension of the feelings of the East Bengalis before the election.

Whatever the dictates of democratic theory and logic, no one recognised Bangladesh and on one has forcibly advocated that anyone should do so. This means that we are back to the age-old method of deciding international foundaries—conflict and bloodshed. I suppose it is true that, historically, countries exist within minimum lines of defence and perhaps it was over-optimistic of us to suppose that any new, more civilised methods, would prevail in future. Nevertheless some of us did hope that. Yet we have the situation in which the Commonwealth, this country and the United Nations seem to be importent and incapable of exercising their normal authority—impotant and incapable more by their lack of will than by any practicalities in the situation. Pakistan needs us. Pakistan as a whole is heavily dependent on other countries, and these countries have a duty to use all their influence to enforce the democratic choice and right of the East.

Of course we have to deal with the problem of feeding and distributing the food. It is an immense problem, far greater than we have tackled before. We should do this, but it is not only a question of feeding ; it is the aims and aspirations of the East Bengalis that we should seek to support and not just their bellies. Frankly, I doubt, in spite of many things that I welcomed in the right hon. Gentleman's speech, the efficiacy of our position as a country on this issue, just as I doubted it over Biafra. Then we were told by the Labour Government what we are now being told by the Conservative Government, that we must

preserve our influence for moderation. But what moderation do we preserve? The aid and arms that we give do not give us any influence. Indeed, there is an argument for saying that they give the receivers the wherewithal to ignore our influence. We give them the wherewithal to prolong their oppression just as we did in Biafra.

We have to do as much as we can to help East Bengal, but we cannot guarantee that aid given to the West Pakistan government for distribution to East Pakistan will arrive there. I think that the right hon. Gentleman has admitted that, although he wishes to do as much as he can to ensure that it does arrive. In other words, we cannot guarantee that our aid will fill East Pakistan bellies rather than West Pakistan rifles, which is what I fear.

The Government have to be very much tougher than they have been. Non-intervention in the affairs of another country is a splendidly convenient principle for any Government. It was the principle that Gladstone had to fight in his Midlothian election campaign. It was a splendidly convenient principle when adopted by Pontius Pilate. But it is no basis for improving the state of the world. I urge the Government not to cling to that principle at the expense of our honour.

1.20 p.m.

Mr. John Biggs-Davison (Chigwell) : The agony of East Pakistan is grievous to everyone, especially, perhaps, to those like my self—if the House will forgive a personal note—who, having served in administrative and other capacities in both wings of Pakistan and having been invited by the successor Government in Pakistan to help build the new state in the very early, difficult and bloody days, now see the threat of its disastrous dis olution. I welcome, therefore, the speech of my right hon. Friend the Minister and applaud the resolve of Her Majesty's Government—supported, as I understood it, by the right hon. Member who formerly held office as Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs—not to intervene in any way in Pakistan's internal affairs.

I applaud that policy because it will make it easier for Britain to render assistance, as she did generously at the time of the cyclone, whether that assistance be given through the Commonwealth, as the right hon. Member for Fulham (Mr. Michael Stewart) suggested, or through CENTO, as my right hon. Friend the Member for Stafford and Stone (Mr. Hugh Fraser) suggested, with the support of my hon. Friend the Member for Croydon, South (Sir R. Thompson), or otherwise.

The task of giving aid will be made much more difficult if we appear to be laying down the law about what should now happen in Pakistan. I was not quite sure, when the right hon. Member for Leeds, East (Mr. Healey) was speaking about aid through the United Nations, whether he was aware of the report, which hon Members will have read today, that President Yahya Khan has written to U Thant to say that Pakistan would welcome aid from the United Nations and its specialised agencies. There were some qualifications in that letter, but as the right hon. Gentleman did not refer to it. I was not sure whether he was aware of that message.

I am convinced that it will make it much more difficult to bring relief if we prejudge the political outcome in East Pakistan, as was done from the Liberal

bench by the hon. Member for Cornwall, North (Mr. Pardoe). The right hon. Member for Leeds, East was right. East Pakistan is a bit of amystery. Partly because journalists have not been allowed in—I welcome the suggestion that Members of Parliament should visit the country —and because no news is coming out, it is unknown exactly what the situation is. But it would be very wrong of us to assume that secession is the only solution.

We are indebted to the hon. Member for Kensington, North. (Mr. Douglas-Mann) for enabling us to debate this subject, which, although not the responsibility of this Parliament, is of deep concern to it. I thought that he prejudged the matter very much when he spoke of the "Bangladesh Prime Minister", and spoke of the Pakistan Army as the "West Pakistan Army".

Of course, East Pakistan is a political curiosity. It has been described as unique. East Pakistan is utterly different from West Pakistan. But it is not true to suggest that the people of East Pakistan have little or nothing in common with their fellow citizens a thosand miles away. The two wings are utterly different. One might describe West Pakistan as an extension of the Middle East. It is very dry. In West Pakistan, the camel; in East Pakistan, the water buffalo. Bangla is dominated by sun and monsoon, feeds on rice and travels by water. It is a land of paradox of softness and violence, passion and passivity. Yet with all these differences between the two wings, Pakistan is more homogenous than is India. East Pakistan resembles Sind or West Punjab more than Kerala resembles Uttar Pradesh.

My right hon. Friend the Minister was right to emphasise the bond of Islam—which was underestimated by the hon. Member for Cornwall, North—Hinduism in India, or wherever it exists, is an amorphous religion. It embraces many beliefs and even contradictory beliefs. Hinduism therefore divides man from man, whereas Islam is a unifying and equalising faith. For various reasons, perhaps propaganda or ignorance, people haye tried to suggest that there is something rather skin deep about Islam in East Pakistan. A former colleague of ours. Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, has written that the East Pakistani Muslims were forcibly converted to Islam. I am not sure that that is true. What happened was that in East Pakistan people of the law castes, whose zeal for Hinduism was understandably lukewarm, embraced Islam readily because Islam rejected caste and racial criteria—like the early days of Christianity, where many converts were made among salves to a Church where there was meither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free". So one hears the suggestion that Islam is not so important, and it would be quite natural for a Bangladesh sovereign independent republic to link itself with India.

Of course there should be more intercourse between East Pakistan and India. There ought to be more trade. It is not the fault of the Pakistan State that trade is so impossible between East Pakistan and India. This arises from the dissensions between India and Pakistan arising largely from the Kashmir dispute.

It is very difficult to understand the situation if one does not study the history of it. Before the Muslim conquest of Bengal it was the higher Hindu classes which despised the vernacular. Not for them the language of the people, but Sanskrit, the language of the gods. It was Islam that enabled Bangla to take literary shape and it was under tolerant Muslim rulers that Bengal poetry reached

an apex. Later the British domination, through the East India Company, reduced the status of the Muslims of Bengal. Then the higher class Hindus affected to despise the Muslims and the higher class Muslims took to the Urdu language. A sense of being socially and economically oppressed, which made the Muslim League a popular move, despite allegations that it was nothing but a stooge of British imperialism, was keenly felt in Bengal perhaps more than anywhere.

It was in great measure to deliver, or attempt to deliver, the Muslims of Bengal from the economic stranglehold of Hindu financiers that the first partition of the old single-Bengal was carried out in 1905 by Curzon, although it was not initiated by him. The second partition of Bengal in 1947 brought East Pakistan into being. I freely admit that no part of Bengal was included in Mohamed Iqbal's first outline of Pakistan; but the closing events, errors, and misunderstandings of British rule over undivided India made essential its inclusion in Pakistan.

No one in the House has sought to deny the exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan. East Pakistan has been treated as a milch cow by a Pakistan State which has hitherto been dominated by Westerners. It is fair to add however, that the holding of so many high administrative positions in East Pakistan by Westerners was due to the immigration of Hindu officials at partition.

No one can dispute that the distribution of funds, revenues and resources has been inequitable, although I think that attempts to put this right began a little earlier than some hon. Members have suggested It is also worth mentioning that even before 1968 three out of six Prime Ministers of Pakistan came from East Pakistan.

President Yahya Khan has been described in an American document which has been circulated to hon. Members by the Bangladesh Association as "mad" and "power drunk". Anyone who knows General Yahya Khan would not recognise him from that description. I suggest to the advocates of the Bangladesh cause that, if they wish to make an impression upon rational minds in this country they had better not employ language of this kind. There is no doubt that General Yahya Khan, a professional soldier who served with distinction in the Second World War under the British flag, is concerned to get rid of his political responsibilities and to hand over to elected civilian government. He has also been concerned to redress the imbalance, the inequities, the injustices, between the two wings of Pakistan.

The elections took place. No one denies that the elections were fairly conducted. All the parties—not just the Awami League of Sheikh Mujib Rahman, but all the parties in East Pakistan and West Pakistan alike—wanted provincial autonomy We hear most about the desire for autonomy in the East, but the provinces in the West wanted autonomy and the parties in the West wanted provincial autonomy. Provincial autonomy was defined in the legal framework order which was endorsed by Sheikh Mujib Rahman and his League when they decided to contest the election. I do not know whether that is denied by the hon. Member for Kensington, North or anybody else who takes his point of view.

Not in any contentious spirit, but seeking enlightenment because it is so difficult to get reliable information, I ask the hon. Gentleman whether he accepts

the statement of General Yahya Khan that he was assured by Sheikh Mujib Rahman that the constitution that the latter has in mind would not only be concerned with putting right legitimate grievances, but would also retain the integrity, the independence and the solidarity of Pakistan as a whole. I have not seen that rebutted and I think that it is a very important point.

Mr. Douglas-Mann : I accept, as the hon. Gentleman requests me to, that it was part of the original intention of Sheik Mujib that East Pakistan should remain as part of a State of Pakistan as a whole, but that it should have economic autonomy was clearly part of the election programme of the Awami Leagure; and it was the insistence on economic autonomy after the Awami League had gained its electoral victory, the extent of which came as a surprise no doubt to Sheik Mujib as it did to the President, which caused the war to be initiated. I hope that the hon, Gentleman will also accept that the war was initiated by the President and that it is not American professors who used the phrase "mad and power drunk" and that the action to start the killing was initiated by the Pakistan military authorities.

Mr. Biggs-Davison: It is difficult to unravel all these intricate events. What seems to have happened is that a decision was made by Sheikh Mujib Rahman not to take advantage of the election and become Prime Minister of a single State but to concentrate on the secession of East Pakistan. This is my impression.

The House has been deeply concerned at the terrible atrocities reported from East Pakistan. I am glad that the hon. Member for Kensington, North said that not the all atrocities were on one side and not all were committed by the Pakistan armed forces. I thought that S. R. Ghaunri's report from Dacca in *The Guardian* of 10th May was impressive, when he said this :

"Inevitably, the central figure in this bloody drama is the poor Bihari...... clinging fast to the moorings of Pakistan, hugging the ideology which gave birth to this country and even appointing himself as its custodian, its interpreter, and its operator. The Bihari has the distressing record of becoming a refugee twice in 23 years........Pakistan is his passion and his refuge."

The Bihari community may have been a little forgotten by some people in this tragic affair.

It is now becoming clear that many of the worst stories have been exaggerations. I am not surprised at this. When I was serving in West Pakistan and was engaged in the defence of the Hindu and Sikh minorities against hordes of Muslims who were bent on their murder and I had occasion to order fire to opened, the number of casualties could have been counted on one hand, but by the evening the report running through the entire district was that thousands had been killed. This is what one expects in such situations.

I am very glad that the professors of Dacca University who were reported to have been "exterminated" are alive and that the Bengal poetess Begum Sofia Kamal is not dead, as was reported by India Radio.

I question many of the reports, although the killing was terrible enough in all conscience. I even doubt whether the figure of refugees is 2 million. As I

attempted to say when my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs mad his statement earlier this week, there has been always in times of trouble and times of scarcity a movement across that frontier, and I very much hope that as conditions become more normal—my hon. Friend the Member for Croydon, South, has given reason for us to hope that they are becoming more normal—there will be a movement back into the territory of East Pakistan.

The hon. Member for Kensington, North was gloomy. He said that the war would continue. I hope that General Chaudhuri of the Indian Army is right and that the war is over. A guerrilla conflict may flicker. Bengal is no stranger to terror and political assassination. It was widespread at the time of the agitation during the first partition in 1905, which was ended in 1911, and also in the days of civil disobedience. But there are signs of normality. There are signs of Bengali leaders coming forward to co-operate with the authorities and trying to reach a political situation. Jute is being loaded at Chalna and Chittagong. I do not see a political solution in secession. But, of course, the political solution is for the Pakistanis. I accept the sincerity of General Yahya Khan's promise that he will, as soon as the situation permits, take fresh steps towards the acheivement of his object, namely the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. As a military man, he knows better than anyone that you cannot sit for ever on bayonets.

May I finally refer to the British interest in this matter. Surely our interest is in the peace and stability of a Commonwealth State allied with us in CENTO and S.E.A.T.O. If there be secession, that may not be the end of it. The secession of East Pakistan would give a filip to the movement of those who want Paktoonistan and even other secessions in Pakistan. It is not surprising that India, with all her problems, with the linguistic provinces—India which holds Kashmir with its Muslim majority—has been cautious, and Her Majesty's Government are right to be no less prudent, for disintegration is the present threat to the whole sub-continent, and not just Pakistan ; while China, installed and present on the frontiers and passes, is waiting.

Mr. Deputy Speaker (Sir Robert Grant-Ferris) : Before I call the right hon. Member for Wednesbury (Mr. Stonehouse). I think it will be for the assistance of the House if I say that if hon. Members restrict themselves from now on to an average of 12 minutes each, everyone who wants to participate in the debate will be able to do so, leaving enough time for the right hon. Lady the Member for Lanark (Mrs. Hart) and the Minister to wind up the debate.

1.42 p.m.

Mr. John Stonehouse (Wednesbury) : The House is grateful to my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) for initiating the debate and for the moderate way in which he introduced the subject.

I wish to deal with some of the observations which were made by the hon. Member for Croydon, South (Sir R. Thompson) and to deal with some of the political points which were raised by the hon. Member for Chigwell (Mr. Biggs-Davison). I shall be delighted in that part of my speech to support almost everything that the hon. Member for Cornwall, North (Mr. Pardoe) said.

First, I think the House must agree that it is a matter of great concern that we have had to wait nearly sevent weeks for this debate and have had to depend on the food fortune of my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North in winning a ballot. It is rather depressing that our parliamentary procedures do not allow for Government or Opposition to allocate time to discuss a subject which is of overwhelming world concern. However, we are having the debate today and I am glad that we have this chance. It is proving a most important and historic debate. The contributions from both sides have been extremely interesting, many of them coming from a great depth of experience.

I want first to speak of my recent association with the relief organisations and my visit to India and the West Bengal-East Bengal border some three weeks ago, and tell the House, in confirmation of what my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North said, about the conditions in the camps as I saw them. The conditions at that time were appallgin—refugees pouring over the frontier at the rate of tens of thousands a day. The interesting fact then—I am sure it has been Confirmed since that the overwhelming majority of the refugees were Muslim and not Hindu. This is quite different from the situation that applied at the time of partition and has applied since partition when there have been several waves of people fleeing from the East. The situation was that the majority were Hindu, if not all Hindu, fleeing from a Muslim State where they feared that they would be repressed. The situation now is that the overwhelming majority of the refugees are Muslim fleeing from a Muslim State where they were then majority of the population.

In these circumstances, it is wholly to the credit of the Indian Government and the Indian authorities that they have freely accepted these hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people into their already overcrowded country and, without any hesitation, have provided them with comfort and food to the best of their resources. The Indian authorities deserve to be congratulated on this humanitarian act. It would have been so easy for them to have sealed off the frontier, and to have said, "This is not our problem".

Prime Minister Nehru, at the time of partition, had given a guarantee that any member of a minority community in Pakistan would have the right to go to India. Clearly that guarantee did not apply to the members of the majority community in East Bengal. India would, indeed, have been within her rights to seal off the frontier and to prevent the influx of refugees who not only added to the economic problems in over-populated West Bengal but could have given cause for great communal unrest, as the Hindu majority in the area felt that the Muslims fleeing across were given better conditions than they themselves enjoyed. This is one of the dangerous aspects of the situation, that with the refugees coming over and constituting half the total population in a particular district, other interested infiltrators, perhaps in the pay of the West Pakistan Administration, will try to whip up communal disorder on the Indian side in order to try to divert attention from the situation in East Bengal.

I was appalled by the stories that I heard. I do not want to go over the stories which were reported in the Press—we have read them—but I must tell the House that the stories that I heard at fitst hand from refugees to whom I spoke were really horrifying. I spoke to a group of young wives holding their children. They were weeping as their stories unfolded. They told how their husbands, peaceful farmers, not leaders of the Awami League by any means—supporters perhaps—had been taken out of thier homes by the West Pakistani troops when the villages in which they lived were entered by the army platoons, made to sit on the road outside and then shot in cold blood.

The refugees themselves had seen the West Pakistan Army killing peasants in the fields indiscriminately. They told of the atrocities committed by Biharis against Bengalis, the Biharis behaving with complete abandon because they were protected by the army. I do not dispute that there were also atrocities on the other side, and they are to be regretted equally. There have been atrocities against Biharis by Bengalis. But all this has come about because the West Pakistan Government have failed to maintain the movement towards the expressions of the democratic will in the elections last year.

It is clear to me, having been to the camps that those thousands of people would not flee from their own homes to India, which is not exactly a place to which Muslims would wish to flee, having been subjected over the years to propaganda against Hindu, or allegedly Hindu, India, unless they felt that their hopes and aspirations in East Bengal had been obliterated by the actions of the West Pakistan forces.

Not only to me but to other observers who have been there, people have described in graphic detail some of the lawful events of the past few weeks. Plainly, there has been a massacre of extraordinary proportions. It is inconceivable that this vast number of people would have fled across the border unless a massacre had been taking place.

Those who wish to find a solution to this problem must condemn the brutalities and excesses of those who have held military power. It is not good enough to gloss over the situation by saying that there has been atrocity on the other side as well. I agree that there probably has, but we must recognise that the major atrocity has been committed by the military power which the West Pakistanis brought into the territory secretly over weeks during the period when the negotiations were in progress. The situation becomes even more frightening when one considers the danger of famine in East Bengal in the months ahead. At present, in many areas, there is a shortage of food because of bad distribution and lack of communications. The roads and railways have been cut. There is no doubt about that. The report in the *Financial Times* two days ago by Mr. Harvey Stockwin has confirmed it. But the danger of starvation within the next few weeks, with which, of course, we must concern ourselves, pales into insignificance against the threat of mass famine which will assuredly come in a few months if the major rice crop, the so-called Aman crop, is not planted during the pre-monsoon period. This crop is responsible for 60 to 70 per cent. of the total rice produced in East Bengal and, if it is not planted, it cannot be harvested towards October and November. The famine which would then come would probably be equal in its disastrous effects to the famines which took place in 1943.

We should concern ourselves with several aspects of the problem. The first requirement is to give massive aid to assist the refugee camps set up by the Indian authorities. Here, I wish to say how much the relief organisations have appreciated the sympathetic and understanding way in which the Foreign Secretary responded to the appeal for aid which we made to him. As a result of his warmth of response and speed of re-action, we were able to send a plane-load of supplies out donated mainly by War on Want, Oxfam and Christian Aid. But that aid, although it is appreciated, is but a drop in the ocean of what is required to deal with the millions who have crossed the border.

I received to-day a telegram sent from Calcutta yesterday by the Rev. John Hastings, a minister in Calcutta who has been devoting himself for many years to relief work in Calcutta itself and who is now concerned with assisting in the camps, He says :

"Everybody most grateful to donors and Foreign Secretary for consignment of tents and supplies. Official refugee count is West Bengal 1.8 million ; India as a whole 2.5 million. Shelter for well over 1 million is still highest priority".

He points out that, although the refugee problem has to be dealt with, we should concern ourselves also with the problem in East Bengal :

"We shall be suspected of avoiding the real issue if we stop at refugee service."

First, then, the refugee camps : there must be massive assistance. Here, the United Nations intervention, although a little slow in coming, is to be welcomed. Let the United Nations set up a £100 million fund not only to provide aid specifically for the refugees in the camps but also for their resettlement across the border as soon as that can be done. As for the situation in East Bengal itself and the prospect of famine in a few months, let the United Nations agencies now begin contingency planning to enable the world to act if disaster threatens in that way.

I come now to some of the political points which have been raised in the debate, and I take issue immediately with some of the remarks of the hon. Member for Torquay (Sir F. Bennett) and his hon. Friend the Member for Croydon, South. The hon. Member for Torquay said that Sheikh Mujib Rahman had accepted during the election that there were certain legal requirements for the continuation of a united country, and it was only after the election that he went on to promote a separatist philosophy. The hon. Gentleman asserted that the six points were not in line with the legal framework which Sheikh Mujib Rahman agreed before the election.

The hon. Gentleman is completely wrong in what he said. I have here an extract from *Keesing's Contemporary, Archives* for 6th February which shows that the Awami League fought the election on the basis of the six-point programme for autonomy for East Pakistan put forward by Sheikh Mujib Rahman in 1966. This is no new programme ; it is something for which the Awami League has worked for many years. The six points are set out. Several of them are points which the hon. Member for Torquay quoted as being points which Sheikh Mujib Rahman had indicated after the election he would want to follow.

In fact, hardly ever in human history has a clearer election programme been put before a people in a democratic election on the basis of one man one vote or a clearer decision made. Here we have all the six points. There was no question during the election that they would not be within the legal framework of Pakistan an one country. There was no objection from Yahya Khan and his associates to this programme being put forward, because, of course, they did not expect it to be supported in East Bengal to the extent it was. Only after the election, when 98 per cent of the seats in East Bengal were won on such a programme, did the objections begin to be raised.

We now face deep philosophical and constitutional problems. I was speaking about these matters the other day to an hon. Member and his comment was : "They fought for their independence. Once we have given it to them, it is up to them to stew in their own juice. They are a sovereign nation. We cannot interfere. They must learn the hard way". I cannot agree with that attitude at all. I agree with the hon. Member for Cornwall, North. In honour, we have a duty to take an interest in what goes on in other countries, particularly when the genocide, for that is what it was, and the denial of democratic aspirations, for that is what it was, are on the scale which we all know in our hearts to be true.

Now, the functions of the United Nations. I agree that the United Nations agencies must promote relief, take in aid and be concerned with avoiding famine. But the United Nations should not concern itself only with that. Article I of the Charter tells us that the first purpose of the United Nations is :

"To maintain peace and security, and to that end : to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace.........."

Everybody acknowledges that this is a treat to peace, with China playing with one side and the U.S.S.R. possibly playing with another.

Article 1 continues :

"for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace".

This has been an act of aggression, one of the worst disasters during the last 20 years, with the Pakistan Army, as we know from evidence that we have heard, attacking innocent people and murdering them in the way they have been doing.

Next,

"to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".

There is nothing in that about its being confined to sovereign States' relations with other sovereign States. If a breach of the people is taking place within a sovereign State that will affect the peace of the world, the United Nations should act. Article I goes on to say in paragraph 2 that there is a right of "self-determination of peoples". If that, in all honesty, is to apply, surely it must apply to the people of East Bengal, who by this overwhelming majority voted for the six points of the Awami League and have shown overwhelmingly that they want some form of government that they can trust in East Bengal.

I agree with those hon. Members who have said that the situation is clearly that a united Pakistan cannot survive and that a Bangladesh government will certainly emerge. These 75 million people have by democratic vote already decided that that sould be the situation

However, the United Nations may not itself be fully charged with that decision, and I would like to suggest action that it should take. Article 33 of the Charter states that.

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry........"

"The Security Council"

—states Article 34—

"may investigate any dispute...... to determine whether...... the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

I think that every hon. Member who has spoken in this debate has agreed that that situation applies. Therefore, not only should the United Nations be concerned with relief work—that is important—but it should also be concerned with the application of these articles of the Charter.

Unfortunately, the United Nations has in recent years become a club for the big Powers. It is a club to which only sovereign States are admitted. Humanity cannot appeal to the United Nations unless it is represented by a sovereign State. That is a regrettable state of affairs and I hope that, sometime, something will be done to enable repressed humanity to appeal without having a sovereign State to go to. I believe that that is already the case with certain agencies with the Trusteeship Council, and so on. There should be an opportunity for a situation like that which has existed in East Bengal in recent weeks to be drawn to the attention of the Security Council so that action can be taken on Articles 33 and 34 without having to wait for a major Power, or even a small Power, to initiate the request.

If a sovereign country now makes such an approach, perhaps the United Nations can begin to act in the situation on the following lines. After calling for a cease-fire and making sure that famine and disease are being controlled by giving assistance in maintaining good communications and providing good administration, the United Nations could supervise a referendum in East Pakistan so that it can clarify beyond any shadow of doubt whether the people there want an independent Bangladesh or whether they want to remain united in some state with the West.

I believe that there is no doubt about what their decision would be, because the decision has already been made. If, however, the United Nations cannot act on a decision of an election last year, I believe that there may be a new procedure—namely, a referendum—which would help it to do so.

The hon. Member for Chigwell referred to some extravagant statements, as he called them, in a circular put out by supporters of Bangladesh. He referred to General Yahya Khan as being power-drunk and mad. I wounder whether the hon. Member would also criticise a document that came to my hand two days ago, sent by His Excellency the High Commissioner for Pakistan, Mr. Salman A. Ali In that document, we read something like this :

"Those the Awami League failed to win over by persuasion it sought to line up through Nazi-style tactics. A reign of terror was unleashed and unmentionable atrocities committed. The true dimentions of the killings directed and carried out by Fascist elements of the Awami League are now becoming clear."

The hon. Member condemns the excesses on the other side. I hope that he will condemn these excesses as well.

I refer to that to demonstrate that home really damning things are being said by both sides in the dispute. I do not believe that it is to our advantage, or the advantage of finding a solution, that we should go into all the allegations and the counter-allegations that are being made. In the fullness of time, there will be full reports about the deaths which have occurred, but our object today should be to apply ourselves not to an inquest, and not to trying to apportion blame, but to condemning any continuing excesses to which the telegram from Calcutta of which I have spoken refers as still continuing, in the hope that we can bring them to an end and find a solution which is based on all fours with the democratic aspirations of the people of East Bengal.

Mr. Biggs-Davison : The hon. Member has addressed himself to me. I do not think that the two statements are comparable. One is an allegation of atrocities against the Awami League, the other is an attack on the personality and integrity of an individual. I dispute the latter very much The two are not comparable .

Mr. Stonehouse : I believe that the situation points towards the Bangladesh regime achieving its independence within the foreseeable future It may take many months, it may take years, but I think it is impossible for West Pakistan to impose its rule on a country over 1,000 miles away and with a population of 75 million, almost all of whom would now be opposed to it, apart from the Bihari minority.

In this situation, the East Bengalese are bound to win in the long run. I believe, therefore, that we must not encourage the West Pakistanis into imagining that they can return to a "normal" situation which means that they can continue thier rule over this part of the country. I believe that Bangladesh will emerge and I believe it to be in the interests of its people, as in the interests of world peace, that they should be given support in achieving this.

2. 10 p.m.

Rev. Ian Paisley (Antrim, North): Like other right hon and hon. Members, I want to congratulate the mover of this Motion, the hon. Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann). Anything that focuses attention on the tragedy of East Pakistan is to be welcomed

However, there is another tragedy, and it is that in many circles there is apathy, a lack of concern and even indifference towards this vital matter. Because of interests concerned with self and world defence, there is a tendency not to speak out loud and clear against events which should be totally condemned. We live in an age when we have become conditioned to outrage, violence, bloodshed, anarchy and lawlessness. There is not the deep concern that there should be across the nation. If any debate shou'd stir this nation of ours, it is this one.

I welcome the concern expressed by all right hon. and hon. Members who have contributed to the debate. However, the lack of interest across the nation demonstrates the way in which the permissive society has caused a corroding of our moral fibre. There is not the deep-hearted concern that there should be.

East Pakistan had its twilight in the cyclone. It is now having its midnight, and what a midnight it is. Even if reports have been exaggerated, there is no doubt that there has been awful slaughter in East Pakistan. An hon. Member on this side of the House referred to a speech made by the President of Pakistan on 25th March. That was an unfortunate speech, because it was on the evening of that day that the Army of Pakistan swept into East Pakistan, and there is no doubt that there was terrible slaughter. There is no doubt either that awful atrocities were committed. I believe that atrocities were committed on both sides. However, it is right to say that some of them came out of despair and a sense of deep frustration, while others were the result of the might of brutal military strength.

We in this House must be universal in our condemnation of that brutal military strength. Homes have been blasted, families have been murdered and cities have been raped. Tens of thousands have been slaughtered and hundreds of thousands made homeless.

I welcome this Motion. I welcome it first in the name of humanity. The voices of the dead and dying should not fall on deaf ears. The outrages, the bloodshed and our brothers' blood crying to us from the ground should arouse the Government and the country to take a strong line This is not a day when any Government can afford to drag their feet on an issue of such proportions and such tragedy as that which we are discussing.

I also welcome the Motion in the name of democracy, for there is no doubt that the majority of the people in East Pakistan made a definite decision. There has been an attempt to draw a parallel between the situation in East Pakistan and that in my own country. However, hon. Members must be aware that the vast majority of people in Northern Ireland want to remain part and parcel of the United Kingdom, whereas the outcome of the election which took place in East Pakistan demonstrated that the vast majority wanted autonomy and the right govern themselves. The situations are not parallel.

In this House we hear from time to time that the rights of all minorities should be guarded. What is in question in East Pakistan is the right of a majority of the people to say what sort of country they want to live in and under what sort of constitution they want to work. Surely they have the right to be heard in the name of democracy.

If this House is to maintain any credibility among world leaders, if people are to look to this House as the defender of rights of both majorities and minorities, surely the Government must take some of the steps proposed by hon. Members today and show by their attitude that they intend to move in the right direction, in the direction which will help these people in their time of deep and terrible crisis and awful agony.

2.16 p.m.

Mr. Julius Silverman (Birmingham, Aston) : May I add my voice to the congratulations which have been extended to my hon. Friend the Member for

Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) on raising this important subject? It is one which should concern every Member of this House and everyone in the country. Even if one understands the reluctance of the Government to make any decision condemning another Government, with all the international implications involved, it is important at any rate that this House should express its view on the matter.

In this case, the facts about what has happened are stark and clear. A nation of 75 million people has expressed its desire for autonomy, not even for independence or secession. The people have not only expressed their opinion. They did so clearly in an election commonly agreed on both sides to have been a fair one. Probably it did not produce the result that was expected, but it is common ground that it was a fair election. In East Bengal it resulted in an overwhelming decision in favour of autonomy.

Immediately there were negotiations. They broke down. But even before they had broken down, the Pakistan Army, consisting almost entirely of West Pakistanis, stepped in and acted in brutal suppression of the party which had only very recently been declared by the people to be their representatives.

It may be that there have been exaggerations in the stories which have been told about villages being burnt down and about wholesale massacres. But I should have thought that there is sufficient evidence for us to know that, if even half of what is said is true what is heppening in East Pakistan cannot possibly be forgiven

We have heard reports about the movement of two million people from their homesteads. The hon. Member for Chigwell (Mr. Biggs-Davison) says that the figure may not be correct In any event. there is no doubt that a vast number of refugees, most of them Muslims, have poured out from these villages, from the lands and the homes to which they are attached, into an alien country which for many years they have regarded as their ememy. Obviously. this movement would not have taken place without a terrible driving force. That, at any rate. must support a large part of the dreadful stories which we hear about what is happening in East Pakistan.

One or two hon. Members have suggested that because Sheik Mujibur Rahman demanded secession, President Yahya Khan was entitled to break the negotiations and to send in his military forces. I do not know the justification for that suggestion. If a nation of 75 million people desires to be independent, why should it not have the right of self-determination? What right has this General—incidentally, a man who has no constitutional position ; he arrived at his position not by any constitutional method of nomination and election, but by a military coup not long ago—to repudiate the wishes, freely and electorally expressed, of 75 million people for self-determination? In fact, they did not go so far. They demanded economic autonomy. In view of the history of these countries, I should think that they were entitled to do so.

There is good reason to suspect the *bona fides* of General Yahya Khan. The trouble is that, whilst these negotiations were taking place, the warships with the troops were sailing round the Indian Peninsula. One wonders whether these negotiations were simply a time-saving device or were genuine in the first place. But, whether they were genuine or not, the intervention of the Pakistan Army cannot, in any circumstances, be either condoned or mitigated in world opinion.

The facts are stark and clear. I do not know how any long history or constitutional niceties can possibly obliterate or take away from the stark nature of those facts.

What can we do about the situation? It may be, as some hon. Members have said, that if the Government express an opinion, it may be counter-productive. None the less, I hope that the United Nations will take cognisance of the matter and express a view about it. I join those who have expressed the hope that the Government will do their utmost concerning relief and helping the unfortunate victims of this disaster. I am sure that the Minister will agree that the money which has so far been donated, £13.000, is inadequate. It is a fleabite. I hope that it is a mere beginning. Vast sums will be required from the Government and, I should think, from other industrialised nations of the world. It is unfair that India, a poor country with few resources, should have to bear this burden because of its geographical proximity to the scene of this disaster. This burden ought to be borne by all the nations of the world.

I do not think that the problem can be dealt with by the voluntary organisations because it is too vast. Representatives of voluntary organisations have already said that it is far beyond their capacity to deal with the problem. It must, therefore, be dealt with by Governments. Whilst one welcomes the introduction of the United Nations, obviously its agencies do not have the resources to deal with the problem without calling in the assistance of Governments as Governments. I express the hope that the Government will respond very generously and, indeed, will take the initiative in responding because of our special and historical connection with the Indian sub-continent.

It may be some time before relief assistance can usefully be given to East Bengal. I understand that there is suspicion among some of the East Bengalis that such assistnce, if given *via* the Pakistan Government, may be used for the purpose of continuing to enforce their control— buying rifles and other weapons— rather than for their relief. Therefore, if and when such assistance becomes possible, I hope that the Government and the United Nations agencies will exert the strongest possible control and supervision over it. We must make sure that assistance given for humanitarian purposes is not used for others.

I am sure that the whole House hopes that the Government will be generous in dealing with the situation, especially the immediate problem of the vast refugee camps in India.

2.27 p.m.

Mr. Bernard Braine (Essex, South-East) : The debate poses an acute dilemma for all right hon. and hon. Members. On the one hand, there cannot be indifference to what is happening to the people of East Pakistan. Every speech to which I have listened has made that plain. We share a common interest in what has been happening and a common desire to do something practical about it.

On the other hand, Pakistan is a sovereign State with which he have had long, close and cordial relations. It is also a country which, for some years, has

been faced with acute economic difficulties. True, we in com pany with other nations, have been helping in that country's economic developm ent, but clearly, because Pakistan is an independent sovereign and proud nation, we have to weigh our words and to plan our actions in this situation with great care if what we say and do is not to be counter-productive.

It is necessary to recognise, as some of us had to say repeatedly during the tragic Nigerian civil war, that we no longer administer independent Commonwealth countries. Our writ no lo[illegible]er runs there. Often there is much resentment—understandably so—at any moralising or interference from former Imperial Powers. Independence means not merely the freedom to manage one's own affairs, but also to make one's own mistakes.

Yet, having said that, it is clear that we cannot leave the matter there. There are, after all, deep bonds of affection between the people of this country and all the peoples of the Indian sub-continent. We cannot erase three centuries of close association between ourselves and the peoples of Indian Empire, as it was, and of India and Pakistan as they are now, because this is part of our history ; the association runs too deep. There are close personal ties between many of us here and our friends in India and Pakistan. There are, too, close ties of commercial interest, and, morally, as a number of hon Members have said, we have some share of responsibility for the way in which the Indian sub-continent was divided

Moreover, in company with others, we have for some years assumed a responsibility for providing aid for the economies of both India and Pakistan, and we are therefore deeply involved in the orderly development of both countries. There is no greater British interest than the spreading of tranquility across the world with successfully prosecuting war against want, disease and illiteracy. This is a situation which opens up a new era of opportunity for Britain. People talk about British influence, and in this field, at any rate, it can be very great.

I shall not say anything about the actions of the Pakistan Army. I do not have access to the information which so many correspondents and, indeed, some hon Members seem to have I have no doubt that what has happened in East Pakistan is frightful. There is nothing more tragic than a civil war, and clearly unpleasant things have been happening on both sides. But we should be concerned with the situation which led up to this unhappy state of affairs, the way in which that situation developed, and what are the chances of rescuing something from the ruins.

I had the good fortune, together with the hon. Member for Portsmount, West (Mr. Judd), as a member of the Select Committee, to visit both India and Pakistan not much more than a year ago to look at the way in which the British aid programme was working out. In general, the pict[illegible]e that we had of our performance was reasonably satisfactory, and I was proud to see what we were able to do in so many different respects in both countries.

In the present situation there are two separate but related problems There is, first, the situation in East Pakistan itself, and then there is the growing refugee problem over the border in India. As to the situation in East Pakistan, it serves no useful purpose to moralise about how things went wrong after the recent

elections, or whether the Awami League's bid for secession was wise, or whether the central Government of Pakistan are responsible for grave injustice and oppression. What is clear to me now—and what was clear to me and my colleagues when we went to India and Pakistan—is that both problems are too big to be solved by those countries alone. If the debate serves any useful purpose, it will be to make the point that the situation with which these countries are grappling is too big for them to solve by themselves. This is no reflection on either country. It is just an unhappy fact.

To those who have gone there in recent years, Pakistan presents a strange contradiction West Pakistan is one of the successes of the developing world. It has made notable economic progress and has achieved a real breakthrough in the production of food and an improvement in the standard of living On the other hand, we could not fail to notice that East Pakistan was heading for sheer economic disaster.

Mr. Frank Judd (Portsmouth, West) : Hear, hear,

Mr Braine : One must make this absolutely plain. In East Pakistan some 70 million people are crammed into 56000 square miles. The rate of population growth is such that these numbers will double, unless by some miracle they are checked, within the next 30 years.

West Pakistan has space, it has potential, and it has hope. Flying over East Pakistan, however, one could not see an inch of uncultivated or empty land. The average size of a holding was one to one and a half acres Unemployment and under employment had reached massive proportions I am talking about the situation which existed 18 months before the present disturbances Malnutrition was widespread. I have never seen such appalling poverty. I shall never forget the feverish-eyed, undernourished ricketlegged children holding out their begging bowls. I have never seen anything like that in Africa or elsewhere.

That is why I say that Pakistan is faced with problems that are too big for it to solve alone, and if this debate serves any useful purpose at all it is to show that we are willing to play our part in any international rescue operation that may be necessary. In short, the situation that we saw was crying for redress long before the elections of last year, the disturbances which have followed since, and the actions of the Pakistan Army.

What action has been taken in the past year by the international consortium to which this country subscribes? Such a body, headed as it is by the World Bank, is the only one that can ensure that the economic imbalance is redressed between East and West Pakistan. The figures are quite striking In the period of the third five-year plan, 1966—70, only 36 per cent of development finance went to West Pakistan, as against the 52 per cent originally allocated. It was not so much that the will to do the right thing by East Pakistan was lacking. It was that circumstances did not exist which would enable the Pakistan Government to do the things that they were planning to do. Nevertheless the fact remains that East Pakistan is now poorer than she was at the time of partition.

I mentioned the progress being made in West Pakistan. By contrast, in the East there was a critical shortage of irrigation, finance and skill. Seasonal floods and droughts make agricultural development impossible without heavy investment in flood control and water distribution, which is the subject of continual

bickering between India and Pakistan. Only help from outside can bring order into this chaotic situation, and that is why I ask what action the consortium has taken. What is it doing, for example, in providing debt relief ?

One is glad that the President of Pakistan has appealed to the United Nations agencies for help. I hope that we shall speed up every possible contribution that we can make to the efforts of the United Nations. I agree with those hon. Members who have said that this is not a matter that can be left to the private relief agencies. The problem is too vast. The Indian Government's requirements alone are massive if relief is to be brought to the million or more refugees already in their territory.

There are, therefore, two problems—the problem of short-term relief to deal with the refugee situation, in respect of which I hope that the Government will bring the maximum help to hear--and the problem of long-term development in order to redress the imbalance between East and West Pakistan. I hope that may right hon. Friend will be able to say that practical help is under way in regard to the solution of both problems.

As I have said, the debate will have served a useful purpose if it demonstrates that the British Parliament is deeply disturbed by what has happened, is anxious to give all reasonable and practical help that our Government are ready to respond.

2.40 p.m.

Mr. Michael Barnes (Brentford and Chiswick) : This is the second time in recent years that we have debated this sort of situation. My right hon. Friend the Member for Fulham (Mr. Michael Stewart), making a point about one similarity between the situation in Pakistan and in Nigeria, emphasised the many dissimilarities between the two situations. There are dissimilarities, but there are also many similarities, especially in the kind of reactions that follow events of this kind.

When something like this happens a cry goes up from the area of the country concerned, against which the central Government of that country is proceeding with the use of force--a cry to the rest of the world. "Dont you understand what is happening here? Can't you do anything about it?" Throughout the world, people of good will ask. "What can we in the West do about it?" Governments make traditional statements, and Ministers make statements at the Dispatch Box about the security of British nationals and say that it is an internal affair, and if any protests are made they are too timid, and they come too late to have any effect.

Can we in Britain leave it there? What has happened in Pakistan is that arms acquired by the Government of that country for its external defence have been used—with far greater fire power than could ever have been needed—against their own people.

The countries that are involved in supplying arms or aid to other nations—and this is especially the case with the sale of arms—must realise that with those sales and aid go heavy responsibilities. Aid also inevitably involves the donor country in the affairs of the country to which that aid is given. That is not to say that aid should be given with political strings. Many hon. Members who have spoken today have made the point that it would be a bad principle if donor countries were to give aid to which political srings were attached.

But the events in Pakistan are so momentous—one of the six journalists admitted to East Bengal has estimated that over 300,000 have lost their lives, and my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington. North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) indicated that the true figure could be much higher—as to go beyond any situation in which one could describe the taking of political attitudes by the donor aid countries as pulling political strings.

Since this is the second time in recent years in which the world has been faced with this situation, it is clear that countries supplying arms or aid should work out a code of practice which will govern their attitude and actions when these situations arise. Such a code should involve the arms suppliers writing into arms contracts clauses giving them the right to make immediate representations and to suspend existing contracts and reduce the supply of spares if arms are used in any major operation against a country's own population.

Many difficulties would arise in framing such a code. There is the black market in selling arms throughout the world, and on top of that there are political difficulties, in that countries like China and Russia adopt different attitudes. But the object would be to establish a framework in which it would be possible for the countries supplying arms or aid to react immediately, rather than to feel in an isolated position, in which they could be accused of interfering in a country's internal affairs. The object would be to make Governments like the Government of Pakistan think seriously about the consequences before they embark on the arms build-up that went on in the 10 days before 25th March, leading to the military solution then put into effect.

I agree with my right hon. Friend the Member for Leeds, East (Mr. Healey) that it would be wrong to suspend existing aid commitments, but I should have thought that aid consortia could establish a code of practice which would make it clear to recipient countries what would be the likely consequences, in terms of their aid programme, if they acted as the Government of Pakistan has done in this case.

I understood the Minister to say that the British Government took the view that they would embark on new aid commitments with the Government of Pakistan only if the aid could be effectively deployed. He said that that meant that there would have to be a political settlement, and that that was a matter for the Pakistan Government and people to achieve. But how can we link, in the same phrase, the Government and people of Pakistan? What chance have the people of East Pakistan to achieve a political solution so long as they are held down by military occupation? Hopes have been expressed by hon. Members about a political settlement. To me, those hopes seem incredibly optimistic. If it is left to the Government of Pakistan, I should have thought that there would be no political settlement in East Pakistan for a long time.

Mr. James Kilfedder (Down, North) : I am sure that the hon. Gentleman would like to give credit where it is due. Does not he agree that the President and the Government of Pakistan showed considerable concern for having a democratic civilian Government in their country by holding elections when they did and ensuring that they were fair elections. We know that where military personnel control the country elections can be rigged, but that accusation has not been made in respect of the Pakistan elections. It has not been made against the President or the Government of Pakistan.

Mr. Barnes : I agree with what the hon. Member says, but I am talking about the situation that exists now—after 25th March. I say that what happened then and in the subsequent weeks means that there is no chance of a political settlement in Pakistan for a long time, unless political pressures are applied on the Pakistan Government by the rest of the world.

When the cry for self-determination goes up from a distinctly defined area of a larger country—whether it be East Bengal or Eastern Nigeria—the world must consider its own involvement in the matter. However distasteful it is for countries to attempt to apply political pressure through their aid commitments, it may be the only way in which they can help to bring about conditions which my right hon. Friend is hoping will exist before long. Politics is a very rough business. Sophisticated politicians in Western countries must not shrink from using crude political pressure when justice and humanity demand it.

I welcome the efforts which the Government have made to get the international relief operation going, but I urge the Minister to continue to give maximum support to our own voluntary relief organisations, because international operations can take a long time to get under way. Our own organisations have a great deal or experience in this kind of matter and in diagnosing the immediate requirements. They can move fast and can do a great deal if they get the right backing from their Government

I should like the Minister to clarify what representations the British Government have actually made to the Government of Pakistan about getting relief into East Pakistan both about international relief through the United Nations and also about our own voluntary orginsations. The Foreign Secretary was questioned about this on Tuesday, but his answers were not completely clear. He spoke of communications difficulties and the fact that relief in East Pakistan had to be distributed by the Pakistan Army. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to make further representations to the Pakistan Government to find out precisely what these difficulties are. If the relief organisations had the right backing and equipment, surely they could overcome these difficulties.

In this kind of situation, it is very unsatisfactory for food to be distributed by an army of occupation. This was very clear though the Nigerian conflict. One cannot convince the civilian population that the food is not going disproportionately to the troops. One of the difficulties is that this kind of allegation, which was made in the Nigerian conflict, will be made here. Another thing which one cannot convince the civilian population of—however unreasonable their attitude may seem to us— is that, if the food is being distributed by the army of occupation, it is not being interfered with.

I congratulate my hon. Friend on making this debate possible today, but we should not be too pleased about our own attitude in this debate. This is the second time in recent years that the Commonwealth and the United Nations have failed to restrain a Commonwealth country from seeking a military solution to a purely political porblem. If the United Nations and the Commonwealth want to have any reputation as effective political instruments, they must find ways of strengthening their institutions so that they can deal with this tragic phenomenon which we saw in Biafra and have now seen in East Bengal.

It has been brought to my attention, on very good authority, that requests have been made by the Pakistan High Commission in this country to the British

Government that the British Government s security services in this country should find out as much information as possible about those involved in this country, both Pakistanis and English people, in the various protest groups which have grown up.

It is a common experience of quite a few people involved in these protest groups in recent weeks to have been interviewed by a whole host of people, including people who were obviously Special Branch officers. One understands the paranoia of the security services, one is aware of it and accepts it. I am not complaining that our security people should be interrogating members of Action Bangladesh or whatever it is, because they have to do something. That is what they are paid to do : it is regrettable, but it is inevitable, if one has security services, that they will occupy themselves in that kind of way.

But the much more serious allegation which has been made, and which I refer today only because it has been brought to my notice on good authority, is that there have been requests for his information by the Pakistan High Commission and that the information is actually being passed to the Pakistan High Commission. I would ask the Minister whether these inquiries have been carried out, why they have been carried out, whether requests have been received from the High Commission and whether information has been passed to it.

2.55 p.m.

Mr. John H. Osborn (Sheffield, Hallam) : Our dilemma in this debate is that an independent country has taken a certain course. In this House and elsewhere, we feel that we have a moral obligation to do something about the situation, and we are groping to decide among ourselves what we can do. We are asking ourselves what power we have to do anything, because we are no longer an imperial Power and there is a difference between preserving law and order – friendly Governments have had to do this — and suppressing the democratic processes. The extreme differences are obvious, but sometimes, the borderline is difficult to ascertain.

I have been involved, as other hon. Members have, in the last six months in the discussions about what has really happened in Pakistan. In this House, we are trying to act as judges, trying to find a solution. If this debate were taking place within the Inter-Parliamentary Union, where Members of Parliament from many different countries come together, or within the United Nations, there would be a much bigger divergence of view. That is why the correct line of action by the United Nations in a situation like this is difficult to define.

But there is agreement that there have been serious human tragedies of unprecedented proportions in East Pakistan. If there has been genocide, it must be condemned. It could well be that the Punjabis, the West Pakistanis, have ruled and dominated the Bengalis in East Pakistan to an excessive extent. A series of regimes in Pakistan based on military rule may have lacked that political sensitivity which is so necessary to avoid the strife which we have been discussing. But it would be wrong to condemn President Yhya Khan as it would be wrong completely to condemn Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

We have been made aware of the Awami declaration and the results of the recent elections. I support my hon. Friends in genuinely believing that President Yahya Khan has tried to hand over military government to democratic processes and that he is sincere in his pronouncements on this subject. Those who know him better are even more convinced than I am on this score. I regret that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not use his power, having won the elections, to reach some sort of compromise after the discussions of the last two years.

There has been discussion about the socalled "six points". One is that the Federal Government will deal with defence and foreign affairs. Another is that the constitution should provide for a federation. Recently there have been additions to these. The question of the withdrawal of military law and of sending the troops back to barracks has also been discussed in recent months.

It should be remembered that there could have been a misunderstanding on the part of the electorate in the recent elections. The results on those elections do not, therefore, mean that the voters thought they were voting for complete autonomy in the sense of having two separate nations, East Pakistan and West Pakistan . How many of them thought they were only voting for, for example, a separate province as part of a federal system ?

Bangladesh has described this as a war between two nations, and we could argue for a long time about whether this is a civil war or a war of independence. Whatever it is, it is to be regretted and we must condemn what should be condemned For 25 years since partition there has been discussion of the best solution for Pakistan, both as a whole and separately. Today Bangladesh has popular sympathy.

Having said that. I agree that Bangladesh appears now to be the underdog. The hon. Member for Cornwall, North (Mr. Pardoe) referred to what was happening as a "Liberal evolution". I appreciate what is meant by those who say that the claim of East Pakistan, East Bengal, for independence arouses the same sympathies as were aroused over Biafra. Indeed, these are the very sympathies that have given momentum to the Scottish Nationalist and Independent Welsh causes.

The right hon. Member for Fullham (Mr. Michael Stewart) referred to the similarity between this problem and Nigeria. However, we really do not know exactly what has happened. For example, reference was made to an article in the *Sunday Times* by Anthony Mascarenhas. He undoubtedly implied that the first shots were fired by the rebels, the Bengalis. But the truth is hard to discern from the welter of reports that have reached this country.

The Conservative Government in Britain have taken a similar line to a that adopted by the United States Government. The Soviet Union have urged a political settlement and we gather that China has offered support to Pakistan. However, it is India that has the refugee problem on a big scale. Several hon. Members have described the conditions in the refugee camps. They, of course, must seem to be appalling. This always happens in cases of this kind. We learn that if the ranks of refugees continue to swell at thier present rate, within a few weeks there will be between 2 million and 3 million refugees. It is interesting to note that they are not all Muslims.

There have been charges and countercharges by India and Pakistan in connection with border incidents. We in Britain must have a clear appreciation of what is our business and where we should mind our own business. Certainly from our personal friendships, directly and indirectly, with leaders in both India and Pakistan we should do all we can to bring about understanding. There is a bond of understanding in the Commonwealth and this may help in this regard. The United Nations may also be of assistance.

The Motion calls for a cease-fire. What can we do to bring it about ? It also calls for an end to the strife. We are anxious that that should happen, but what can we do to help ? It has been suggested that the West Pakistan Administration should be allowed to go bankrupt, and I have heard appeals from Bangladesh supporters and spokesmen and others that no further aid should be sent to West Pakistan. It would be nonsense to deny assistance to West Pakistan but give help to East Pakistan. It should not be our task to wreck a nation ; our policies should bring about aid and reconstruction.

I welcome the intention of the Government that the aid programme should continue and in particular that it should be concentrated on East Pakistan. Outside pressures, such as the report of the Select Committee and other reports, have pointed out to the administration in Pakistan that much more needs to be done for East Pakistan. Inevitably, continued assistance will be difficult but it is right that the E. C. G. D. should be careful about placing furhther insurance on exports beyond existing commitments. This will present problems to Pakistan, and is sympathetic of the econimic crisis it faces.

In the Sheffield area, as well as in Bradford and London, I have met many who have come from East Pakistan and who do not know what had happened to their families and relatives. This morning I read a letter from one person, enclosing an article from the *Sheffield Morning Telegraph* by Mort Rosenblum, entitled "Vultures over Bangladesh". Most of this constituents's family had been left behind in Pakistan and are dead. This is the tragedy that motivates us all.

Can we necessarily put the blame on the West Pakistan regime for this ? There has been a failure of communication. The Pakistan regime must put its case to the people of this country. The problem facing the Federal Government of Nigeria was that for weeks and months we heard only the Biafran story. The reporters have brought back tales which concern us all. Some endeavour must be made to let us know the truth, and put to the people the constructive attitude of the Pakistan Government.

Great Britain is no longer a world power but it can exert a moral influence and can wield moral pressure to achieve a solution. The ultimate solution must rest in Pakistan. A continuing aid programme must be mounted, but it must be properly administered—and that will be difficult, because I can well understand the position of the regime, which will want to administer that programme itself. These are the same problems that we had in Nigeria. The free world has not taken kindly to the situation which has arisen in the Indian continent between East and West Pakistan. We want the right measures to be taken, but this can come about only by an understanding of the problems involved. We have a moral obligation to use our influence to bring about peace between the parties in conflict. I very much hope that as a result of

the debate the Government will have some success in bringing about talks and an understanding between those who now do not wish to talk to each other, and in a situation where hatred is replacing understanding

3.8 p.m.

Mr. Frank Judd (Portsmouth West): I join those who have congratulated my hon. Friend the Member for [illegible] North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) on the way in which he introduced the debate. I also join those who, although expressing certain reservations about what the Minister had to say, recorded their support for the good news about progress at the United Nations on international action and progress among the various relief organisations trying to organise a concerted drive to bring succour to those in immediate need.

I have a specific question to put to the Minister. Can he give an assurance that the Government will not allow any students from East Pakistan studying in this country, who find themselves destitute as a result of developments in their country, to be forced to finish their studies unnaturally early ? If the Government find any students in that predicament, I hope that they will ensure that their studies can be completed

At this stage we ought to beware of any ill-founded complacency arising from the apparent calm after the peak of the storm. Just because there are today no stories of fighting and slaughter on the scale of which that took place in the early stages, there is no reason for us to relax. In this apparent calm we should ask ourselves what are the actual techniques upon which the calm is based. If the Pakistan military regime has nothing to fear or to hide, it should be eager to co-operate with the international community by allowing international observers to be there, so that its reputation can be protected.

It is not only a matter of the presence of international observers to see what is happening now but, in the name of the integrity of the military regime in Pakistan, there ought to be a full and speedy international inquiry into the earlier events of March, because the accusations are so serious and far reaching that I am certain that the regime would not wish to see them going uninvestigated. The stories of deliberate intimidation and slaughter of a wide cross-section of the community must be examined so that the world can be reassured and the name of Pakistan rehabilitated.

We have been concentrating on the immediate situation. What makes matters worse, as the hon. Member for Essex, South-East (Mr. Braine) said, is to look at the situation in the context of the on-going social, economic and political history of East Pakistan. I had the good fortune to be with the hon. Gentleman in both West and East Pakistan when I was a member of the sub-committee of the Select Committee on Overseas Aid about 18 months ago. As we saw East Pakistan, it was a sorry story a land area of 55,000 square miles, with 70 million people, with a 3½ per cent. per annum population rise. The population will be about 100 million by 19[illegible]0 and possibly 140 million by 1990. It is a country in which disease is widespread. We saw evidence of smallpox, dysentery, typhoid, turberculosis, blindness and cholera.

In East Pakistan the average *per capita* income 18 months ago, before the latest crisis, was only about 60 United States dollars per year. This was about 30 per cent. below the average *per capita* income in West Pakistan.

I do not know whether I would carry the hon. Member for Essex, South-East with me in this, but I was disconcerted at the evidence of a totally disproportionate use of resources provided for aid in West Pakistan when compared with East Pakistan. It was distressing to be shown by the Pakistan Government, with great pride on their part, sophisticated railway electrification schemes and massive prestige dam projects, and then to compare those with the abject poverty of people in East Pakistan. It seems unfortunate that in the work of the aid consortium, priorities were not more balanced in the years before the latest disaster.

There is also the problem of military expenditure. This has been estimated as in excess of 60 per cent. of the Pakistan budget. One of the justifications advanced for this is the tension with India and the problems of Kashmir—problems and tensions which, at the time of our visit, were causing a good deal of fairly overt irritation and criticism in East Pakistan because the people there saw how these resources could be used. They also saw in East Pakistan that, as a result of the tension, they were being denied their more obvious trading relationships with India. They were, for example, having to import coal from China instead of from 30 miles across the Indian forntier, which would have made much more economic sense.

The other point which has come out in the debate and which needs a little more emphasis before the debate concludes is the whole issue of intervention and non-intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. I am underlining some of the arguments which have already been adduced when I say that it is not an argument about intervention or non-intervention. It is an argument about the form of intervention.

The very fact that a country has an aid relationship with a developing country means that the donor country is intervening in the developing country's affairs, because it is supporting economic and social priorities laid down by the Government of that country. The fact that one country has military co-operation with a sovereign country means that it has intervened, because the second's defence policy depends upon the collaboration of the first country.

If the House accepts this, the question we must ask ourselves is whether there is a need to change the form of intervention on which we have embarked in Pakistan. I would argue that there is a need to change it. To be successful, aid must be a partnership. A healthy partnership means that all the partners feel free to speak out and to state their terms. I cannot go home to my constituents and justify the use of their taxes to support a regime which I finda totally unjustfiable and deplorable regime in any area of the world. We have a right to say so in forming a partnership, if it is to be, by definition, a genuine partnership.

I believe that with the whole transformation from Empire to Commonwealth we have embarked upon a new relationship of partnership within the Commonwealth. Although I understand the sensitivities which are there because of a mood of post-imperialism, a feeling of our impotence in this post-imperial era it is nonsense to suggest, now that we are free of the inhibitions of imperial responsibility, that we should not speak out openly and freely as partners, as equals, of countries such as Pakistan when we are confronted with the situation we now see. Not to do so is to embark upon a sort of inverted snobbery of the worst kind.

Next, it seems to me that what has happened in Pakistan demonstrates clearly the essential interdependence of the world community. We have seen that the refugee problem has immediately become in reality an international problem. The refugees are there in India. This presents not only a social and economic problem for India, but also a strategic problem, because India may find it difficult to remain immune from the conflict because of gerrilla activities which may be based upon the refugee camps. Therefore, it is an international problem.

We also know—my right hon. Friend the Member for Leeds, East (Mr. Healey) made this very clear—that basically there is another international dimension to the problem, because with the possibility of increase tension between India and Pakistan as a result of the deplorable events in Pakistan, we must take into account the possibility that Russia and China, waiting in the wings, may become parties to any further escalation, with very significant results for all of us, not only those in the immediate area.

Therefore, I believe that we should talk forthrightly to the military regime in Pakistan and make it plain that, if we are to continue with any aid and development relationship with that regime, we cannot underwrite policies on its part which amount to the ruthless and autocratic suppression of the people of East Pakistan. We should be prepared to say to that regime that it seems clear to us that the only viable future for a united Pakistan is one which is based on the good will and voluntary co-operation of the two parts, and that the suppression of one part by the other will guarantee the inevitable disintegration of a united Pakistan.

I should like to refer to one point in the Minister's speech. He said that he hoped that if the conditions became right, it would be possible for us to put more emphasis, in the context of the consortium, on assistance and aid to East Pakistan, and I am sure that everyone would welcome that development if it proved possible. However, as somebody who has tried to follow aid and development matters very closely for some years, I have come to the conclusion that the most crucial factor in any developmental situation in the style, commitment and effectiveness of the Government of that territory. It is absurd to become involved in technical assistance or capital aid programmes to a country where the Government, by their political style, are countering genuine economic and social progress in that country. It, therefore, seems to me that it is not possible to say that just because law and order in their most negative sense have been reestablished in East Pakistan we can somehow become involved in an aid relationship. We have to look at the way in which the law and order are restored and we have to look at the political context of the situation.

We must be prepared to be more honest with ourselves. One has heard the argument, not in this debate but elsewhere in recent weeks, that one of the considerations on the part of our Government has been that, looking at the Pakistan situation in the context of international defence commitments, the military regime is a safe and reliable ally, and East Pakistan would be weak in the defence system. If this view is being advocated, I think it is nonsense. If the military regime can extend control to East Pakistan only on the basis of suppression and the use of great amounts of its military resources in keeping down the people of East Pakistan, not only does East Pakistan become a weak link in the defence system, but the military regime and the central Government of Pakistan itself becomes a weak link.

3.23 p.m.

Mr. W. Benyon (Buckingham) : One of the main points which have emerged from this debate is how difficult it is to discuss this matter thousands of miles away and subject to a considerable news blackout. That is the reason for the apparent disinterest that we see in this question, and not the point raised by the hon. Member for Antrim, North (Rev. Ian Paisley), which was something to do with the permissive society. The reason is this complete divorce that we feel in discussing this matter.

It is quite apparent from what has been said today that we are all agreed on two points : we want to see a halt to the bloodshed that is going on and we want to see relief of those who are suffering carried through as quickly as possible. I pay tribute to the action that has been taken by Her Majesty's Government so far, and I was very glad to hear of the further measures which were proposed by my right hon. Friend today.

It is not for us to apportion blame. It seems to me that people who do that in this matter jeopardise their own case. We all appreciate that this is a very confused situation and that its origins are by no means clear. It is also apparent that the fault is not only one on side. Really terrible things have been done by troops and irregulars of both East and West. But it is also clear that East Pakistan in totally and absolutely shattered. Its economy is at a standstill and famine and disease are very real threats indeed. I was glad that the right hon. Member for Leeds, East (Mr. Healey) mentioned the recent cyclone and the fact that 4-1/2 million people are still living on imported supplies. I welcome the assurance that this matter is well understood and that we shall play our part with the United Nations in relief measures.

I come now to the political aspects of the problem which faces us. As has been said many times, Pakistan is a free, independent nation and also a member of the Commonwealth. I am sure that what she requires from us is the attitude of a true friend, a friend who does not hesitate to speak his mind fearlessly and honestly and who seeks not to dominate but to help in this situation. We all know that there are others not similarly motivated. There are political vultures circling the disaster, knowing only too well that out of tragedy comes political opportunity and seeking to exploit weakness, not to help.

The solution must be found within the borders of East Pakistan itself. The real tragedy was that before 25th March Pakistan was close to producing a solution which made sense in political terms.

A solution cannot be imposed from outside, however much some people may think that it should be. I always feel that those who argue in that way are people who want to interfere in countries and regimes which they do not like and not in those which they do like, even though the same conditions of bloodshed and suffering may equally prevail.

The essence of any solution is long-term stability, for without long-term stability there will not be economic growth or alleviation of the plight of the citizens of East Pakistan, which was so movingly described by my hon. Friend the Member for Essex, South-East (Mr. Braine).

It is no good talking in this context in terms of democracy, self-determination and so on if that means the poor people concerned accepting one tyranny for another. My own view accords to a certain extent with that of the hon. Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) to whome we are indebted for this debate, that eventually some form of separate political development must come, whether in a federal set-up or not. I pay tribute and give my support to the objects set out in the hon. Gentlemen's Motion, the halting of killing and the relief of suffering. That is what we must work for : that must be our first priority, in concert with the other nations of the Commonwealth and the world.

3.27 p.m.

Mrs. Judith Hart (Lanark) : At this point in the day, all those right hon. and hon. Members who have already expressed gratitude to my hon. Friend the Member for Kensington, North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) should be even more grateful because the quality of the debate has well justified his success.

I have heard most of the speeches, and it seems to me that right hon. and hon. Members find it impossible to exaggerate the degree of tragedy in the present situation in East Pakistan. In terms of human suffering, the destruction of life and the disintegration of society there, no one is sure that the horror revealed by the figures we have thus far may not be exceeded when the full facts and figures are known. It is a sobering reflection that what man has done to man in East Pakistan seems to have exceeded what natural disaster did to man last autumn.

In considering how we can help and what we can do, I shall touch, first, on the problems now facing India, and then turn to the general question of aid to Pakistan and the degree of pressure, if any, which whould be brought to bear upon Pakistan.

India has asked that the United Nations take full responsibility for the financial burden of the refugees now in West Bengal and the other states near the border. I am sure that she is right to do that. I am glad to hear from the Minister that teams are now there, both from our own charity organisations and from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Can the right hon. Gentleman say how quickly they are expected to report ? I ask that because delay could very much add to the seriousness of the problem which the Indians are having to meet. Mr. Khadilkar, the Indian Rehabilitation Minister, has already said that refugees are pouring in at the rate of 70,000 a day, that two million refugees are there already, that £ 5-1/2 million has been spent and that the bill may well move up to £ 25 million a month. That is what he is quoted as saying.

A relevant point which arises on this is to intensify the need to promote a disaster agency at the United Nations. I was glad to see that has been submitted by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to the United Nations about this, because when situations such as this arise one realises that delay is so harmful to people and that absolutely ready organisation and finance are needed.

I would mention one further point concerning India. All those of us who know Calcutta and its problems will have been aghast to discover that some of the refugees now crowding in from East Pakistan are already within 40 miles of Calcutta. The prospect of any more thousands of refugees from East Bengal

crowding the already tragically overcrowded areas of Calcutta is unthinkable. This both lends added urgency to the question of helping the Indians with the refugees and brings again to the limelight the need for long-term international planning on the future of Calcutta and what international help can be given to India in this direction.

To turn to the whole question of the economic position in Pakistan, what cannot be over-emphasised is the highly critical nature of the Pakistan economy. This is a relevant factor in terms of the kind of dicussion that we have had this afternoon. As we know, a key factor in the Pakistani crisis is that of foreign exchange. There have been rumours and there has been discussion of possible devaluation. We are aware that the problem of foreign exchange has been greatly intensified by the disruption of the economy in East Pakistan during the last two months. We are told that the decline in the reserves probably amounts to 575 million rupees between last July and February this year compared with only about 145 million rupees in the same period of the previous year. This is an extremely steep decline.

It is in that situation that the World Bank is today reported in *The Times* to be facing what *The Times* calls.

> "perhaps the most serious crisis in its history over loans to Pakistan, where the central Government is trying to reassert its authority in East Bengal."

The World Bank is in the great difficulty whether to continue to disburse money and to agree to a rescheduling of debts.

Certainly, at this stage we understand that the World Bank report on Pakistan's debt crisis is said to be complete. It is said to have been sent to Britain to be in the hands, no doubt, of the Minister, as of other members of the aid consortium. We know that the rescheduling of debts is being sought by Pakistan. We know that the aid consortium has been meeting in Paris and that its pledging session is scheduled for next month. We are a so aware that foreign aid has been financing nearly 40 per cent of Pakistan's gross investment during the 1960s. It has been a little less recently, but on the whole that is the figure.

If we consider who gave so much of the aid, the figures are extremely relevant to this debate. For the record, I give them. From 1967 to 1969, which are the latest figures available from the Development Assistance Committee of O.E.C.D., the total average aid given to Pakistan from bilateral donors and multilateral agencies was £ 195 million, of which about £ 156 million was bilateral and the rest multilateral. Among the bilaterial donors in 1969 were the United States with £ 50 million, Britain with nearly £ 9 million and Canada with £ 11 million providing almost half of the bilateral aid flowing to Pakistan. I have no doubt that another major contributor was the Federal Republic of Germany, although I do not have the precise figure.

In any consideration of the conditions necessary for the flow of aid to Pakistan, especially to East Pakistan, it is highly relevant that the discussion should take place, as it must, in the World Bank, in the Aid Consortium and among other bilateral donors, against the background of such a catastrophic economic crisis. While I do not go quite as far as *The Guardian*, which says that perhaps the greatest hope for the people of East Pakistan lies in the desperate economic plight of West Pakistan, clearly it is a highly relevant factor.

I do not believe that we need to enter into the theology of cutting off aid in these circumstances. As a principle, I have always believed that this has serioue defects. In practice, it can and would defeat one's purpose in a situation whers we want to get help into East Pakistan if there is a way of doing it. On the other hand, I do not agree entirely with the Minister's strong disapproval of the rod "leverage", which has become almost a naughty word since Teresa Hyter used it recently. When leverage by aid donors is exercised on the basis of international agreements in the interests of social justice and humanity and for peace, it can be legitimate. It seems to me that these are the circumstances that confront us.

As the Minister rightly said, a political solution is necessary. But a political solution surely can be broken down into two aspects. The first is that there must be an end to the killing and suffering. There must be conditions of peace and the co-operation without which peace is not meaningful. That is a matter which must be of direct concern to those who are helping to contribute towards reconstruction in East Pakistan and towards building up a sound basis for the economies of both East and West Pakistan.

The second aspect of a political solution is what is to be the eventual future of the relationship between East and West Pakistan. That is not a matter of direct concern to those who supply the aid. Therefore one can regard it as proper to say that, as an international community seeking to provide practical economic and financial help, we must do all that we can to promote the conditions of peace, tolerance and co-operation which are necessary for an effective aid programme.

Views have been expressed about the long-term political solutions, and it is right that individual Members should express their views clearly. But the Minister and the Government must divide the matter into these two roles.

I conclude with a comment on the need for the concentration of aid in East Pakistan. I was glad to hear the hon. Member for Essex, South-East (Mr. Braine), my hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth, West (Mr. Judd) and others emphasise this so strongly. Perhaps, to underline what hon. Members said from their intimate and moving personal observations, I should add a couple of figures. The *per capita* income in Karachi is almost 60 per cent above the *per capita* income of East Pakistan, The per capita income in West Pakistan, rural areas is 25 per cent above that in East Pakistan's rural areas. However, it is fair to say that the figures showed a narrowing of the gap between West and East Pakistan during the 1960s. There was some effort to correct disparities in compara, tively recent years. What went wrong was the period of desperately poor harvests in East Pakistan, but they were beginning to catch up with this setback.

My right hon. Friend the Member for East Ham, North (Mr. Prentice) elicited a reply from the Minister at the beginning of this month which indicated—for this, both he and I take our share of responsibility—that of British aid under way this year only one-fifth was taking place in East Pakistan, and most of that had begun in 1970. We are, therefore, bound to be the more pleased that, during the last year, we initiated the programme, which the Minister is continuing, of irrigation and agriculature in East Pakistan. I hope that an agreement will be resolved very quickly as to the best way we can make our contribution to this large scheme.

What is required, whether in relation to the need to help India with her problems, the need to get as rapid a programme of relief through the United Nations into East Pakistan, or the need to use what I have called legitimate leverage to create peaceful conditions in which aid can again be meaningful in Pakistan, is for the Government to be inspired with some sense of acute anxiety, which has been shared by all who have spoken today, and to spread that sense of anxiety and urgency within the aid consortium and within the United Nations.

3.43 p.m.

Mr. Wood : If the House is prepared to give me leave, there are a number of questions which I should like to try to answer.

A good deal has been said about the various political issues involved and the basis of the election of the Awami League in December. There is probably little for me to say about that. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs gave a cautious reply to the hon. Member for Kensington. North (Mr. Douglas-Mann) when he asked a Question on Tuesday. The only observation I should add, which I have made from time to time elsewhere in politics, is that occasionally problems either appear or are presented as more simple than most of us in our hearts know them to be. This is a problem which I find extremely difficult.

On the political relationship between the Pakistan Government and other governments, when the right hon. Member for Wednesbury (Mr. Stonehouse) was giving his opinions about the United Nations and the possibility of intervention, he did not mention Article 2(7), which I should have expected. That Article deals directly with non-intervention in the internal affairs of member states.

The only other political comment I should like to make is that the relationship between Great Britain and Pakistan is very close. That has been recognised by all who have spoken in the debate. Our relationship with India is also very close.

Mr. Stonehouse : Does the right hon. Gentleman agree that the interpretation of Article 2 could well lead one to believe that it is open to the United Nations to intervene in the internal affairs of a member State, but that it is not open to individual sovereign States to do so ?

Mr. Wood : If we began arguing about the United Nations Charter, we should probably reach four o'clock without my having covered any of the other matters which I should like to answer. The right hon. Gentleman will recognise that the United Nations would probably take the view in this case, in the light of Article 2(7), that intervention in internal affairs here would be improper. I think that I must continue, because I have been asked many questions, and I should like to try to answer them.

I have already expressed sympathy with the Indian Government in their genuine concern—which the Indian High Commissioner has expressed to me—over the consequences of the events that have taken place in East Pakistan. The Indian Government know of our willingness to join in an international effort to relieve the grievous burdens which are now added to the heavy load which they are already carrying.

Many hon. Members have referred to the provision of relief. On the question of relief in India, I have already explained twice what I understand the position to be. I am grateful to the right hon. Member for Wednesbury—perhaps we shall now see eye to eye—for the gratitude that he expressed to my right hon. Friend for the contribution that has been made. The answer to the hon. Member who asked is that of course £ 18,000 is not the extent of our willingness to help if there were mounted an international effort, to which we should certainly make a contribution.

We are awaiting reports from the charitable societies and from the United Nations High Commission. The right hon. Lady the Member for Lanark (Mrs. Hart) asked when we shall get the reports. I understand that Brigadier Blackman of Oxfam has returned from Bengal this weekend, and that the resident representative of Oxfam is visiting other camps. That explains that side of the reporting. The United Nations High Commission is still visiting the camps. I do not know when its report will be received, but I understand that the Commission is likely to return to Delhi next week and I hope, therefore, that it will not be long after that before we receive a report.

The right hon. Member for Leeds, East (Mr. Healey) was particularly concerned, very naturally, with the provision of relief and rehabilitation in East Pakistan itself. U Thant has made two proposals—first, that the Pakistan Government should accept an international basis for the provision of relief and, second, that they should be willing to accept a team of assessors to find out what is necessary. Apart from U Thant's approach, we have urged on the Pakistan Government the desirability of international action.

One of the difficulties here, which I think the right hon. Member for Wednesbury will appreciate, arises in connection with tractors which, as the right hon. Gentleman is aware, were landed at Chittagong, and we accepted an undertaking from the Pakistan Government that they would be used for rehabilitation purposes in the cyclone-affected areas. If we are to get in relief and equipment that can bring relief, in advance of international organisations, we must accept the opinion and the undertaking of the Pakistan Government that they will be used as we would want them to be used, but it does not alter my wish, which I hope the House shares, that we can get this on an international basis, and that is the direction in which we are working.

The right hon. Member for Fulham (Mr. M. Stewart), and others, suggested the possibility of some Commonwealth action. I think that my right hon. Friend the Member for Stafford and Stone (Mr. Hugh Fraser) mentioned the possibility of acting through CENTO. The position is that, apart from the observation which the right hon. Member for Leeds, East has offered, which I think occurs to many of us, about the difficulty that has arisen between India and Pakistan, we should be anxious to try to make progress through any organisation, whether it is the Commonwealth itself, CENTO, or the United Nations. We should obviously concentrate on the organisation that we thought would be most acceptable to the Pakistan Government. The right hon. Gentleman inclined, as I do, towards the involvement of the United Nations, but my right hon. Friend the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary would not disregard the suggestion—particularly coming from the right hon. Gentleman—that we should examine the possibility of acting in one of the other ways.

The right hon. Member for Leeds, East referred to the question of arms supplies. My right hon. Friend has reviewed the question. The only significant arms transactions which have taken place since 1967 have been an agreement for the refitting of a naval vessel and a contract for radar equipment. There have been no major arms deals between the United Kingdom and Pakistan since 1967. My right hon. Friend is quite satisfied that he should not change the policy now, and I do not think that anything would be gained from our taking any initiative in the matter.

The hon. Member for Brentford and Chiswick (Mr. Barnes) asked about inquiries by the Pakistan High Commission into the activities of Pakistani citizens in this county. It is quite clear from what I have been told that no such information has been requested of the Foreign Office by the Pakistan High Commission.

The debate has largely centred on the question of the ability of this country to resume the provision of aid to help to ensure that the economic life particularly of East Pakistan is effectively resumed. Apart from the welcome given to the provision of relief in East Pakistan and India, the suggestion has been welcomed—I know that some hon. Members have expressed reservations—that as soon as possible we should resume our aid to East Paki tan in order to fill some of the obvious gaps that we were anxious to fill before. It has also been generally agreed that we cannot expect to resume that programme unless political stability can be recreated.

There has also been general agreement that there should be an emphasis on aid to East Pakistan in the future. The right hon. Lady has just given that her full support. I repeat that, right from the time I was in Pakistan last November, that opinion has been fully shared by the Pakistan Government.

My hon. Friend the Member for Essex, South-East (Mr. Braine) asked about the consortium. The meeting that he had in mind took place very soon after the change of Government here—in July, 1970. At that time the World Bank produced its action programme. The sums pledged at the meeting for the ensuing year amounted 376 million dollars. With his mathematical skill my hon. Friend will be able quickly to translate that sum. The greater part of the aid was agreed to go to Pakistan for the action programme. When the emergency broke out we were well advanced in the discussion of three major consultancies and one capital project which we are to undertake under the aid programme. The consortium has met since then, particularly in relation to the most recent difficulties in Pakistan and to consider the situation now facing Pakistan. My hon. Friend probably also had that fact in mind. At the moment, I am afraid, there is very little that I can report to him. A meeting took place and consultations are now taking place between the donors and the Pakistan Government. There will be another meeting at which I hope that it will be possible to make progress.

The hon. Member for Portsmouth, West (Mr. Judd), who was kind enough to tell me that he would have to leave early, asked me about East Pakistani students who might have to terminate their studies. I have made certain that no East Pakistani student will have to terminate his studies prematurely because of lack of funds in view of the emergency. I give that assurance to the hon. Gentleman.

We have listened to a number of speeches, some of which have actually supported the possibility of secession by East Pakistan. Others, although they did not give any support to this possibility, doubted the ability of the two halves of Pakistan peacefully and constructively to reunite. There is little value in speculation of this kind. I remain at the conclusion which I expressed earlier, that the objective which I suggested was desirable: the re-creation of peace and stability through the whole of Pakistan, East and West, still seems so overwhelmingly desirable, if it can be attained, that I give the undertaking that we shall continue to use all our efforts and any influence which we can command in order to try to assist the Government of Pakistan to obtain this objective.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved,

That this House, deeply concerned by the killing and destruction which has taken place in East Pakistan, and the possible threat of food shortages later this year, calls upon Her Majesty's Government to use their influence to secure an end to the strife, the admission of United Nations or other international relief organisations, and the achievement of a political settlement which will respect the democratic rights of the people of Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানকে সাহায্য দান ও শরণার্থী ত্রাণ সামগ্রী সম্পর্কে পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বিবৃতি ও এ সংক্রান্ত বিতর্ক।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	১৭ মে, ১৯৭১

PAKISTAN

2. **Mr. Shore** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what relief supplies from the United Kingdom are now reaching the people of East Bengal, and whether the relief organisations there are able to supervise their distribution.

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) : I would refer the right hon. Gentleman to the statement I made in the House on 11th May and to the speech of my right hon. Friend on the debate on 14th May.—[Vol. 817, c. 206-213 ; Vol. 817, c. 761-767.]

Mr. Shore : The right hon. Gentleman will recall that he submitted to U Thant that he should make further representations to the Pakistan Government about getting in an international team to assess the needs there. Has U Thant had any response from the Pakistan Government? Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the exchange of letters, published on the 13th, indicates a deplorable lack of a sense of urgency on the part of the Pakistan Government?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I have stressed the urgency of this many times. The United Nations and the World Bank are now in touch with the Government of Pakistan. I cannot report anything fresh today, except to say that they are in touch and are, I think, seized of the urgency of the matter.

Mr. Healey : Can the Secretary of State confirm or deny—I appreciate the difficulty of commenting on Press reports—reports that have appeared in the Press about the Pakistan Government having rejected U Thant's request that the United Nations should distribute aid in East Bengal ? Have Her Majesty's Government made any representations on this matter, assuming that these reports are true ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : There are two distinct matters. There is the aid that might now be distributed, and in that respect the refugee camps in India are perhaps the first priority. There is then, later, the aid that may be needed if there is severe famine in Pakistan. For the present, the Pakistan Government say that the only distribution of food that may be needed in East Pakistan must be distributed by the army. As for a United Nations team or United Nations distribution, this is still being discussed between U Thant and representatives of the Pakistan Government.

Mr. Healey : It is universally agreed—the Minister for Overseas Development accepted this on Friday—that there are 4 million people at this time in East Bengal suffering from the disasters caused by the floods last year and liable to die of famine unless stores which are already available in Chittagong are rapidly distributed. Is any progress being made in this matter ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : A United Nations representative is now in India considering this matter, at the request of the Indian Government, and I hope that we shall get a recommendation from him quite soon. If necessary we could, of course, always take further action over the transport of supplies, but this should really be under an international umbrella now, and the right one is the United Nations.

28. **Mr. Greville Janner** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs whether he will make a further statement about the safety of British subjects in East Pakistan.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : There have been no confirmed reports of injury to any United Kingdom nations in East Pakistan. There was one report of a United Kingdom national said to have been injured whilst crossing the frontier into India but despite investigations there is no confirmation of this.

Mr. Janner : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there are many thousands of people in this country with relatives in East Pakistan who are unable to find out whether those relatives are alive or dead ? Will he set up some system whereby people who are living here, whether British subjects or not, can ascertain whether their families are alive and in good health ?

Sir Alec Dougals-Home : That is one reason for the existence of the Pakistan High Commission in London. Relatives should go to the Pakistan High Commissioner and ask him for advice and advice and information.

Mr. George Cunningham : Will the Secretary of State acknowledge that in present circumstances it is quite impossible for people from East Bengal to go to the Pakistan High Commission and make inquiries about their relatives ? Will he confirm that the services of British diplomatic missions are available to United Kingdom citizens for this purpose and that they will be available to residents in this country who are not United Kingdom citizens?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : There should be no difficulty whatever about people from East Pakistan going to the High Commission to inquire whether it has any information about their relatives. I should have thought that it was obvious to hon. Members that the High Commission is much more likely to have it than we are. If people have any difficulty and we can supply information, we shall do so. But the High Commission is the obvious place to go to for this purpose.

Sir. F. Bennett : Are not the remarks of hon. Members opposite an unwarranted implied slur on the Pakistan High Commissioner ? Is it not a fact that the Deputy High Commissioner is a Bengali from East Pakistan ?

Sir. Alec Douglas-Home : Yes. I should have thought that the High Commissioner and his staff would do everything they possibly could to try to help Pakistani citizens with information about their relatives. At present, information is extremely difficult to get, by anyone.

31. **Mr. Judd** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what proposals he has submitted to the Pakistan Aid Consortium for a reassessment of the aid programme to Pakistan following the outbreak of civil war in East Pakistan.

The Minister for Overseas Development (Mr. Richard Wood): I am not yet in a position to make proposals. Our decisions must await the outcome of consultations now taking place within the framework of the consortium.

Mr. Judd : While thanking the right hon. Gentleman for that reply, may I ask him if he would be prepared to take the initiative in calling for a review by the consortium to ensure that the international aid programmes to Pakistan are not underwriting the suppression of the people of East Pakistan ?

Mr. Wood : I am very anxious that the consortium should reach an agreed view about this, and that is why I am very carefully considering the position we should take before the next meeting of the consortium.

Mr. Tilney : Would not my right hon. Friend bear in mind the urgent need which has lasted for many years now to build up funds against flood and storm ?

Mr. Wood : I am taking note of that.

Mrs. Hart : Will the right hon. Gentleman confirm that the pledging meeting of the aid consortium is scheduled for June ? In the debate we had in the House last Friday many views were expressed on this question. Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to keep the House fully informed about the progress of negotiations, not only about our offer but the general negotiations of the consortium ?

Mr. Wood : I think I can give the right hon. Lady entire satisfaction on both points.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ত্রাণ সাহায্য ও সংকটের রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের ব্যাপারে বৃটিশ সরকারের ভূমিকা : পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বক্তব্য ও তৎসংক্রান্ত বিতর্ক।	কমন্‌স্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

EAST PAKISTAN

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Alec Douglas-Home): With your permission, Mr. Speaker, and that of the House, I should like to make a statement.

Since the House debated the situation in Pakistan there has been a serious deterioration due to the flow of refugees from East Pakistan into India. The number is now estimated as upwards of 4 million.

It was clear in April that events in East Pakistan could be followed by the gravest consequences, particularly in relation to food supplies. That is why, when the American Secretary of State was here for the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation meeting, we jointly approached the Secretary-General of the United Nations and urged him to establish a United Nations team in East Pakistan so as to estimate future needs and to organise international relief on an adequate scale.

To the first appeal for money issued by U Thant in relation to the refugees in India, Her Majesty's Government subscribed £1 millon on the following day, the money to be used for that relief which seemed to those on the spot to be most urgent. In addition, we have pledged £750,000 worth of food. Of the contributions made in the two weeks following the appeal. Her Majesty's Government's represented 30 to 40 per cent of the total subscribed. Other countries have subscribed direct to the Indian Government and I am glad to say that more are now subscribing to the United Nations relief effort, but much more is required if the Secretary-Generals target of 175 million dollars is to be reached.

We have also promised to give more when we are told by those working on the spot what assistance is more urgently required. We made this immediate grant to ensure that the United Nations would not be short of funds and that essential needs would be met while the necessary international organisation was being set up to co-ordinate relief.

With the increasing flood of refugees and the declaration by the Indian Government of a cholera epidemic on 4th June certain priorities can now be indentified shelter, medical supplies, transport and food.

To help towards the first, the British charities sent tents out as early as 6th may in transport for which Her Majesty's Government have paid. We are now arranging to send large tents from Singapore. As I announced yesterday, we are prepared to pay for cholera vaccine, syrings and saline fluid, so that finance need cause no delay. Two mass injectors, over one million doses of vaccine and a mobile hospital have been despatched by the British charities. We have made available the transport necessary to make sure that the supplies arrive and we

will continue to do this as necessary. I have told U Thant that we are ready to supply medical and qualified administrative staff. As far as food is concerned, our pledged aid will be channeled through the United Nations.

The response of the British charities to the challenge has been magnificent, but the size of this problem requires co-ordination and direction by a central body. The Indian Government have responded with generosity and resource but clearly the burden is such that it must not rest solely on them. Her Majesty's Government believe therefore that the responsibility must be assumed by the United Nations.

U Thant has appointed the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as co-ordinator. The High Commissioner himself is now in Pakistan and has representatives on the ground in West Bengal and in East Pakistan.

I have told U Thant that we are ready to make further contributions in money and kind as the situation demands and that I hope the co-ordinator will ensure that all the help from public bodies and private sources will be applied to the best advantage.

There are three problems which are inter-related. The first is that of the refugees. To halt the flow and to arrange their return to Pakistan requires the restoration of confidence in East Pakistan which in turn depends upon a political settlement. Secondly there is the ability of the Pakistan economy to sustain life throughout the whole country. No new aid is being supplied, but to stop development schemes already under way would throw thousands out of work and simply add new areas of misery to an already heart-rending situation.

There is, finally, the possibility of widespread starvation later in the year in East Pakistan by reason of the disruption of communications and of a short-fall in the rice harvest. Plans must be made by the Pakistan Government in co-operation with the United Nations co-ordinator urgently to anticipate this need.

I will keep the House informed as the situation develops.

Mrs. Judith Hart : I thank the right hon. Gentleman for that statement and very much share his own appreciation of the efforts of the British voluntary aid organisation. May I put three questions to him?

First, given the sheer scale of suffering and need, will he not consider giving substantially more now to assist the relief operations, both to U Thant's United Nations fund and directly to India, having regard to the fact that up to £2 million even with the promise of more to come, is not a sufficient immediate measure of present British concern about the problem?

Second, as to the future aid programme to Pakistan, will the right hon. Gentleman confirm that, at the forthcoming meeting of the Pakistan aid consortium, against the background of the extremely serious foreign exchange and economic crisis in Pakistan, the Government will, as they have said, regard a peaceful political settlement as essential for any resumed or future aid programme?

Third, given that the effects of this conflict— a conflict which began within Pakistan—have now extended beyond the borders of Pakistan and constitute a very real threat to international peace and security in Asia, will the right hon. Gen-

tleman agree that the matter can no longer be regarded as one of purely internal concern within Pakistan? Will he consider raising it as a matter of urgency within the Security Council or within some other suitable international body?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The answer to the right hon. Lady's question about more money being made available now is that we will certainly consider whether that should be done. We have had no direct request from the Indian Government, though there will be a meating of the Indian consortium on 17th June. I would rather wait to see if there is an Indian request, as we anticipate, at that time.

The Pakistan consortium on aid will meet before long. All the members of the consortium have made it clear to the Pakistan Government that there must be a proper political framework within which aid can be injected.

The answer to the right hon. Lady's final point about this not being an internal matter for Pakistan or India any longer, and about it being raised at the Security Council, is that this must be an issue first for Pakistan or India, and neither proposes taking such action at present.

Mr. Harold Wilson : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the whole House and, I believe, all our constituents throughout the country, regard this in terms of sheer scale as the worst human tragedy that the world has known since the war, apart from war itself ?

While certainly not at this stage wishing to approach this matter in anything of a censorious way, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware that there is some feeling in the country that there seems to have been a lack of urgency over this matter ? [HON. MEMBERS : "Nonsense."] If hon. Gentlemen opposite insist on interrupting, I must repeat what I said, which is that there is a feeling that there has been rather too much concern with "protocolaire" questions rather than getting on with the job of getting aid through.

Is the Foreign Secretary aware, for example, that it is several weeks since the Prime Minister asked me not to press him on a matter of urgency and importance and that the House has not had a report from him on that question in the weeks that have elasped?

The right hon. Gentleman is now talking about waiting, on an important aspect of this, until 17th June. Will he make urgent representations, preferably here and now from the Government Dispatch Box, to the Leader of the House to discuss through the usual channels within a matter of hours whether the House can be given an opportunity to debate this urgent subject tomorrow? [HON. MEMBERS : "There will be a debate."] I said that we should debate this urgent matter. The aid debate tomorrow will be constrictive in terms of all the various aspects that hon. Members on both sides may wish to raise. It would be unfair if in a general aid debate most of the speeches were about Pakistan.

Will the right hon. Gentleman therefore urge this right hon. Friend to rearrange the business of the House—we do not want the Government to lose time—to make a debate on this important subject possible, perhaps by making

the aid debate longer? This is one of the most urgent human problems we have ever had to face. We would be guilty of showing a lack of urgency if we did not arrange to debate this matter tomorrow.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : This is, of course, one of the most terrible tragedies we have seen for many a day, and nobody has ever sought to disguise that. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of urgency. Perhaps he did not hear what I, said which was that 40 per cent of the help that had been given in this past week or so had come from the United Kingdom.

As for the date, to which I referred, of 17th June, that was mentioned because the rihgt hon. Lady the Member for Lanark (Mrs. Hart) had asked me about a request from India. I understand that that is the date on which such a request is likely to be made by India in the consortium which will be meeting then. If between now and then anything extra is sought, we will supply it.

I hope that instead of concentrating on criticism of this country, which is not justified—(*Interruption.*)—the right hon. Gentleman will use his influence to help other people to subscribe to this international effort.

Mr. Boyd-Carpenter : While applauding the vigorous lead from the point of view of aid which has been given by Her Majesty's Government and which has been an exemple to the world, may I ask my right hon. Friend whether, through the Pakistan Government or through our Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca, he has been able to ascertain what are the factors which are causing this immense number of human beings to flee from their homes to a foreign country, whether these factors still continue and whether they can be reversed ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The overriding influence on these people is fear. They fled because they felt that the Pakistan Army was using measures to suppress the population which were intolerable to them. They have, therefore, fled over the Indian frontier. The only way to get these refugees back is for a political settlement to be contrived which will give them the necessary confidence to return to their homes. I have seen the Pakistan High Commissioner frequently. We have impressed on the President of Pakistan the need for such a political settlement. He says that it is his intention to try to contrive this as soon as he possibly can. When that happens we will find some of the refugees returning, but I am afraid that they will not return until that happens.

Mr. Michael Stewart : Can the right hon. Gentleman explain why at this stage, it is apparently proposed to withdraw Her Majesty's representative in Dacca ; and what arrangements are being made to replace him ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : He is being withdrawn because he has been under severe strain and must have a short rest. We are replacing him now.

Mr. Dodds-Parker : To what extent are the facilities, personnel and supplies in Singapore proving useful in this eventuality ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : We have been able to use aircraft from Singapore and we have been able to supply between 30 and 40 large marquees, as well as other forms of shelter, from Singapore. This has been a useful place, therefore, and we have used it as much as possible.

Mr. David Steel : Were the Government aware of the report of the co-ordinator of the British charities dated 7th April, three months ago, forecasting the indescribably desperate situation which, alas, has occurred ? If so, is the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that there has been enough co-ordination between his Department and the Ministry of Defence and between the British Government and other Governments about the use of military aircraft to speed up the delivery of urgently required supplies to this area ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I think it is true to say that all the transport that is required can be provided and that there is some to spare if further requests are made in the next few days or weeks.

Sir H. Legge-Bourke : Is my right hon. Friend aware that the prompt action which Her Majesty's Government have taken in this matter and the measure of what they have done well expresses the feelings of the whole nation over this issue ?

Will my right hon. Friend give particular consideration to a problem which seems to be arising in the acutest possible form, namely, the need to prevent these refugees from getting into Calcutta ? Is he aware that this prevention may have to take priority over cure from the cholera point of view ? This being so, will he give as full consideration as possible to any request that he may receive from the Indian Government for Commonwealth co-operation to help to provide physical strength on the ground to prevent the refugees from getting to Calcutta ?

Sir Alec Doglas-Home : I understand that the Indian Government feel that they have this matter under control. However, if they want any help they have only to ask for it.

Mr. Douglas-Mann : I appreciate what the Foreign Secretary has said about the necessity to achieve a political solution if the refugees are to return home. Is he ruling out not only the suspension of development aid, to which he referred in his statement, but a restriction on credit, in view of the fact that the Pakistan authorites will not be able to continue with this war unless the rest of the world provides them with the finance ? Will he seek to ensure not only that we but other international organisations are not providing the money with which Pakistan can continue this war ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : We are not providing money for Pakistan to continue the war. The aid that we are giving to Pakistan is strictly related to development projects ; these provide employment, and I have pointed out that if this were stopped serious misery would be caused. I see no point in doing that and thereby adding another area of misery to that which already exists. However, the consortium will give careful consideraton to the conditions under which aid should go to Pakistan.

Sir F. Bennett : Recent reports suggest that the refugees are increasingly and predominantly Hindu. Can my right hon. Firend confirm or deny these reports ? It is obvious, looking back to 1947, that a defferent situation now arises. If they are leaving on communal religious grounds, then the question of fear being removed—my right hon. Friend referred to this in answer to an earlier supplementary question—would not seem to have any effect, because the bulk of those who went out of India into Pakistan and out of Pakistan into India never in fact returned to their homes.

Sir Alec Doglas-Home : I think that fear is the overriding influence.

Mr. Alfred Morris : Does the right hon. Gentleman recall his reply of 24th November about my proposal for a world disaster stockpile, a suggestion which I made at the I.P.U. Conference at the Hague ? Does he recall using the word "urgency" and saying that he would act urgently in the matter ? Could not this have been the subject of an important British initiative ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I hope the hon. Gentleman will not accuse me of dragging my feet, as I think he did yesterday, after I tell him what I did. I wrote then to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He set up machinery to examine the possibility of a permanent body to try to use preventive action so that we could anticipate the worst dangers in advance of such tragedies. The report is coming out in a month's time. If that report can be expedited, I will ask the Secretary-General to do so, but he has given very full consideration to these possibilities.

Sir R. Thompson : Is my right hon. Friend satisfied with the arrangements in hand for the co-ordination of the flow of foreign aid to this disaster ? Is he aware that all kinds of aid from voluntary and governmental sources will converge on to an area where administration is virtually collapsing ? Does he think that the United Nations will have the necessary resources to inject personnel capable of dealing with this, and might it not be wiser to ask the Indian Government to devote additional personnel to handle this, which is their problem on their own ground ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I do not think that the administration is in a state of collapse. The Indian Government are doing a great deal, and it is for them to judge whether they can do more. What is wanted is co-ordination of all the supplies of aid which are coming from overseas. This cannot be put on the shoulders of the Indian Government alone, but must be undertaken by the United Nations co-ordinator. He and his team are now on the spot. We have offered U Thant help and administrative personnel, and we will send them if he requires them.

Mr. Shore : I welcome the aid which has been given and the furhter aid pledged by the Foreign Secretary to help the refugees, but is not the heart of the matter the policy of the Pakistan Government in East Bengal which is continuing to cause the eflux of refugees across the border ? Has the Foreign Secretary any suggestions or proposals to make to ease the situation and help to bring forward the political settlement which he rightly believes is the only possible answer ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The first thing to do is to carry conviction with the President of Pakistan that such a settlement is absolutely necessary if this country is to be reunited. I think that the President of pakistan is convinced of this. He tells us that he is busily engaged in trying to create the political structure on the ground in East Pakistan which will give the necessary confidence to the refugees to return. I gather that he has acquainted the High Commissioner for Refugees with the prospect of some political settlement in East Pakistan which may give confidence to some of the refugees to return. I do not think that we can do anything more at the moment, but I am naturally keeping a very close eye on this.

Mr. Langden : While welcoming what my right hon. Friend has said, and in no way criticising Her Majesty's Government for what they have done,

may I revert to the future? Why is it that there are inevitably these endless, unconscionable delays between the happening of an international catastrophe and the world's waking up to do something about it? Why has not the United Nations long since set up this central body on a permanent basis?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : This is a matter for the United Nations. I told the hon. Member for Manchester, Wythenshawe (Mr. Alfred Morris) of the initiative I took following the proposal he had made. I hope that the examination by U Thant will reveal that it is possible to set up such a body, so that we can lay hands on medical supplies and personnel as required and in good time, not missing the vital days so often missed when emergencies take place The report, as I say, is coming out shortly.

Mr. Cater-Jones : I thank the right hon. Gentleman for his statement about the help which has already been given to India, but do not his figures reveal that the amount of aid required is out of all proportion to the amount of aid already given, and that what is needed is a massive demonstration of what can be done for these suffering millions now?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I am sure that there will be enough money. What is wanted now on the ground is organisation and administration , in the hope that the cholera epedemic can be checked. The equipment is there, the vaccine is there and there is enough saline there, and one hopes that the epedemic will be controlled.

Mr. Tom King : I appreciate the shortterm concern about this urgent problem, but does not my right hon. Friend agree that East Pakistan is the clearest warning of what the population explosion problem will present to the world? Does he not recognise the need foi Her Majesty's Government to give greater urgency to world discussion of this problem?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : The Indian Government have taken an initiative in this matter, and certainly Her Majesty's Government are interested in the point my hon. Friend has raised.

Mr. John Mendelson : With reference to an earlier reply made by the Foreign Secretary to my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition, my experience, which must have been that of other hon. Members during the last few days, is that when I have deliberately quoted all that Her Majesty's Government are already doing many constituents of all political and religious persuasions have asked whether there could not be more urgency and whether there has not been too much delay. It is the duty of hon. Members to raise this matter here and the Foreign Secretary should welcome the opportunity to reply and not be irritable about it. [HON. MEMBERS : "Oh."] I knew this would be controversial, but the right hon. Gentleman should welcome the opportunity to reply to questions genuinely raised. Has not the time now come to go beyond relief and ask the President of Pakistan to accept a United Nations Commission in East Pakistan so that the people wh are afraid to return or to stay could have international supervision to make them feel more secure?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : There is now an international team in Pakistan assessing the need for aid. I must remind the hon. Gentleman that Pakistan is an independent country and we cannot dictate a political settlement. I hope that I showed no irritation at the right hon. Gentleman, but I think I am justified in asking the House when we have done so much to recognise that and perhaps urge other people to do more.

Mr. Braine : My right hon. Friend has indicated this afternoon that a catastrophe of even greater proportions will loom ahead in East Pakistan as result of the failure of crops and the break-down of communications. In view of the slowness of the United Nations to respond to this terrible situation, will my right hon. Friend say whether there could be preliminary talks with the food-producing Commonwealth countries—Canada, Australia and New Zealand in particular—about stock-piling against the day when food on a massive scale may be required?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : This is why the American Secretary of State and I took the initiative we did in April. Now there is a United Nations team on the spot which should be able to assess quickly what the needs may be in September, October and November. I will certainly press for that estimate and if we can Assist by alterting Commonwealth countries to the possible need to supply feed and keep it in reserve, I will do so.

Mr. Stonehouse : Is te Foreign Secretary aware that there is widespread appreciation among the charities in Britain of the humane and sympathetic way in which he responded to their requests? Reverting to the earlier answer he gave about approaches to the United Nations, does not he appreciate that there are special reasons why India has not asked for this to be raised? India does not wish to be accused of trying to stir up trouble in East Bengal, and has been meticulous about that. If the Foreign Secretary will discuss this question with the Indian Foreign Minister when he arrives next week, and if the Indians feel that they would like this to be raised in the Security Council, will the Foreign Secretary do so on behalf of Her Majesty's Government and of the world community who are now utterly disgusted that a military regime is suppressing the population of East Bengal in the way the Foreign Secretary revealed in answer to the question raised by right hon. Friend the Member for Kingston-upon-Thames (Mr. Boyd-Carpenter) ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : Of course I will talk over all those matters with the Indian Foreign Minister. If the Indian Government make a direct request to us for assistance we shall of course consider it favourably. I hope I made it clear to the right hon. Lady and others that we accept no limit to the additional money we could give. We want to see what is needed, and we will give more money if it is required. The question of the Security Council must be for the Indian Government.

Mr. Harold Wilson : Will the Foreign Secretary or, if he prefers, his right hon. Friend the Leader of the House, now say whether he is prepared to have discussions through the usual channels so that there can be an urgent debate? It would not be the intention of anyone in the House to make it a debate in which there would be a vote, but the concern shown by the whole House on the problem, both national and international, surely justifies a debate. May I further ask the right hon. Gentleman, or whoever answers, if he is aware that there will naturally be a desire for a Standing Order No. 9 Adjournment debate which might be difficult because of the aid debate. The aid debate is not the right way for this subject to be handled, because many of the questions put to the right hon. Gentleman, and many of his answers, go far wider than would be in order in a debate on aid.

The Lord President of the Counsil and Leader of the House of Commons (Mr. William Whitelaw) : I am grateful to the right hon. Gentleman, I fully appreciate the concern of the House in this matter, Tomorrow, as the right hon.

Gentleman knows, it has been planned to have a debate on aid on the Motion for the Adjournment of the House. What is raised on the Motion for the Adjournment is not for us but will naturally range widely. Of course, I am prepared to discuss through the usual channels the possibility of seeing whether today and tomorrow might be split between these two subjects, or some similar arrangement. I am very ready to have discussions through the usual channels.

Mr. Harold Wilson : I thank the right hon. Gentleman for his ready response. We shall be ready to co-operate in such a ywa that the Government do not lose Government time : for instance, by having a debate until 7 o'clock or 8 o'clock on the problem of India and Pakistan and then, if the House is agree able, extending the period so that there could still be a reasonably full debate thereafter on all other aid aspects.

Mr. Barnes : I beg to ask leave to move the Adjournment of the House under Standing Order No. 9 for the purpose of discussing a specific and important matter that should have urgent consideration namely.

"the need for the British Government to increase greatly their contribution towards providing for the refugees who have come from East Pakistan to India, and at the same time to clearify their policy towards Pakistan."

I realise that there is an overseas aid debate tomorrow, but the question of Britain's contribution is so urgent and so specific that it would be entirely wrong for it to become submerged in a general overseas aid debate. Secondly, it should be known in this House that there is considerable confusion in India and also in the British High Commission about exactly where Britain stands on the question of coming to the rescue of the Pakistan economy which is a totally separate question from the overseas aid commitments referred to by the Foreign Secretary and which are to be debated tomorrow.

For these reasons and in view of the great concern both in the country at large and in the Press, I beg to suggest that this is a fit subject to be debated specifically on its own as an emergency tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Member asks leave to move the Adjournment of the House under Standing Order No. 9 for the purpose of discussing a specific and urgent matter of public importance, namely,

"the need for the British Government to increase greatly their contribution towards providing for the refugees who have come from East Pakistan to India, and at the same time to clerify their policy towards Pakistan."

Under Standing Order No.9, Mr. Speaker is assumed to take account of the factors set out in the Standing Order and also, I think, to take note of what takes place on the Floor of the House. Having regard to these matters, I have considered the hon. Member's application, of which the hon. Member was kind enough to give me notice, but I am afraid that I cannot accede to his request.

Later—

Mr. Whitelaw : In view of the exchanges I had with the Leader of the Opposition, it might be helpful for the House to know that discussions have

already taken place through the usual channels. It is proposed that tomorrow's debate on the Adjournment—the situation in pakistan—should continue till about eight o'clock and that the debate on aid should start thereafter, with a suspension of the Rule for one hour for that debate till about eleven o'clock. The Orders of the Day will be taken thereafter. I hope that this arrangement will be considered satisfactory to the house and that at the same time it will be thought that adequate notice has been given to the House of the change in tomorrow's business.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধান অবশ্যই করতে হবে: কমনস্ সভায় পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বিবৃতি।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	২৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

Extracts from statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Government of the United Kingdom in the House of Commons on June 23, 1971

My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister and I both had discussions on Monday, 21st June with Mr. Swaran Singh, the Indian Minister of External Affairs, during which he made clear to us the concern which his Government feel about the situation in East Pakistan and the very great burden and the danger to stability created by the massive influx of refugees into India.

Following the recent meeting in the India Aid Consortium, Her Majesty's Government are now making available a further £5 million in cash or in kind to relieve the economic burden on the Government of India of supporting the refugees. Like other members of the Consortium, we are giving this contribution over and above our normal development aid to India. In addition, a further £1 million will be made available by Her Majesty's Government to U Thant's appeal for the direct relief of refugees in India. The total amount of assistance made available by Her Majesty's Government for relief and rehabilitation in India will thus be increased to over £8 million. This is a humanitarian task having no relation to politics, in which I hope very many members of the United Nations will participate. About 23 have so far done so.

An informal meeting of members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium on 21st June considered reports from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund representatives who had been visiting East Pakistan and had held discussions with the Government in Islamabad. No commitments of new aid of any kind were called for, nor were any given, though all expressed their willingness to contribute to humanitarian relief in East Pakistan under the effective sruveillance of the United Nations. Her Majesty's Government's policy remains that porjects already in hand in Pakistan must continue, in so far as this is possible, but that there can be no question of new British aid to Pakistan until we have firm evidence that real progress is made towards a political solution.

Conditions in East Pakistan continue to be disturbed. It is with great regret that I have to inform the House that two British subjects, Mr. P. J. Chalmers and Mr. J. Y. Boyd, both of whom were working on tea-planting estates in the Sylhet district, have been reported missing. Despite attempts by British represen tatives both in East Pakistan and in India, and inquiries made through the Pakistan Martial Law Administration and the Indian Government, we have been unable to obtain any definite news of them. In the circumstances there must be grave fear for their safety and I would express the sympathy of Her Majesty's Government, and I am sure of the whole House, to their relatives in this country at this anxious time.

The President of Pakistan has reiterated his Government's hope that those who have fled across the border to India will return to their homes, and has undertaken that they will have no cause to fear should they do so . Her Majesty's Government have represented to him the importance of restoring peaceful conditions in which confidence can once again take root and normal political life can be resumed.

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I thank the right hon. Gentleman for his general welcome for the statement I have made. On the political point, of what is to be the political future of Pakistan and the political structure, it would not be helpful for me to make suggestions at this moment in public. We have made many suggestions in private The President is making a statement on 28th June. One would hope—and we. have expressed this hope to him—that he will be ablet o bring together with West Pakistan the elected representatives from the East. We think that this is essential.

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No, Sir, I would not give that undertaking to take it to the Security Counteil. The Indian Government has made no such porposal, and I think that, therefore, we had better consider for the future. adrfter the President of Pakistan has made his statement, what the chances are of large numbers of refugees going back to East Pakistan, It would certainly be premature to involve the United Nations in that respect.

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There must be a political Settlement. There must be a civilian Government installed. It must be for that Government's administration to assess the situation. The hon. Member will recognise that only the army at the moment can dealwith the distribution of food.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের শোচনীয় পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বিবৃতি ও এ সংক্রান্ত বিতর্ক।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	২৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday, 23rd September, 1971

EAST BENGAL

Mr. Healey (*by Private Notice*) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs if he will make a further statement on the policy of Her Majesty's Government regarding the situation in East Bengal.

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) : The situation in East Bengal still causes us deep concern.

Since my statement to the House on 23rd June there have been a number of developments in East Pakistan. President Yahya Khan has put forward proposals for the return to civil administration and Government. A civilian governor has been appointed and has now named a number of civilian Ministers ; President Yahya Khan has declared his intention to hold fresh elections and to establish elected Assemblies. An amnesty has been declared in respect of incidents between 1st March and 5th September, 1971. Many of those who could benefit from this may have fled to India.

We should like to see an ordered return to normal life in East Pakistan and welcome these developments as a step in the direction of the restoration of an elected civilian Government.

The situation in East Pakistan nevertheless still gives grave cause for concern. The flow of refugees to India continues unabated and the Indian Government now give the total figure as well over 8 million. This places an enormous burden on the economy and resources of India, and I should like to express my admiration for the manner in which the Indian Government have continued to cope with this unprecedented influx of people. It is not, however, a burden that India should bear alone. Her Majesty's Government have already contributed over £8 million in cash and kind for relief and rehabilitation in India. We have also contributed £1 million to U Thant's appeal for relief in East Pakistan. We hope that other members of the United Nations will also respond generously to the appeals of U Thant. We ourselves stand ready to make further contributions, as I have earlier told the House.

The House will, I am sure, share my deep concern at the reports of impending food shortages, infant mortality and disease both in East Pakistan and amongst the refugees in India. It is our firm view that the United Nations are best able to co-ordinate the international relief effort and that it is only through them that international relief can be made available on the scale required to avert

a further major human tragedy. We shall support all efforts to increase the scope of the United Nations relief operations and I shall be having talks about this with the the Secretary-General of the United Nations in New York next week. Our aim is to play our full part with the international community in *bringing an end to suffering and the return of normal conditions to this troubled part of the subcontinent, including making it possible for the return of the refugees to their homes.*

Mr. Healey : *First may I thank the Foreign Secretary for his statement, and* particularly for the tone in which it was made. May I say that all of us on this side of the House recognise that Her Majesty's Government have an exceptionally good record in regard to this tragic problem , but , as he himself said, the scale of the problem is far beyond the capability of Britain or India or any other single country or group of countries.

Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there is widespread concern throughout this country and the world at the possibility that millions, and perhaps tens of millions, of human beings may die before Christmas unless more effective action is taken by the United Nations Organisation ?

Is the right hon. Gentleman further aware of a point that I raised with him a month ago, namely, that when the monsoon ends there is great danger of war arising out of the situation in East Bengal—a war which might not be confined to the sub-continent itself ? Will he, therefore, when he goes to the United Nations next week, take an initiative to ensure that the United Nations charges itself with control not only of the relief aspects of this problem but also the very serious and dangerous political aspects as well ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home: I am grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for what he said. This is a problem which daunts us all and, as he said it is of an enormous scale. I think that the immediate danger is famine in East Pakistan in the months to come. Although it is difficult for us to obtain accurate information, the reports are that the food supplies are, on the whole, reasonably available but communications present a tremendous problem. One of the problems, therefore for the United Nations is how to get communications going so that the food can go into the areas where it is most needed.

About all these matters I shall be talking to U Thant next week, and talking also, of course, to the American Secretary of State and others who are interested in the relief and human side of the problem.

On the political side, a settlement is necessary in order to secure the willingness of refugees to come back into Pakistan from India. This is a more difficult matter, and the United Nations cannot act without the consent of both parties. As I understand it, so far Pakistan has assented to any number of United Nations personnel on its side of the frontier to receive refugees. India has so far said that she could not have United Nations Personnel to help the refugees, so to speak, to go back from India to Pakistan.

Mr. Healey: I recognise, as the Foreign Secretary does, that it is difficult for the United Nations to act in this problem without the consent of both India and Pakistan, but will he recognise also that there is grave danger to peace as well as to the lives of millions of human being if the United Nations does not act

along the lines already suggested by its own Secretary-General ? Therefore, when the right hon. Gentleman is at the United Nations next week, if it is impossible to get India and Pakistan to reach agreement on how it should be handled, will the right hon. Gentleman consider whether there should be a full discussion of the matter in the Security Council ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home *: In New York, I shall see the Indian Foreign Minister also, and I hope to discuss this matter with him. I do not know that a metting of the Security Council would help in this case; but I am quite sure that it is necessary for both India and Pakistan to co-operate with the United Nations. Otherwise, as the right hon. Gentleman says, this could end in war.*

Mr. Braine : Is is not often the case in famine situations that there may be plenty of food within reach but famine takes place because the food cannot be adequately distributed ? Is my right hon. Friend aware that field workers from East Pakistan say that there will be a disaster of unimaginable proportions unless a major United Nations operation is mounted, and, if such a disaster does take place, the flow of refugees in India will increase, since hungry people do not stand still ? May I, therefore, urge my right hon Friend– from what he said today, I feel sure that he will do it –to take the initiative next week at the United Nations to draw attention to the pitifully inadequate response which other Governments have so far made to U Thant's appeals not merely for humanitarian relief in East Pakistan but for the support of India in facing the intolerable burden of caring for the refugees on her territory ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I certainly respond to my hon. Friend's appeal. I shall not only be seeing U Thant but I shall deal with these matters to some extent in a speech which I shall make to the Assembly The important need is to secure the co-operation of Pakistan and India to try to solve this problem. If one stands aside, it cannot be solved.

Mr. Stonehouse : Will the Foreign Secretary take it that there is widespread appreciation on this side of the House as well as on his own for the humanitarian and sympathetic way in which he has responded to this problem ? In addition to what he has said already about what he will do, will the right hon. Gentleman consider referring to this awful subject in his speech to the General Assembly and calling for a major United Nations initiative even going beyond co-operating with the Pakistan authorities, since the situation in East Bengal is confused by the civil war which goes on and since the writ of the Pakistan Army does not run throughout East Bengal and a large part is controlled by Bangladesh ? Will the right hon. Gentleman do that, and, further, in the light of what he said about a political solution, will he accept that this will be impossible unless Sheikh Mujib is relased and is enabled to take part in the negotiations ? Will the Foreign Secretary press, and ask the United States to press. Yahya Khan for Sheikh Mugib to be released ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : As the right hon. Gentleman knows, I think, we have made appeals to the President of Pakistan for clemency in the trial now going on. We cannot, I hink, go further than that, but we have made very positive approaches. I shall take into account all that the right hon. Gentleman said when I see U Thant and when I deal with this matter at the United Nations, and I hope to report to the House after I come back.

Mr. Pardoe : I thank the right hon. Gentleman for what he said about the help which the British Government have given. Could he tell the House what his latest information is about the condition and health of Sheikh Mujib and the course of the trial, and give us any information he has about his likely release, since no progress towards normal conditions can be maintained unless Sheikh Mujib is released ? Also, will the Foreign Secretary tell us what consultations he has had with other Commonwealth countries with a view to bringing joint pressure on Pakistan ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : Many countries have approached the President of Pakistan. That I know. Beyond that, I think, it is not right to go in any public statement.

Mr. Biggs-Davison : Is not the movement of supplies within East Pakistan all important for avoiding or diminishing the effects of famine ? The Pakistan Government were having some difficulty in purchasing vehicles, and some orders were being frustrated. Will my right hon. Friend look into that and see what can be done, if necessary ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : We have supplied certain shallow boats to help the distribution in particular areas, and we shall supply anything which is requested which we are able to supply ; but my hon Friend is right in suggesting that communications will be the main problem, not the supplies of food.

Mr. Paget : Will the Foreign Secretary agree that, while refugees and famine are the immediate issue, the fundamental issue is that the majority in East Pakistan can probably never again accept the rulership of the minority in West Pakistan after the conduct of the West Pakistan army ? Can we have any permanent solution here which does not involve the breaking of this quite unnatural union of two nations 1,500 miles apart ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I do not know that it would be any contribution to peace if the two parts of Pakisan were to be permanenltly separated. I believe that a great many people would look upon that prospect with some apprehension. President Yahya Khan has declared his intention to hold fresh elections and to establish elected assemblies. I think that a great deal depends on the speed with which he can carry out this intention.

Mr. Molloy : I join my right hon. Friend the Member for Wednesbury (Mr. Stonehouse) in thanking the Foreign Secretary for his very prompt and humanitarian action in this sad situation, but is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the offer by President Yahya Khan for people to come and talk about a democratic solution can hardly be encouraging to those who may wish to do so inasmuch as the crime of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the reason for his incarceration is that he indulged in a democratic election and won it ? Further. will the right hon. Gentleman take into account that many voluntary organisations which are eager and ready to offer succour and relief to those who are suffering in Bangladesh are not allowed to do so—in particular, organisations like War on Want—because of the actions of the West Pakistan Army ? Will the right hon. Gentleman endeavour to make representations so as to allow these organisation to offer that aid ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I gether that the Pakistan Government are very willing to see the voluntary organisations operate, but they think that they can most effectively operate in the area which has recently been affected by floods. What I am certain of is that the United Nations organisation must oversee the whole relief effort. Otherwise, there will be confusion. But I hope that the voluntary organisations will be used.

Mrs. Hart : From what the right hon. Gentleman has just said, may I take it that he agrees that a substantial international presence would be required, first, to define where the food needs are, and, second, to distribute food without creating a system which could be used for military purposes ?

Second, is the right hon. Gentleman completely aware of the great concern about the question that has been shown in various meetings this week amongst the aid agencies in Britain ?

Third, while he is in the United States, will the right hon. Gentleman take the opportunity to talk with the World Bank Chairman of the Pakistan Aid Consortium both about the general effort that could be made to urge further upon Yahya Khan the need for a genuine political settlement rather than an artificial political settlement, and to discuss with him the problem of the need for considerable extra economic assistance to India ?

Sir Alec Douglas-Home : I think that a substantial international presence will be necessary. There are 40 personnel now operating in East Pakistan, and I should think that many more are necessary, particularly those with expert knowledge of transport and communications. I am seeing the voluntary agencies tomorrow, and I will take up with them the question raised by the right hon. Lady and see how they think they can best help. I do not know whether I shall be able to see the World Bank Chairman, although I will try. As to aid to Pakistan in general, the Consortium must look ahead to a development plan for the whole of Pakistan. I think that the right hon. Lady knows that, with the consent of the Pakistan Government, the unanimous feeling in the Consortium was that the great majority of aid for the future must be centred on East Pakistan, but that that depends on getting a political structure there which will lead to to political stability.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটিশ ত্রাণ তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বক্তব্য।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	১৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in the British House of Commons October 18, 1971.

MR. CORMACK (Cannock, C) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what assistance had been and was being given by HM Government to the refugees from East Pakistan.

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME—I have repeatedly expressed the view that the responsibility for a political settlement in East Pakistan lies with the Pakistan Government and people. The humanitarian aspects are indeed a matter of international concern, and I am pleased to be able to announce that in response to U Thant's recent appeals, and to Prince Sadruddin Khan's appeal of October 11, HM Government are making available a further £ 7 5m for relief among the refugees in India and a further £ 1m for relief in East Pakistan.

This brings our total contributions to over £ 14,750,000 for relief among the refugees, and £ 2m for relief in East Pakistan. I hope that other nations will also respond generously to U Thant's appeals. (Cheers)

MR. PRENTICE (East Ham, North, Lab)—Would the Foreign Secretary agree with the estimate that the cost of keeping the regfugees alive is now running at something over £ 1m a day and the cost of the last six months is more than twice as much as all the aid received from the whole world.

Even larger figures than this are going to be required in the near future from Britain and other countries.

SIR A. DOUGLAS-HOME—We shall do what we can but I think other nations might match our effort.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উপমহাদেশীয় পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে কমন্স সভায় পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বক্তব্য।	কমন্স সভার কার্যবিবরণী	৪ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in the British House of Commons November 4, 1971

To come to the sub-continent of India, two great countries—members of the Commonwealth, whose friendship we value—now find themselves drawn as if in some Greek tragedy into a rising spiral of tensions with a risk of war. The human misery, which exists here on a massive scale, is a terrible reminder of the failure of human beings to learn that the peoples of this world want bread more than politics, and peace more than war. My Right Hon. friend the Prime Minister and I had discussions with Mrs. Gandhi when she was in London earlier this week I am sure that the House will understand that the matters which we discussed are confidential and that I cannot give a full account of them. We have also been kept informed by the Government of Pakistan of how they see these matters.

In this emergency situation, caused by the flood of refugees into India—we should understand the disruption of Indian life which this situation has caused in many ways—the policies of the Government have been directed towards two aims.

First is the relief of the suffering, which is pitiful and widespread. We have contributed £15 million to the refugees in India and £2 million in relief to East Pakistan. Having done this, I think that we are justified in urging other countries to join us in this humanitarian effort to a greater extent than they have done up to now.

Second is the politics of the situation. The danger of a warlike confrontation between these two countries is dire and real. In this situation, our first duty is to urge moderation on all concerned, using such influence as we can. I have repeatedly expressed my view that real progress towards a lessening of tension, and the return of refugees, can only come through a political settlement within Pakistan as a whole! But, having said that, I must add that no one else can lay down the constitutional pattern for the future except the Pakistanis themselves. Unless it is done by the Pakistanis, no solution will stick

After the convulsion of civil war, harmony is difficult to restore,. President Yahya Khan has appointed a civil governor. He has proposed by-elections in December, and announced 27th December as the date for the meeting of the new National Assembly. He has arranged an amnesty. He has accepted United Nations reception centres for refugees returning from India. I state these as facts. I cannot say whether these moves will be sufficient to result in a situation of confidence in which the refugees will wish to return to Pakistan from India. But that must be the end for which everyone of us must work. The return of the refugees is of mutual interest to both India and Pakistan. In the meantime,

we will continue to urge both Pakistan and India not to take any action which could threaten the peace of the sub-continent. To compound the existing misery with war would surely be the ultimate disaster.

Certain offers have lately been made by Pakistan which could help to relieve the situation. The first is that the armies should withdraw to a specified distance from the frontier. The second is their willingness to receive United Nations personnel on the spot, first, to observe and, second, to receive returining refugees and see them back to their homes. I am not sure that this is understood in the refugee areas of India. But India feels that action of the kind, which I have mentioned will have no effect as long as the flow of refugees continues out of Pakistan. There is conflicting evidence of how many refugees are now moving out of Pakistan into India. I have asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations whether he can discover the truth of the matter, because it is essential to know whether the flow has stopped or is continuing at this level before other countries can contrive coherent policies.

Once again, the most promising area here is to explore the possibilities of dialogue between those in west Pakistan who hold the power now and those who can command confidence in East Pakistan, and also dialogue between India and Pakistan. If we can do anything to help the dialogue between India and Pakistan we will gladly do it.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাক-ভারত পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে কমন্স সভায় বৃটিশ পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বিবৃতি:	দি টাইম্‌স	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, at the British House of Commons
December 6, 1971

The outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan is a matter of deep concern to H. M. Government, and to all members of the House. We have watched with growing apprehension over the past months the deterioration in relations between the two countries, stemming from the situation in East Pakistan.

In spite of our efforts and those of other powers, India and Pakistan have been driven to the calamity of war. Our immediate concern must now be to try to stop the fighting and to contribute to a sane and civilized solution that takes account of the wishes of the peoples affected.

When we heard the first reports of attacks and fighting on the borders of India and West Pakistan on December 3, the Prime Minister appealed to President Yahya Khan and Mrs. Gandhi to do all within their power to prevent the spread of conflict. We are also in touch with other governments.

Confused Reports

Reports on the military situation are confused. It is clear that extensive fighting is taking place within East Pakistan and on the borders of West Pakistan and India, and that the navies and air forces of both countries are engaged.

To the extent that it is possible in modern warfare, it appears that the civilian population has not been the object of attack from the air.

The House will know that the Security Council met on December 4 and again yesterday to consider the situation. It was clear from the start that any resolution calling for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of forces would attract a Russian veto.

For their part, H. M. Government have take the view that there is nothing to be gained by prematurely attempting to introduce abortive resolutions which are bound to be voted by one country or another. We are doing all we can to look for ways of overcoming these difficulties and of finding a solution to the desperately complicated issues which gave rise to the outbreak of war.

These efforts have not so far been successful, but we shall continue them. The United Nations must have a role to play not only in the search for ways to stop the fighting, but also in the immense task of reconstruction that will follow.

There have been no reports of injury to United Kingdom nationals or damage to United Kingdom property in either India or Pakistan although damage to tea gardens may be inevitable. On November 23, the High Commissioner at Islamabad advised United Kingdom nationals in the border districts of Pakistan to consider moving to safer areas while this was possible.

Since the outbreak of the fighting he has taken account of the air raids, the restrictions on movements and the suspension of civil air flights and has advised United Kingdom nationals to stay where they are. No evacuation from Pakistan or India is contemplated at present. I am however keeping the situation under review and will take any action necessary.

War can only be a tragedy for all the people of the sub-continent. I can assure the House that we shall do all within our power to persuade those concerned of this view and of the need to tackle the task of reconciliation.

(THE TIMES, London—December 7, 1971).

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাক-ভারত যুদ্ধ পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে কমনস্ সভায় বৃটিশ পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের বিবৃতি।	কমনস্ সভার কার্যবিবরণী	১৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in the British House of Commons December 13, 1971

The hostilities between India and Pakistan continue. Indian forces have advanced deep into East Pakistan, have captured the town of Jessore and have now virtually surrounded Dacca. Fighting is also continuing on the border between India and West Pakistan particularly in the Chhamb area where Pakistani forces have penetated into Indian territory.

As the House is aware, seven British subjects were killed and six injured when a British ship was attacked in Karachi harbour on December 9. In a message to the Prime Minister, the Indian Prime Minister has expressed great regret for this attack and we are seeking compensation. Apart from this tragic incident, we are not so far aware that any other British lives have been lost.

Airlift

I am happy to say that the airlift of British subjects and other foreign nationals from Karachi, Islamabad and Dacca is now complete. This means that, with the exception of a small number of United Kingdom nationals in Khulna and Chittagong and elsewhere about whom urgent enquiries are being made, some of whom appear to have taken the decision to remain, all those British subjects wishing to leave Pakistan have now done so. Over 1,300 persons were airlifted out of Pakistan by the Royal Air Force in three days. This was no easy task and in the case of Dacca in particular it was carried out in circumstances of considerable difficulty and danger. I am sure the House will wish to join me in expressing congratulations and thanks to all those in the Services and in our posts in the sub-continent who were involved in this achievement. Our Deputy High Commissioner and a residual staff remain in Dacca.

Arms Sales

Since the fighting broke out, we have reviewed our policy on arms sales and, as I promised the House on December 6, we have been in touch with the Governments of countries who have been main suppliers to India and Pakistan. I must report that as a result of these contacts there is no prospect of any general embargo on the sale of arms. That being so, I have considered what our own attitude should be.

There is, as the House knows, no military aid to India. As for sales, the Indian Government have a number of long-term contracts with commercial firms for the supply of military equipment. These are subject to export licence, the grant of which is being kept under constant review, in the light of the existing

circumstances, including the state of hostilities in the sub-continent, the situation at the United Nations and the attitudes of the alternative suppliers. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we have not been a regular supplier of arms for Pakistan for some years. Therefore, there are no similar contracts. The same supervision would be given to any orders from Pakistan which may be placed here.

Efforts for Cease-fire

The House will be aware that there have been a number of efforts to bring about a cease-fire as a prelude to a political settlement. All resolutions in the Security Council however were vetoed ; and a resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of the forces of both India and Pakistan to their own territories, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 7, has proved ineffective.

For their part, Her Majesty's Government believe that it is necessary to seek practical means of bringing the fighting to an end which take account of the realities of the situation and the attitudes of the parties We are, therefore, in touch with other members of the Security Council to see how we can best assist in bringing about the earliest possible end to the fighting and the institution of constructive discussions.

যুক্তরাজ্য

বেসরকারী দলিলপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে

বৃটিশ জনগণের ভূমিকা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক ঘটনাবলী সম্পর্কে যুক্তরাজ্য কমন্স সভার সদস্য মিঃ রাসেল জনস্টোন-এর বক্তব্য।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	৩১ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. RUSSEL JOHNSTON, MEMBER, HOUSE OF COMMONS, U. K., ON MARCH 31, 1971

We have watched with horror the development of the political crisis in East Pakistan. Reports are still not clear and at times contradicted but two things are now undeniable.

Firstly there is clear majority demand for independence in East Pakistan.

Secondly the Pakistan Government's reaction to this has been to send in troops and engage on repressive measures which, according to eye-witness reports, have been savage and indiscriminate and have resulted in the widespread slaughter of civilians.

In addition it is not long since the floods in East Pakistan aroused the sympathy of the World and the plight of the victims may be intolerable if the flow of aid cannot be maintained in the present situation.

I do not believe that Britain can stand by on the argument that it is an internal matter. We are witnessing what at worst is an act of intolerable brutality and at best a grave political miscalculation which has got completely out of hand. As a senior member of the Commonwealth Britain has a responsibility to take every action open to her to bring peace and achieve settlement.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে নির্যাতন বন্ধের দাবীতে লর্ড সভার সদস্য লর্ড ফেনার ব্রুকওয়ের ভাষণ।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

SPEECH MADE BY LORD FENNER BROCKWAY, MEMBER OF HOUSE OF LORDS, U. K., AT A PUBLIC MEETING ON APRIL 4, 1971

Lord Fenner Brockway, Member of the House of Lords and the guiding spirit behind the British Movement for colonial Freedom, said that he had spent his childhood in Bengal and that was why he had, always identified himself as a friend of Bengal. Going into the history of the creation of Pakistan, he said that it was perhaps never the intention of the British to have East Bengal ruled "autocratically" from West Pakistan. He demanded an immediate ending of terrible human disaster in East Bengal. The following demands were made by him :—

(a) Immediate despatch of effective relief to the sufferers in East Bengal.

(b) Release of all political prisoners.

(c) Pakistan Army should be ordered to stop firing and withdraw from East Bengal.

(d) National Assembly should be convened immediately to allow the representatives of the people to decide freely the future of the people.

(e) He called for urgent U. N. intervention justifying that the situation in East Bengal was a threat to international peace.

(f) He affirmed that Pakistan had requdiated the ideals of freedom enshrined in the Singapore Declaration adopted at the Commonwealth Conference held in January, 1971, and demanded of the senior Commonwealth Governments like Britain, India or Canada that they should urge the Commonwealth through its Secretariat to send a fact-finding mission to East Bengal.

Lord Brockway strongly urged that India's proposal for a Security Council Meeting on the situation in East Bengal should be supported.

Martin Adeney, correspondent of the Guardian, who was in Dacca on March 25, gave a grim account of what he saw.

Peter Shore M.P. (Labour) and a former Minister in Labour Government, strongly requdiated the argument that the brutal armed suppression of democracy in East Bengal was an internal matter of Pakistan and urged the British Government to sit up and take notice of the happenings there. He appealed to the British Government to bring pressure to bear on President Yahya Khan to stop bloodshed in East Bengal. He demanded that the future of East Bengal should be decided by the people themselves and not by the army of West Pakistan. He disclosed that the British Labour Party shall put all pressure at its command on the Government to take a positive step on the East Bengal situation during the Commons debate on April 5.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে দুর্ভিক্ষের আশংকা : অক্সফাম ও ওয়ার অন্ ওয়ান্ট সংস্থার রিপোর্ট।	অক্সফাম ও ওয়ার অন্ ওয়ান্ট-এর প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি।	৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

PRESS RELEASE

Issued by OXFAM and WAR ON WANT.

Re : East Pakistan Famine.

The whole population of East Pakistan faces a famine of immeasurable extent. This is stressed by Oxfam and War on Want, as the inescapable conclusion reached if the fatal inevitability of the following points is considered :

(1) The loss of food-grain owing to last November's cyclone led to the need for vastly increased imports of grains, which have not been stopped.

(2) The available stocks of food, equivalent to about two months supplementary supply in mid-March, were concentrated in storage centres at Chittagong docks and other sites. It is unlikely that they can have been distributed, and some loss can be assumed.

(3) The war will interrupt the harvesting of the present minor rice crop, will hinder the full planting of the spring crop and, thereafter, that of the main monsoon crop, by disrupting supplies of seed fertilisers and fuel, and the movement of labour for harvesting. "It is our opinion that the famine can only be mitigated if there is a co-ordinated effort by Governments, United Nations' and other international organizations, and other agencies, to co-operate with the Pakistan Government in establishing supply channels into the cyclone effected areas firstly and, thereafter, the rest of the country, before the monsoon rains in June substantially hinder all forms of transport. We are, therefore, calling on the British Government to initiate such a co-ordinated effort."

OXFAM
WAR ON WANT,

Oxfam—War on Want Memorandum

Brief Assessment of the present situation in East Pakistan in relation to future relief and rehabilitation work.

1. The present army moves in East Pakistan (since 25th March), follow logically on an intensive military build-up from 30,000 to 70,000 men since early March, undertaken in apparently almost total secrecy. The aim of the army action is to crush all Bengali nationalist organization and destory all existing and potential leaders in a ruthless, speedy operation, designed to take control of, and now, the whole country.

2. The original aim of the army has not been achieved. From all reports, it would seem that although control was achieved in Dacca fairly quickly, it was not so in Chittagong and some other smaller towns, and has not yet been affected at all in most of the rural areas. Apparently, the West Pakistan outspoken contempt of the Bengalis led them into underestimating the strength of the Bengali nationalist movement. Nevertheless, the army has probably killed relatively large numbers of potential and actual leaders and crushed the bulk of the initial resistance.

3. The attitude of foreign governments has been of crucial importance, and their generally negative attitudes has contributed substantially to the initial ruthless success of the army. The U. K. has considerable investment in West Pakistan, and since the cyclone, the High Commission has been carefully discouraging relief organizations from committing themselves too excessively in cyclone affected areas, on the grounds that it would be dangerous. It is now reasonable to assume that the High Commission had at least knowledge of the intended army action long before the army strength was sufficient to activate these plans. The U. S. has not been so deliberately cautious, but, like the U. K. has appreciable investment in West Pakistan and is clearly not anxious to do anything other than give their support to the Central Government. China has permitted the army to overfly its territory both during the military build-up and since the 25 March, and this must have been noted in East Pakistan. However, there are precedents for anticipating the possibility of a complete volte-face by China at a time when she judges the condition of the Bengalis to be at their most desperate and thus their most grateful for outside support. Russia has already gone on record as the only country which has officially mouthed disapproval of the army's action and she could be preparing to give support to a largely defeated, leaderless Bengali movement before the Chinese could do so, thus gaining considerable political advantage and undermining the pro-Chinese elements in Bengal. India has shown significant interest in, and emotional support for, the East Bengalis, even though an independent East Bengal would not be to her own best long term advantage, in view of its probable effects on the politics of West Bengal. Nevertheless, India will be liable to become progressively more interested and concerned, the longer the army operations have to continue and the more severe are the privations of the populace of East Bengal. Recognition of East Bengal is not a relevant issue at present, but could become so if the military operations have to be continued at length in circumstances akin to those in Vietnam.

4. There are three possible outcomes at present :—

(a) The army wins outright control—this is highly unlikely, and would probably have to be achieved by the end of April to be effective.

(*b*) The Bengalis win outright control—this is as unlikely in view of the present lack of outside help from any source.

(*c*) A military stalemate with the army in charge of the main towns, ports, airports and some surrounding areas and with no effective control, except through disrupted communications, of the remainder of the country.

5. If possibility a. is considered, there would be a situation in which the bulk of the populace would feel defeated and sullen, and this would undoubtedly cause increased support to be given to the Naxalites, Maoists and generally antiwestern, ultra-left wing factions owing to the lack of western governments' pressure on West Pakistan. Nevertheless, there will have been considerable damage to the means of communications (roads, bridges, vehicles, boats, railways) to hospitals and other buildings, as well as dislocation of food supplies, internal and imported, and all this will require emergency relief assistance. However, the army government would have to be willing to admit the local needs and permit outsiders to assist in supplying these needs.

6. If possibility b is considered, then the remnants of the Awami League would be in loose control in a situation where most of the leaders had been shot by the army and this would give rise to an highly confused, structureless situation for some considerable time, giving considerable opportunity to the same radical and ultra radical factions as were outlined above. (5) However, the general populace would be politically euphoric at their succe and could blame all problems and difficulties on the Punjabi army and would therefore, be probably more receptive to foreign assistance from all sources who were not identified too closely in the past with either the West Pakistan Government or foreign governments which had failed to use available opportunities to bring pressure to bear on the West Pakistan Government. One can fore see in this situation, short term relief opportunities to meet the gigantic problems that can be anticipated. with long term opportunities depending entirely on the outcome of the internal Bengali political struggle. In such a situation, the basis of the CBC approach, (of short term intensive training and self-replacement), will probably be much more tolerated than long term, indefinate, approaches.

7. If possiblity c. is considered, and this is by far the most likely eventuality, then the stalemate will continue until the rains come in force in May or June, whereupon the supply situation for the army and the general populace will become progressively intolerable. This worsening logistics situation would tend to lead to an intimate Bengali success over the following four months only if substantial outside assistance was received, particularly from India, and through India. In any event, the situation will lead to wide-spread hunger and malnutrition among the population which the army will not consider itself called upon to mitigate in any way, and the plight of the mass of the people in the rural areas, and particularly the one and a half million in the worst affected cyclone damaged areas, will be indescribably desperate.

8. It is now possible to assess what froms the needs of the people will take, both as a result of the cyclone and military action taken by the army :—

(*a*) Food supplies will have been destroyed and/or delayed for all parts of the country. Once the rains commence, it will be almost impossible

to ship substantial or significant quantities of more food supplies into the cyclone affected areas. Estimating the Chittagong dock-side storage capacity to be 150,000 tons (or approximately 15,000,000 man months) and knowing that this was full in the middle of March, then it could be reasonably guessed that at that time there was sufficient supplementary food-grains available to carry the whole country for up to two months, approximately. Unknown amount of damage was inflicted on the dock side area, and little more grain has been imported since that time (18.3.71). Further, the harvesting of the secondary rice crop of the year (the winter, irrigated "boro" crop) should be commencing in April, and will probably not be fully harvested as it depends on locally imported casual labour which will not be generally available

(*b*) Communications—the following summarizes what can be anticipated : vehicles—many destroyed or damaged roads, bridges—many destroyed or damaged rail lines and rolling stock—cut in many places and stock damaged, destroyed, river boats—some have been destroyed, many probably damaged, and river trade has not recovered from the cyclone air—probably non existant.

(*c*) Future agricultural production—the import of oxen into the affected areas will have been stopped, and the illegal import from India will also have largely ceased. Further, many will doubtless be slaughtered for army food supplies, if necessary. Supplies of seeds will be endangered (utilized for food) and fertilizer supplies will be interrupted throughout the country)

(*d*) Farming mechanisation—the time available for cultivation will have been appreciable reduced, and fuel supplies will be in extremely short supply. (Consequently, the spraying of non-polluting week killer on paddy fields to permit planting of the crop with a minimum of tillage or no tillage at all, could then be considered as a more practicable, emergency proposition, though still an extremely expensive one, costing nearly £ 300 per 100 acres.)

(*e*) Medical—it can be assumed that medical facilities and supplies will have been largely commandeered by the army and there will be an appreciable need for genuine First Aid medical relief Work in a way that never really existed after the cyclone.

(*f*) Buildings and housing—the season is already so far advanced that not much more permanent building materials could have been shipped into the cyclone affected areas, however, it is likely that some of the material stockpiled and awaiting internal shopment will have been despersed or destroyed and there will be a need for planning general support for a building programme for all community service buildings to be erected from autumn 1971 onwards.

(*g*) Cyclone warning and defence system—the warning system will be non-operative, repair work on the damaged embankments will have ceased, and the statistically high likelihood of a cyclone occurring in May or October would find a totally unprepared populate, utterly defenceless, and the resulting damage would be disproportionately high.

9. From the above, it can be seen that sometime over the next few months, an opportunity will arise, probably suddenly, wherein enormous needs will be presented to relief organisations and agencies in a situation of total confusion and it will be left to those agencies to decide whether or not they are prepared to accept the challenge of this opportunity and prepare for it, or to give in to the difficulties created by the governments concerned, both inside and outside Pakistan, and permit the continuation throughout next winter of appalling misery among the people of all parts of East Pakistan, but especially in the cyclone affected areas. It is not difficult to foresee a repetition of the 1942 Bengali famine, as dependant on human achievement as that one was. Today's attitude of the press and B.B.C. broadcasts has been to ignore the effects of the army's actions on the basis needs of the bulk of the people of that country.

—April 7, 1971.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ববংগে গণহত্যা সম্পর্কে বৃটিশ পার্লামেণ্টের শ্রমিক দলীয় সদস্য মিঃ ব্রুস ডগলাস ম্যান-এর বক্তব্য।	আনন্দবাজার	২৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭:

ভিয়েৎনামে 'মাইলাই' একটি ব্যতিক্রম, আর গোটা পূর্ববঙ্গই মাইলাই

—ডগলাস ম্যান

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ২৪ এপ্রিল—ব্রিটিশ পার্লামেণ্টের শ্রমিক দলের সদস্য মিঃ ব্রুস ডগলাসম্যান আজ এখানে বলেন যে, ভিয়েৎনামে মার্কিন ফৌজ সাধারণ মানুষের উপর যে অত্যাচার চালিয়েছে, ইয়াহিয়াশাহীর বর্বরতা তাকেও হার মানিয়েছে। তিনি বলেন, ভিয়েৎনামে মাইলাই একটি ব্যতিক্রম, আর গোটা পূর্ববঙ্গই মাইলাই।

আজ সকালে কলকাতা প্রেস ক্লাবে দেশী-বিদেশী সাংবাদিকদের এক বৈঠকে তিনি বলেন, পূর্ববঙ্গে নরহত্যা অভিযান বন্ধ করার জন্য, পাকিস্তান সরকারকে যুক্তির পথে চলতে বাধ্য করার জন্য সারা বিশ্বকে উপযুক্ত অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে হবে।

ভারতবর্ষ পাকিস্তানের আভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপারে হস্তক্ষেপ করছে বলে পাকিস্তান যে অভিযোগ করেছে, সে সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করতে বলা হলে মিঃ ম্যান বলেন, এই ব্যাপারে ভারতবর্ষ যথেষ্ট সংযমের পরিচয় দিয়েছে। যথেচ্ছ নরহত্যাকে তিনি কোন মতেই একটি দেশের আভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপার বলে মনে করতে পারেন না।

কলকাতার পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশন যেভাবে আনুগত্য পরিবর্তন করেছে, ইংল্যাণ্ডে সেই রকম কিছু হলে আপনি কি করতে বলতেন?—এই প্রশ্নের জবাবে মিঃ ম্যান বলেন, তিনি একজন আইনজীবী। আইনের কথাই তিনি ভাবতেন। কেউ বাড়ী জবরদখল করেছে মনে হলে ইংল্যাণ্ডেও আইনের আশ্রয় নেওয়াই একমাত্র পথ।

তিনি জানান, বৃটিশ পার্লামেণ্টের ২২০ জন সদস্য পূর্ববঙ্গে যুদ্ধবিরতির দাবী জানিয়ে পার্লামেণ্টে একটি প্রস্তাবের নোটিশ দিয়েছেন। এই প্রস্তাবের পক্ষে তিনিই প্রথম স্বাক্ষরকারী। ইংল্যাণ্ডে বাংলা দেশের জন্য যে সর্বদলীয় কমিটি গঠিত হয়েছে, মিঃ ডগলাস ম্যান তার চেয়ারম্যান।

তাঁর ধারণা, ইংল্যাণ্ডের সরকারের মনোভাব পাল্টে গেছে। ওখানকার সংবাদপত্রগুলি স্পষ্ট ভাষায় পাকিস্তানী বর্বরতার নিন্দা করেছে। হাজার হাজার নিরস্ত্র মানুষকে নির্বিচারে হত্যা করা হচ্ছে। এই হত্যা বন্ধ করার জন্য বৃটিশ এবং অন্যান্য সরকারকে অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা প্রয়োগ করতে হবে।

মিঃ ম্যান অনেকগুলি উদ্বাস্তু শিবির ঘুরে এসেছেন। শিবিরের ভিতরে গিয়ে তাঁরা কথা বলেছেন।

ইংল্যাণ্ড কি বাঙ্গালীদের সামরিক সাহায্য দেবে? না। তবে কেউ দিলে বাধাও দেবে না।

পরে মিঃ ম্যান বাংলাদেশ কূটনৈতিক মিশনে গিয়ে হাই কমিশনার জনাব হোসেন আলীর সঙ্গে সাক্ষাৎ করেন। উভয়ের মধ্যে আতত্রাণ ও আনুষঙ্গিক বিষয়ে আলোচনা হয়।

তিনি বলেন, ভারতের পক্ষে একক এই সমস্যা সমাধান সম্ভব নয়। সারাবিশ্বকে এগিয়ে আসতে হবে। মিঃ ম্যান বলেন, মিঃ স্টোনহাউস এই সাহায্য সংগঠনের জন্যই এসেছেন।

মিঃ ম্যান যাঁদের সঙ্গে কথা বলেছেন, তাঁরা সকলেই যশোহর জেলা থেকে এসেছেন। এ'দের সঙ্গে কথা বলে তাঁর মনে হয়েছে, পাঞ্জাবী মিলিটারী দিয়ে পরিকল্পিতভাবে মানুষ খতম করা হচ্ছে। গ্রামকে গ্রাম লোক নেই, জল নেই। মাঠে শস্য নেই, থাকলেও পুড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে। ভয়াবহ দুর্ভিক্ষ আশঙ্কা করা হচ্ছে।

বিভিন্ন পক্ষের সঙ্গে কথা বলে তাঁর মনে হয়েছে, যুদ্ধ পরিস্থিতি বাঙ্গালীদের পক্ষে নৈরাশ্যজনক নয়। আবার ভারতীয় সংবাদপত্রে যেমন দেখান হচ্ছে, তেমন আশাব্যঞ্জকও নয়। অতিরিক্ত আশাবাদী চিত্র এঁকে ভারতীয় সংবাদপত্র মুক্তিকামী বাঙ্গালীদের ক্ষতি করবেন বলে তিনি মনে করেন।

বৃটিশ সরকার নতুন বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দেবার প্রশ্নে নেতৃত্ব দেবে বলে তিনি ন করেন না।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটিশ শ্রমিকদলের প্রতিনিধি মিঃ ডগলাস ম্যান কর্তৃক পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের উপর অর্থনৈতিক অবরোধ আরোপের দাবী।	আনন্দবাজার।	২৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

আক্রমণকারী পঃ পাকিস্তানকে অর্থনৈতিক অবরোধ করতে হবে

বৃটিশ শ্রমিকদলের প্রতিনিধির দাবী

॥ বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি ॥

বৃটিশ পার্লামেন্টের শ্রমিক দলের প্রতিনিধি শ্রীব ডগলাস ম্যান শুক্রবার প্রেস ক্লাবে এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে বলেন, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান বাংলাদেশকে 'আক্রমণ' করেছে। সেখানে জনগণকে নির্বিচারে হত্যা করা হচ্ছে। ওখানে পুনর্বিবেচিত করতে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান যাতে বাধ্য হয়, তার জন্য রাষ্ট্রসংঘ ও কমনওয়েলথের মাধ্যমে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানকে অর্থনৈতিক অবরোধ করতে হবে।

বাংলাদেশের জনগণের অবস্থা স্বচক্ষে দেখার জন্য শ্রমিক দলের পক্ষ থেকে শ্রী ম্যান বাংলাদেশ সীমান্তে এসেছিলেন। সাংবাদিকদের কাছে তিনি অভিভূত কণ্ঠে বলেন, শরণার্থীদের সঙ্গে কথা বলে পাক সৈন্যদের মর্মান্তিক হিংস্রতার তিনি যথেষ্ট সাক্ষ্য প্রমাণ পেয়েছেন। নির্বিচারে মানুষকে সেখানে হত্যা করা হয়েছে। চারদিকে একটা আতঙ্কের আবহাওয়া। এর পিছনে উদ্দেশ্য কি তিনি জানেন না। তবে তিনি এটা বুঝতে পারছেন, বাংলাদেশ ও পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের মধ্যে আর মিলনের কোন সম্ভাবনা নেই। যা হয়েছে তা 'আক্রমণ'— পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের ওপর আক্রমণ। আন্তর্জাতিকভাবে একটা আক্রমণের ঘটনা হিসাবে এটিকে সকলের গ্রহণ করা উচিত। গোলাপী শংকটের সঙ্গে অক্সফোরড টাই পরা কেনসিংটনের এই তরুণ সুদর্শন এম-পি সাংবাদিকদের বলেন, পূর্ববঙ্গে শান্তি ও ন্যায়বিচার প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য বৃটেনের সংসদ সদস্যরা উদ্যোগী হয়ে একটি কমিটি গঠন করেছেন। কমিটির তিনি একজন সদস্য।

সীমান্তের অভিজ্ঞতা

শ্রী ম্যান বলেন, সীমান্তের শরণার্থীরা আমাকে বলেছেন পানজাবী সৈন্যরা গ্রামে গ্রামে এসে নির্বিচারে হত্যাকাণ্ড চালিয়েছে। বাড়ী-ঘর-দোরে আগুন লাগিয়ে দিয়েছে। তারপর আওয়ামী লীগ নেতাদের খুঁজে বার করার চেষ্টা করেছে। অত্যাচারের সাক্ষ্যপ্রমাণগুলি খুবই স্পষ্ট। তবে এই ব্যাপক নির্বিচারে হত্যাকাণ্ড বাঙালীদের তাড়ানোর জন্য সুপরিকল্পিতভাবে করা হয়েছে কিনা, তা তিনি বলতে পারেন

শ্রী ম্যান মনে করছেন, পূর্ববঙ্গে যে সব মানুষ এখনও আছেন, তাঁরা না খেয়ে মরবেন। কারণ বীজ বোনা হয়নি। চাষ-বাস বন্ধ। এর ফলাফল হবে মর্মন্তুদ। আরও উদ্বাস্তু আসতে থাকবেন। আন্তর্জাতিক ত্রাণ সংগঠনগুলির পক্ষ থেকে অবিলম্বে যুদ্ধপীড়িত মানুষদের উদ্ধার করা দরকার।

বায়াফ্রার সঙ্গে তুলনা হয় না

বাংলাদেশের অবস্থাকে অনেকে বায়াফ্রার সঙ্গে তুলনা করছেন, কিন্তু শ্রী ম্যানের মতে, বায়াফ্রার সঙ্গে এখানকার পরিস্থিতির তুলনাই হয় না। বায়াফ্রাতে পূর্ব বাংলার মত একটা নির্বাচন হয়নি। তা ছাড়া ফেডারেল সরকারের সঙ্গে বায়াফ্রা এমন ভৌগোলিকভাবে বিচ্ছিন্নও ছিল না।

তবু বায়াফ্রার কথা মনে করে অনেক রাষ্ট্র বাংলাদেশকে সাহায্য করতে এগিয়ে আসছেন না। কিন্তু এটি 'বাজে তুলনা'। শ্রী ম্যান কদাচ মনে করেন না যে, বাংলাদেশে আজ যা হচ্ছে, তা শুধু পাকিস্তানের অভ্যন্তরীণ ঘটনা।

শ্রী ম্যানের বিশ্বাস, পৃথিবীর লোকেরা ভাল করে জানে না, পূর্ববঙ্গে কী হচ্ছে। এমনকি তাঁর নিজের দেশের সরকার ও জনগণও বিশদ খবরাখবর জানেন না। বৃটিশ সরকার এইজন্যই চুপ করে আছেন বলে শ্রী ম্যান মনে করেন।

প্রশ্ন: আপনি কেন বৃটিশ হাই-কমিশনারকে অনুরোধ করছেন না, ঘুরে সব দেখে গিয়ে সরকারকে জানাতে?

উত্তর। আমি ওঁর সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ করেছিলাম। দেখলাম তিনি আমার চেয়েও বেশী খবর রাখেন।

প্রশ্ন: বৃটিশ সংবাদপত্রগুলি কি পূর্ববঙ্গের এই যুদ্ধের খবর চেপে দিচ্ছেন?

উত্তর। সিরিয়াস কাগজগুলি ভাল খবরই দিচ্ছে, কিন্তু সে তুলনায় আমাদের পপুলার খবরের কাগজগুলি ভালভাবে কভারেজ দিচ্ছে না।

প্রশ্ন: আপনি কি মনে করেন বাংলাদেশকে নিয়ে তৃতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ বাঁধবার সম্ভাবনা আছে?

উত্তর। দেখুন, ভারত যদি হস্তক্ষেপ করে, তাহলে চীন এগিয়ে আসবে। সেক্ষেত্রে বিশ্বযুদ্ধের সম্ভাবনা উড়িয়ে দেবার নয়।

প্রশ্ন: আপনি তো সব দেখে গেলেন, আপনার কি মনে হল ভারত এ ব্যাপারে হস্তক্ষেপ করেছে?

শ্রী ম্যানের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে জবাব: আমি ভারতীয় পররাষ্ট্র দফতরের কর্তাদের সঙ্গে কথা বলে নিশ্চিত হয়েছি যে, ভারত এমন কিছু করছে না, যেটি অভ্যন্তরীণ হস্তক্ষেপের পক্ষে সহায়ক হতে পারে।

একজন সাংবাদিক প্রশ্ন করেন: আচ্ছা মিঃ ম্যান, পাকিস্তানী ডেপুটি হাই-কমিশনার মিঃ মোহাম্মদ মাসুদ কলকাতায় পাক ডেপুটি হাই-কমিশনের খবর নিতে এসেছেন। সরকারের বদলে আপনারা এমন একটা অবস্থায় পড়লে কি করতেন? শ্রী ম্যান: আমরা ব্যাপারটা আদালতের ওপরেই ছেড়ে দিতাম। আমি একজন আইন ব্যবসায়ী। আমি বুঝি এটি সম্পূর্ণ আইনের এক্তিয়ার।

পূর্ববঙ্গে ন্যায়বিচার প্রতিষ্ঠা কমিটি

বৃটেনে পূর্ববঙ্গে ন্যায়বিচার প্রতিষ্ঠা কমিটি—'জাসটিস ফর ইষ্টবেঙ্গল কমিটির' অন্যান্য সদস্যদের মধ্যে আছেন জন হ্যানাম (কনজারভেটিভ এম-পি), জন পারদো (লিবারেল এম-পি)। কমিটিতে আরও দুজন সদস্য আছেন, তাঁরা কেউ এম-পি নন। শ্রী ম্যান এই কমিটির অস্থায়ী চেয়ারম্যান। কমিটির ছয় দফা উদ্দেশ্য: (১) হত্যা ও যুদ্ধ বন্ধ করা, (২) আন্তর্জাতিক রেডক্রস ও অন্যান্য আন্তর্জাতিক সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠানকে বাংলাদেশে ঢুকতে দেওয়া, (৩) যতদিন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে ধ্বংসাত্মক কার্যকলাপ চালাবেন, ততদিন পাকিস্তানে উন্নয়নমূলক সাহায্য বন্ধ রাখা, (৪) পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকার প্রতিষ্ঠা, (৫) শান্তিপূর্ণ সমাধানের জন্য রাষ্ট্রসংঘের হস্তক্ষেপ, (৬) সিংহলে পাকিস্তানের সামরিক দ্রব্যাদি নামানোর অধিকারের অবসান।

কমিটি তাঁদের কার্যবিবরণীর এই খসড়ায় পূর্ব পাকিস্তান কথাটাই ব্যবহার করেছেন--বাংলাদেশ নয়।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর উপর বি বি সি-গৃহীত জন স্টোনহাউসের সাক্ষাৎকার।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	২৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

JOHN STONEHOUSE'S INTERVIEW WITH BBC ON APRIL 27, 1971

On his return to London, John Stonehouse was interviewed on the Today Programme of B.B.C. on April 27, Stonehouse said that "terrible" things had happened in East Bengal, things which have not been seen since the last war. Describing it further stonehouse said that what had happened in East Bengal "makes Vietnam look like a tea-party." He talked in particular of the incident at Dacca University on March 25, when staff and students were "rounded up and shot in cold-blood." He expressed great regret that a "98 per cent" vote for a democratically held election had not only been refused its just deserts but had been subjected to a policy of repression by the military junta. "We *must* be concerned about this; we *can't* wash our hands off this," said John Stonehouse.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে প্রেরিত বৃটিশ পণ্যসামগ্রীর বীমা সুবিধা বিলোপ।	টাইমস অব ইণ্ডিয়া	১৪ মে, ১৯৭১

BRITAIN SUSPENDS INSURANCE COVER ON EXPORTS TO PAKISTAN

By J. D. SINGH

"The Times of India" News Service

LONDON, May 14.

Britain's Export Credits Guarantee Department has suspended further insurance cover on exports to Pakistan.

It will honour the existing commitments on British exports to Pakistan but will not insure further export credits.

British exporters are being advised to insist on cash payment before delivering goods to Pakistan. Ordinarily the department insures exporters against non-payment for goods shipped.

A spokesman of the department said : "We regret this move but we are obliged to pay our way and this is a commercial judgment."

The decision has been influenced by the political and economic crisis in East Bengal and the department's assessment of Pakistan's future foreign exchange earnings and its ability to pay its way.

The East Bengal crisis has held up all just shipments thereby depriving the country of its major source of foreign exchange. British exports to Pakistan last year were worth more than Rs. 900 million.

The suspension of insurance cover is likely to make British exports of capital goods to Pakistan exceedingly difficult.

The decision comes at a time when Pakistan is seeking a moratorium on repayment of its official debts to western creditors. The case for a moratorium is being considered by the World Bank. A decision on it is expected at the next meeting of the Aid Pakistan Consortium scheduled to be held in Paris early next month.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে বৃটিশ সাহায্য বন্ধ করার জন্য বৃটিশ এম. পি-দের দাবী।	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৫ মে, ১৯৭১

DEMAND IN U.K. TO STOP AID TO PAKISTAN

London, May, 14.—Rejecting the British Government's stand that the Bangladesh situation is Pakistan's internal problem, a group of over 200 British M.Ps., educationists, reporters and businessmen yesterday renewed the call for suspension of all aid to Islamabad until troops were withdrawn from Bangladesh, says PTI.

Through an advertisement in The Times yesterday, they also urged the British Government to take the initiative in mounting massive international relief efforts all over Bangladesh.

Pakistan is the moment to show that man is more than an internal problem; the life and death of millions is everyone's problem". said the slogan at the top of the advertisement which occupied three-quarters of an inside page of this national newspaper. Half of the space was taken by a photograph showing the body of a midle-age Bengali victim of the Pakistani troops in a village in East Bengal.

Sponsored by the "Action Bangladesh", the advertisement was timed to appear on the eve of today's House of Common's discussion on the Labour Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann's motion seeking an end to the British passivity on the Bangladesh situation and carried 203 signatories including that of Lord Fenner Brockway. The noted West Indian author, Mr. V. S. Naipaul, was also among the signatories.

The advertisement read : "On the 25th of March, the Pakistani Army began a systinatic and brutal killing of the people of East Bengal whose only offence was to win the majority in the country's national election.

The Army's suppression has not only left thousands dead from the bodies massacre, but by disrupting planting, harvesting and food imports, it had also threatened millions more with starvation.

When the British Government says that this is an internal problem' of Pakistan they are saying in effect that the Government has the right to murder and starve its own citizens when they vote in a wrong way

"We the undersigned call upon the British Government to suspend all aid to West Pakistan until its rulers remove their troops from East Bengal. We further call upon the British Government to join with other nations in mounting massive international relief efforts to reach all the areas of East Pakistan".

Reuter adds : The chairman of Britain's Young Liberals, Mr. Peter Hain, said today that Britain should suspend all aid to West Pakistan until she withdrew troops from the country's eastern wing.

In a letter to The Times, he said : "With a parliamentary debate this week focussing public attention on the crisis in Pakistan perhaps, the British Government will now shake itself out of its criminal complacency over the massacre of the people of Bangladesh by West Pakistan".

AP adds from Washington : The Washington Daily News has advised President Nixon to withhold aid to Pakistan until he is sure that it will be shared with the people of East Bengal.

In an editorial, the paper said, "An emissary of the Pakistani military regime is in the USA seeking hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to stave off his country's financial collapse. President Nixon should consider most carefully before giving any help to the Pakistan Central Government. As far as we can see its sole distinction was its brutal if not genocidal attack on the Bengali people of East Pakistan."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের নির্যাতনের ওপর সংবাদ-পত্রে প্রকাশিত প্রতিবেদনের পুন: প্রচার।	এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ ; উদ্ধৃতি : দি গার্ডিয়ান।	২৭ মে, ১৯৭১

REPRINTED FROM THE GUARDIAN, MAY 27, 1971 BY ACTION BANGLADESH, 34, STRATFORD VILLAS, LONDON, N.W-1.

East Bengal atrocities

Sir,—We are not reporters with little time to spare looking for the best stories. We have each lived in West Bengal for most of 20 years and we have talked at random with hundreds of refugees in the course of our relief work among them. The total picture of what has been happening in East Bengal is clear to us without any shadow of doubt.

There are scores of survivors of firing-squard line ups. Hundreds of witnesses to the machine-gunning of political leaders, professors, doctors, teacher and students.

Villages have been surrounded, at any time of day or night, and the frightened villagers have fled where they could, or been slaughtered where they have been found, or enticed out to the fields and mown down in heaps. Women have been raped, girls carried off to barracks, unarmed peasants battered or bayoneted by the thousands.

The pattern, after seven weeks, is still the same. Even the least credible stories, of babies thrown up to be caught on bayonets, of women stripped and bayoneted vertically, or of children sliced up like meat, are credible not only because they are told by so many people, but because they are told by people without sufficient sophistication to make up such stories for political motives.

We saw the amputation of a mother's arm and a child's foot. These were too far from the border, and gangrene developed from their bullet-wounds. Many saw their daughters raped, and the heads of their children smashed in. Some watched their husbands, sons, and grandsons tied up at the wrists and shot in more selective male elimination.

No sedative will calm a girl now in Bongaon Hospital—she is in a permanent delirium crying "They will kill us all, they will kill us all...." Next to her is a girl still trembling from day-long raping and a vaginal bayonet wou ld.

About 400 were killed at Jhaudanga while on their way to India, surrounded and massacred. Why ? Lest they take tales to India ? Or because choosing a certain democratic system under Sheikh Mujib means forfeiting the right to live in any country ?

Most vicious of all perhaps was the attempted annihilation of the East Bengal regiment. Few of the 1st Battalion escaped through a curtain of bullets fired by those who the previous day were their mates in the mess. It was symbolic of the betrayal of the whole of the eastern province.

The insensate furry follows the contempt of years : exploitation had been chronic—rice had become double the price it sold for in the western province. Mujib's men were ready to reestablish justice democratically and peacefully, and gained an overwhelming mandate from the people in the December elections—167 out of 169 seats. But Yahya Khan's military junta and Mr. Bhutto could not stomach the humiliation implied.

Is this to be regarded as India's problem ? It should be no more hers than any other country's. What is the West doing ? The big event is over, the heavy print of Pakistan recedes, the tragedy is stale, who will fund the relief operations ? Who will campaign for this ?

Are the political complexities so much a gag ? Has no government or people the voice that can sound out with the authentic ring of passion in support of the victims ? Is there no consensus out of which can be heard a creative answer ?

(Rev.) John Hastings,
(Rev.) John Clapham,
Sudder Street Methodist Church, Calcutta.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব-বাংলা ট্র্যাজেডীর প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী বৃটেনের শ্রমিক দলের এম. পি. মি: মাইকেল বার্নস এবং 'ওয়ার অন ওয়ান্ট' সভাপতি ডোনাল্ড চেসওয়ার্থ -এর বিবৃতি।	ইণ্ডিয়ান এক্সপ্রেস	২ জুন, ১৯৭১

STATEMENTS BY Mr. MICHAEL BARNES, BRITISH LABOUR M.P., AND Mr. DONALD CHESWORTH, CHAIRMAN OF THE WAR ON WANT

Calcutta, June 1 : Mr. Micheal Barnes, British Labour M.P. who is on a visit to see the victims of the liberation was in Bangladesh said here yesterday "the world must help to find a solution to the tragedy."

He said it was "nonsense" to call what had happened in East Bengal was an internal affair of Pakistan. He promised to take it up with his Government to raise issue before the United Nations.

Mr. Barnes and Mr. Donald Chesworth, Chairman of the War on Want, a charitable organisation of Britain, who have visited a number of camps on the borders, said the world community must come forward immediately with all possible aid.

They suggested that the U.K. should forthwith raise its contribution to £ 10 million from £ 1 million. According to Mr. Chesworth, a substantial portion of the money raised for cyclone relief in East Bengal would be released for aid to the evacuees from the cyclone affected areas.

Mr. Chesworth said the British Overseas Minister should pay a personal visit here as the dimensions of the problem were so great that London, Washington and Moscow were probably finding it difficult to assess. He added : "What is taking place here is a potential threat to world peace".

They said people were fleeing Bangladesh because of the army action. The evacuees had carried tales of woes and extreme sufferings.

Mr. Barnes said a number of people had told him that the army was pushing people out to "change the political complexion" of East Bengal as the Chinese had done in Tibet.

In the view of Mr. Barnes, every country in the world that had supplied arms as well as development aid to Pakistan was involved in the present tragedy in East Bengal because Pakistan had used the power built up with arms and aid supplied by them against its own people.

Mr. Barnes thought that the donor countries should now work out a set of conditions though the U.N. for countries receiving arms or development so

that governments like the Government of Pakistan realise what would be the attitude of the donor countries, if they were engaged in military operations against their own people using that aid.

If a long term solution was to be found in East Bengal, Mr. Barnes said the world community must bring economic pressure on the Government of Pakistan to withdraw troops from East Bengal and come to a genuine democratic agreement with the people.

In this context both Mr. Chesworth and Mr. Barnes said there was no evidence to suggest that Britain was at the moment out of line with the other nations of the international community on the need for economic pressure.

Mr. Barnes said : "If Britain and America and the whole of the international community pursue this line and remain united on this question, there will in the long run be a genuine and democratic solution in East Bengal". He said on his return, he would pressurise the British Government to stand committed to this line.

When his attention was drawn to Mr. Heath's "no" to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's call for suspension of aid to Pakistan, Mr. Barnes said Britain would not suspend the existing economic aid to Pakistan. But it would not enter into any new aid commitment unless Pakistan accepted a settlement in East Bengal.

Explaining further, Mr. Chesworth said no aid was going from Britain to Pakistan at the moment. This was the period in which aid programmes were wound up and only some technical assistance like aid to students were continuing.

Both Mr. Barnes and Mr. Chesworth took pain, to explain that what was important was the Consortium aid for the next year. When the Consortium countries met a few days back, they adjourned till July before approving plans for expenditure. That would be a vital meeting and Britain, they asserted, had "no conceivable reason" to back up a colonial regime in East Bengal.

Mr. Chesworth said the reaction in Britain to the East Bengal tragedy was one of "shock". For people in the U.K., it was hardly comprehensible that such brutalities could really occur.

He said his organisation, War on Want—had no hesitation to accept the Bangladesh Government as the real representative of the people and have dealings with it in distribution of relief. At the same time, he added that it would be wrong to entrust supplies exclusively to the military regime in Pakistan for distribution.

At the end, Mr. Chesworth feared a "massive" famine in East Bengal because over greater parts of the country seeds had not been sown.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২০ জন শ্রমিক দলীয় এম, পি, কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি জানানোর দাবী।	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

120 Labour M.P.s Demand Bangladesh Recognition

From S. NIHAL SINGH

LONDON, June 16.—One hundred and twenty Labour M.P.s last night demanded the recognition of the Provisional Government of Bangladesh in a resolution tabled in the House of Commons. Among those who have tabled the motion is Mr. Ian Mikardo, Chairman of the Labour Party, and its principal sponsor is Mr. John Stonehouse who visited West Bengal last April. The motion follows the Commons debate last week, but goes further in demanding recognition for Bangladesh.

It says that by the widespread murder of civilians and the atrocities on a massive scale, the Pakistani Army has forfeited all rights to rule in East Bengal. Therefore, the motion calls for a meeting of the U.N. Security Council to consider the situation both a threat to international peace and a contravention of the Genocide Convention. Further it says that until order is restored under U.N. supervision, the Provisional Government of Bangladesh should be recognized as the vehicle for the expression of self-determination by the people of East Bengal.

Two factors appear to be responsible for the forthright nature of the resolution. There is perhaps a feeling of guilt in Labour circles over the empty Opposition benches during the debate on Pakistan demanded by Mr. Harold Wilson. Secondly, it is becoming increasingly clear that the Government's approach to the problem, while full of sympathy for the relief of the refugees, is tilting towards rescuing Pakistan's economy, once the Yahya regime has done the necessary windowdressing in East Bengal.

The Labour Party's decision to take a bolder approach to the Bangladesh problem is also apparent from two resolutions passed by its national executive. The main resolution asks the British Government to raise the question in the Security Conucil, substantially to increase Britain's contribution to U Thant's relief fund and give generous assistance to India for the care of the refugees. It says that with the collapse of political institutions in East Bengal, aid cannot be meaningful. Thefefore the Government sh. ıld restrict aid to Pakistan to help relieve suffering and urge this view upon members of the Aid Pakistan Consortium. The second resolution calls for the immediate setting up of a disaster relief commission.

While the people of Bangladesh have won a more forthright ally in the British Labour Party, it seems doubtful that the British Government will be swaved by it—and everybody in Britain his really more interested in the Common Market.

PTI adds : European nations, including Sweden, Holland, Italy, Austria and Hungary, have agreed that Pakistan cannot impose a "unilateral" solution on East Bengal and they will, in conjunction with friendly countries, impress this upon President Yahya Khan.

This was the impression that Government leaders of these countries gave to Mr. Moinul Huq Choudhuri, Minister of Industrial Development, who toured these countries recently as the personal envoy of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi. He is the first of the four Cabinet Ministers to return from abroad after talks on Bangladesh.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যা : ইণ্টার-ন্যাশনাল ফ্রেণ্ডস অব বাংলাদেশ কর্তৃক গৃহীত প্রস্তাব।	ইণ্টারন্যাশনাল ফ্রেণ্ডস অব বাংলাদেশ।	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

Resolution on Genocide in Bangladesh

At a public meeting in Conway Hall organised by the International Friends of Bangladesh on Friday, June 25th under the Chairmanship of Lady Gifford, the following resolution was moved by Mr. John Platts-Mills, Q.C., and supported amongst others by Mr. Asoke Sen., Barrister-at-Law (*ex*-Cabinet Minister for Law of the Government of India) Mr. Justice Abu S. Chowdhury, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University and special Envoy of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Shakwat Hussain, Barrister-at Law and Lord Gifford, Barrister-at-Law and passed unanimously :—

This public meeting resolves to require its convenors to take immediate steps to set up a preparatory Committee with the Genocide convention to ask the Security Council to establish an International War Crimes Tribunal to inquire into the conduct of the Pakistan Government in Islamabad and its military regime established in Dacca and military leaders serving them and try and punish those who may have committed crimes, in violation of the Genocide Convention.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে ত্রাসের রাজত্ব বিরাজ করছে: চারজন বৃটিশ এম. পি.'র ঘটনা বর্ণনা।	দি স্টেটসম্যান	২৯ জুন, ১৯৭১

REIGN OF TERROR PERSISTS IN E. BENGAL, SAYS BRITISH M P.

By a Staff Reporter

The four British M. P.'s came to Calcutta by air from Dacca on Monday afternoon. Their observations on the present situation in East Bengal, pieced together, lead to the following conclusions ; an atmosphere of terror is pervading. Army-ruled East Bengal ; people are still fighting in a "complex situation"; people with "hands chopped off with bullet wounds" were seen; the university campuses bore "marks of a struggle", and the situation in East Bengal was far from normal.

The M.P.'s who came by a special RAF plane were Mr. Arthur Bottemley (Lab), Mr. Reg Prentice (Lab) both of whom were former Overseas Development Ministers, Mr. James Ramsden, former Conservative Secretary of State for War and Mr. Toby Jessel (Conservative). They were received by Mr. Ashok Roy, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, the British Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta, Mr. F. S. Miles, and senior Government officials. They are staying at Raj Bhavan.

Earlier, addressing a Press conference in Dacca, Mr. Toby Jessel said he had evidence of continuing large-scale persecution of Hindus in East Pakistan, "You cannot impose a reign of terror and expect the country to flourish economically" he added.

The Conservative M.P., said ; "Continued sackings of villages and disappearance of local people add to fear. The Pakistani Army must stop trigger-happy and arbitrary units".

Mr. Reg Prentice did not think that the evacuees should go back to East Bengal under the present situation as "an atmosphere of fear" was persisting there. He said that there was complete Army rule there and that the people "are basically afraid of the military rule". He said that some sort of terror complex was prevalent in the eastern sector of East Bengal.

The team, which stayed in East Bengal for four days, visited Chuadanga, Rajshahi, Chittagong, Sylhet, Barisal, Dacca and Mymensingh by plane or by helicopter. Describing the tour, Mr. Arther Bottomley said that "we had a pretty. wide journey in a helicopter flying low so that we could see every thing". Mr Toby Jessel said that they saw few people in some places and some villages with demolished houses. Mr. Jessel said that they were to have visited a village today but "we could not go there as the village had been completely sacked by the Pakistani Army and all sorts of obstacles were put to prevent our visit there".

Asked whether he thought there could by any political settlement in East Bengal, Mr. Ramsden said that restoration of normal conditions was more pressing than a political settlement.

About the return of evacuees, Mr. Jessel said that the Pakistan Government was disappointed with too small a number of refugees returning to the reception centres in East Bengal. He said that the Pakistan Government was expecting about 500 evacuees to return to the newly set up Chuadanga reception centre everyday, but they saw only 200 refugees, including two Hindus, there.

Replying to a reporter, Mr. Ramsden said that "parts of Dacca appeared to be normal but it could not be said there was normalcy there". Rail and steamer services in the country, he said, operated in limited areas.

Replying to a question whether he had seen any sign of persecution in East Bengal, Mr. Bottomley said; "I would not like to use the word 'persecution'. The fact is that it happened and it must be stopped. We saw people with hands chopped off, with bullet wounds and still suffering."

The M.P.s will submit their reports to their respective party leaders on their return to England.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শরণার্থীদের দুর্দশা সম্পর্কে 'দি টাইমস' -এর সম্পাদকের কাছে লিখিত লেডি আলেকজান্দ্রা মেটকাফ-এর চিঠি।	দি টাইমস	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

REFUGEES IN WEST BENGAL

Letter to the Editor

From Lady Alexandra Metcalfe

Sir, I have just returned from spending some time in the refugee camps in West Bengal. The conditions which have been described in the press and on television and radio are in no way exaggerated. Due to the magnitude of the problem they are the most appalling and harrowing. I have yet seen in many visits to disasters.

Giving shelter and food to over five million totally destitute human beings, and more are steaming over daily, is beyond the capacity of the Indian Government. Their efforts are impressive and praiseworthy. The cases of serious malnutrition among the babies is enormous. The "Save the Children Fund" have hundreds through their hospital in Kalyani, for many it is too late, others are being saved.

The point I would like to stress is that in the coming two to three months due to living conditions in the camps made more intolerable by the monsoon. The shortage of food and other essentials, the situation is going to deteriorate rapidly, epidemics of all sorts will spread like wild fire and hundreds of thousands more will die. It would be wrong to imagine that because the cholera scare has been checked the most serious problem is over, it has yet to come.

Relief must continue to flow and in no way diminish.

Yours sincerely.

ALEXANDRA METCALFE, Vice-Chairman, "Save the Children Fund".
65 Eaton Place SW1.

July 3.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটিশ এম. পি. মিঃ আর্থার বটমলে ও টবী জেসেল-এর বক্তব্য।	দি স্টেটসম্যান	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

STATEMENTS BY Mr. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY AND Mr. TOBY JESSEL, BRITISH M.P.s.

Representatives of Bangladesh gave flowers to Mr. Toby Jessel, one of the three British Parliamentarians who returned home yesterday from their tour of India and Pakistan.

Mr. Jessel (Conservative), who has been the most forthright member of the four-man delegation in calling a spade a spade, told reporters at London airport that he had asked Pakistani refugees in India two questions in camps. He had asked them : "Will you go back ?" The answer was : "Not till it is safe".

Mr. Jessel's second question was : "When will you go back ?" The answer : "If Sheikh Mujibur Rahman asks us to go back, we shall".

Mr. Reginald Prentice (Labour) was asked by a Pakistani correspondent whether it was a good policy to use aid as a lever. He said he had only recently seen reports of the proceedings of the U.S. Senate on this question, in 99 cases out of 100 he would be against using aid as a lever, but in the present case in Pakistan it was justified.

Three aspects

Mr. Arthur Bottomely earlier made an agreed statement on behalf of the four-member delegation. He emphasized three aspects of the situation : the element of fear existing in East Bengal, the continuing atrocities there and the need for further assistance to the refugees.

Mr. Bottomley said this had been the most harrowing mission be had undertaken in his entire public life. He found President Yahya Khan an honourable man who did not seem to know what was happening in East Bengal.

But General Tikka Khan, he felt, was the wrong man in Dhaka who had no knowledge of or concern for the economic and social aspects of the situation. The army had not only perpetrated atrocities in East Bengal but was conttinuing to do so.

He said the mission went everywhere it wanted to in East Bengal except in one instance in which he was satisfied with the Pakistani explanation.

Mr. Bottomley paid tribute to Mrs. Gandhi who, he said, was not only a great Prime Minister but was behaving like a great statesman. In his view she was handling the enormous problems with compassion and wisdom and deserved every support.

He appealed to the British Government and people to give succour to the refugees and assured them that the money was well spent, with Indian administrators doing a magnificent job.

Asked whether India was obstructing the return of refugees home, Mr. Bottomley said "Why should it ?" The refugees, he said, were creating inevitable problems for India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লেবার পার্টির আন্তর্জাতিক কমিটিতে পাকিস্তান পরিস্থিতি আলোচনা।	লেবার পার্টি তথ্য বিভাগ	৮ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

NEWS RELEASE

Issued by the Labour Party Information Department

PAKISTAN

The Pakistan situation was discussed at today's meeting of the Labour Party International Committee and the following resolutions were adopted.

1. "The N.E.C., deeply concerned about the present human crisis in West and East Bengal, believes that the dangers of the present conflict within Pakistan are a threat to international peace and security; that only a satisfactory political solution to the conflict within Pakistan can restore stability and end the threat to peace; and that the urgency and scale of the present human suffering among the refugees, and the dangers of early famine demand an unsparing response from Britain. It therefore, urges H.M. Government to take the following immediate steps :—

(*a*) To raise the conflict in Pakistan in the Security Council as an urgent question threatening peace and endangering the security of others;

(*b*) To increase substantially the present British contribution to U Thant's Relief Fund and to make an immediate bilateral offer of generous additional aid to India to assist her in the costs of meeting the refugee problem.

The N.E.C. further believes that in this situation it is right that the British people should know what approach H.M. Government is proposing to take in the forthcoming early meeting of the Pakistan Aid Consortium, which will consider the very serious economic crisis facing Pakistan.

The N.E.C., believes that in a situation in which political institutions in East Pakistan have collapsed, aid for development cannot be meaningful. It therefore calls upon H.M. Government to urge at the forthcoming meeting of the Consortium that, until a peaceful settlement has been achieved in East Pakistan, aid to Pakistan should be limited to the relief and prevention of actual disease and distress, bearing in mind that many of those who most need aid are no longer in Pakistan."

2. "In view of the obvious failure to get adequate relief to India and Pakistan and similar technical problems during other recent catastrophes, this Committee urges H.M. Government to propose the establishment of an international Relief Commission. This Commission should be set up immediately and be composed of those with experience of relief, transportation and the management of large scale organisation. In circumstances such as now existing in Pakistan the Commission would meet continuously and report on what measures would be

necessary on a world scale for implementation by the United Nations. The Commission would establish permanent machinery to provide immediate relief in natural and man-made disasters, to save life, furnish essential medical supplies and if necessary take control of the situation until longer term measures can be brought into effect. In proposing the establishment of this Commission, H.M. Government should pledge full British participation and financial support."

June 8, 1971

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON PAKISTAN

Conference expresses its horror and concern at the terrible human tragedy now taking place in Bengal. It believes that the Pakistan Government must take full responsibility for the terrible suffering endured by the people of East Bengal and Conference condemns the Government of Pakistan for its totally unjustified use of military force against the people and democratically elected leaders of East Bengal.

Refugees

Conference expresses its grave concern at the totally inadequate response of the World Community to the vast refugee problem. The Government of India has carried a disproportionate share of this burden and Conference urges the establishment of a United Nations Disaster Relief Agency to take full responsibility for refugee aid. Conference urges the British Government to pledge full support for such an agency and meantime to substantially increase its bilateral aid to India to enable the Indian Government to cope with the urgent and immediate problems of relief.

Aid

Without a satisfactory political solution long-term aid to Pakistan would mean subsidising a discredited military regime. Conference, therefore urges all countries and in particular the members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium to with-hold all but urgent humanitarian aid until a satisfactory political solution has been agreed to by the people of East Bengal.

Political Solution

Conference believes that a political solution can only be reached after :—

(1) Military repression in East Bengal has ceased;

(2) The political leaders of East Bengal and in particular Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, have been released.

Any political solution should be negotiated with the democratically elected leaders of East Bengal and be acceptable to the people of the region

Threat to Peace

Conference believes that the present situation on the Indian sub-continent constitutes a threat to World Peace. The United Nations should, therefore, involve itself directly in working for a political solution which is in accordance with the will of the people of East Bengal. Conference urges the British Government to raise this matter at the current session of the United Nations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তান ও ভারত সফর শেষে বৃটিশ পার্লামেন্টের সদস্য মিঃ রেজিন্যাল্ড প্রেনটিস এর বিবৃতি।	সানডে টাইমস্।	১১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

"THE REPRESSION OF BENGAL" BY MR. REGINALD PRENTICE, A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION WHICH VISITED PAKISTAN AND INDIA, IN "SUNDAY TIMES", LONDON, DATED JULY 11, 1971

IN THE ABSENCE of a political solution the crisis thrown up by the events in East Pakistan can only get worse. This applies to both Pakistan and India. In East Pakistan there is bound to be continuing repression, using the most brutal methods, simply because this is the only way in which a few thousand troops can maintain power over 70 million hostile people. The troops are heavily out-numbered. Their supplies and reinforcements have to travel 3,000 miles round the south of India. Parts of the country are very good territory for guerrilla forces. The guerrillas can take shelter in India and will be reinforced by recruits from among the refugees. More than one observer has predicted an escalation of the fighting into a Vietnam type of situation.

From the Indian side the prospect is equally depressing. In the border states the local officials, doctors and nurses are doing a wonderful job in keeping most of the refugees alive. But this is happening in a country which is desperately poor and most of it is happening in West Bengal, which is one of the poorest and overcrowded areas in the world. The local administration is observed with the refugee problem at the expense of other duties; local development projects are postponed; schools are closed to the children because they are packed with refugees. An explosive situation may well develop in the refugee camps as a result of months of enforce idleness. An equally tense situation may develop among the local people, who see the refugees getting more food than themselves—and getting it free—although they do a full week's work. But this cannot be solved by letting the refugees work, because there is already very high unemployment.

The world must take a larger share of this burden. So far the total aid committed from the rest of the world amounts to well under half the estimated cost to India for a six-month period. All countries must commit much larger sums of aid and recognise that this may have to continue for a very long time. But however large the aid contributions, India will inevitably pay an enormous price and this will become much greater as time goes on.

This downward spiral can only be reversed by a political solution acceptable to the people of East Pakistan. In practice this must mean a solution acceptable to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League. The pattern is the familiar one of a colonial situation breaking up, in which the only people who can make an effective settlement are the leaders of the political party which has the confidence of the population. Yahya Khan must either accept this, or continue with his policy of suppression—a policy which is bound to fail sooner or later.

Supposing that Sheikh Mujib were released from prison, the Awami League recognised again and genuine discussions were held, what would be the outcome?' The six-point program on which the Awami League won the election last autumn provided for East Bengal to be self-governing for most purposes, but with the central Government controlling foreign affairs and defence. The idea of one Pakistan would be preserved, but the provincial Government in the East would have effective control over its own destiny.

It is very doubtful whether this solution is still possible. There has been too much bloodshed and bitterness in recent months. The essential point is surely this: whether the settlement is to be some kind of loose federation, or whether (more probably) it is to be complete independence for Bangladesh, will have to be decided by the Awami League, as the only credible representatives of the people of East Bengal. They must make the decision and the military rulers of West Pakistan must accept that decision.

At present the military rulers are in no mood to do anything of the kind. They persist with their threadbare claims. They repeat that the Army had to restore "law and order"; that the remaining trouble is caused by a few miscreants" aided by the Indians; that the refugees would like to return home but are forcibly prevented by the Indians: that life in the east wing is returning to "normalcy", that the world should not be misled by India lies, etc., etc.

The real hope of a change must rest on two factors—their continuous failure to pacify East Bengal and the growing economic cost. Pakistan is a poor country to start with. It is now suffering a heavy loss of export earnings from East Bengal, where the economy is badly distrupted and is showing few signs of recovery, despite the claims about "a return to normalcy". (East Pakistan, so much poorer than the West has always earned the larger share of foreign exchange.)

There will be a serious food shortage in the East later this year, perhaps of famine proportions, owing to the disruption in the sowing of the crop due to be harvested in a few months' time. This will be aggravated by the breakdown of the transport system. Meanwhile drought conditions have caused a poor harvest in the West which normally makes up part of the grain deficiency in the East.

On top of all these dificulties the consortium of Western aid donors has decided not to make fresh pledges of economic aid to Pakistan for the new financial year which started on July 1. Existing projects will be completed, but this decision, provided the Western powers persist with it, will mean a rundown of overseas aid and a deepening foreign exchange crisis in the coming months. Even in normal circumstances, this would have been a very serious blow to the Pakistan economy. The group of generals who run Pakistan know very little about economics, but sooner or later the hard fac. of the situation may compel them to change course. It is our only hope.

I believe that there are three ways in which pressure can be maintained in favour of a political solution. First, the Western Powers must stand firmly by the decision not to renew economic aid (apart from relief aid, properly supervised by the U.N. for the victims of the likely famine in East Pakistan). There are powerful arguments against using aid as a political lever in most cases, but this is a very exceptional situation. Quite apart from the political circumstances.

effective development projects could not be carried out in East Pakistan in the foreseable future, so that any economic aid to the country would be channelled into projects in West Pakistan alone. This would have the effect of easing the economic situation and releasing resources for the suppression of the East. Speaking from my experience as a former Minister of Overseas Development, I believe it is wrong to attach political conditions to aid in 99 cases out of a 100—but this is the 100th case. Any power lever must be used which might help to bring about a political settlement.

Second, there should be an immediate end to the shipment of arms from the U.S.A. to Pakistan. World opinion should back those senators and congressmen in Washington who have urged the Administration to reverse its policy. That the United States should line up with China in supplying the armed forces of Pakistan at the moment is something that defies any rational explanation.

Third, there should be the most explicit condemnation from governments, parliaments and influential commentators of all kinds. It must be made clear that the governments and peoples of the world identify themselves with the aspirations of the people of Bangladesh, and that we are united in demanding a shift of policy by the Government of West Pakistan.

We may not have decisive power to enforce a peaceful solution, but such power as we have must be used to the full. This is not a time for diplomatic niceties. It is a time to stand up and be counted.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যা প্রশ্নে দুইজন আইরিশ এম, পি'র বিবৃতি।	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

GENOCIDE IN BANGLADESH.

SAYS IRISH M. P.

By a Staff Reporter

Sir Anthony Esmonde and Mr. William Loughnane, Irish M.P.s, said a Press conference in Calcutta on Wednesday that the influx of seven million refugees from Bangladesh was a "disastrous invasion on India's economy". Dr Loughnane said he was convinced from his talks with refugees that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman still continued to have a big influence and a call from him would undoubtedly take the millions of refugees back to Bangladesh.

The two Irish M.P.s said the situation was extremely difficult for India and would get worse unless an early political solution was found Dr Loughnane said any "future by-election in East Bengal without the participation of voters who are now refugees in India" would be entirely unacceptable to democratic opinion. On the other hand "one could not brush aside the representatives already elected by the people of Bangladesh". Dr. Loughnane said answering a question.

Dr. Loughnane' an M.P. of the ruling Fianna Fail, said there had been genocide in Bangladesh. Sir Anthony, an M.P. of the Opposition Fine Cael was not sure if genocide was an issue that could be brought within the purview of International Law.

The two M.P.s who visited earlier on Webnesday the Saha.a Camp and that in the Salt Lake area, were not in a position to offer any concrete suggestions on the political solution to the Bangladesh issue. As a first step they advocated bilateral talks between the political leaders of West Pakistan, including Mr. Bhutto and the political leaders of East Bengal.

Answering a question, Sir Anthony said President Yahya Khan's recent statement had many "contradictions" Asked if there was scope for intervention in Bangladesh he said "no international body could intervene in a another country's internal matter".

The two M.P.s. said they were greatly impressed by the management of the camps in India.

Our Staff Correspondent from Dum Dum adds that two Irish M.P.s Sir Anthony Charles Esmonde and Dr William A. Loughnane—told reporters on their arrival at Calcutta Airport from Delhi on Wednesday that they would visit Pakistan and try to meet President Yahya Khan. The M.P.s said that they would possibly return to Delhi after completion of their on-the spot-study of the

conditions of the refugees who had come to West Bengal from East Bengal. From there they would go to Pakistan. Ireland was eager to help reach a solution concerning India and Pakistan. the M.Ps. said.

Replying to a reporter's question, the M.Ps. said that from their discussions with the Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi it appeared that the arrival of a large number of evacuees from East Bengal was a big problem for India. They said that they would try to raise a proposal for mediation during their expected meeting with the Pakistani President During their three day stay in Calcutta, the M.Ps. are scheduled to visit reception camps set up for the evacuees from Bangladesh in different parts of 24-Parganas and Nadia.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতির ওপর অপারেশন ওমেগার প্রচারপত্র।	অপারেশন ওমেগা	৩০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

OPERATION OMEGA

3, Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

"No boundary is legitimate which attempts to separate those in pain from those who can help. Human beings do not need permission to aid those threatened with death."

PRESS STATEMENT 30-7-71.

OPERATION OMEGA IN BANGLADESH

In Bangladesh a people against its will is being suppressed and terrorised by an army from West Pakistan. The world seems incapable of stopping this tyranny, and the 75 million people of Bangladesh have been isolated. The world waits for them either to be eliminated, or for them to become sufficiently strong to force the West Pakistan army to retreat.

Meanwhile, reliable and independent reports make it clear that masses of people inside Bangladesh are facing acute shortages of food and medicine.

OPERATION OMEGA has no choice as a humenetarian.. other than to cross the border into Bangladesh . In the first instance we have to show the victims and the rest of the world that there are human beings who refuse to let them be isolated, and in the second istance to get relief assistance to those in need.

THE INTENT OF OPERATION OMEGA IS EXPRESSED AS FOLLOWS:

Our intention is to take food and medical supplies into Bangladesh and distribute them ourselves to civilians in need.

The Pakistan government has been told of OMEGA'S intent, and governments throughout the world will be told. But no permission will be soughtfor OMEGA to enter Bangladesh. We do not recognise Pakistan's authority over Bangladesh.

We are ordinary people. convinced that the world's humanitarian aid must not be used for its own political ends by the Pakistan regime, and that no barrier must be allowed to exist between those who suffer and those who seek help.

The Method of Operation Omega is as Follows :

The team will fly to India and meet up with our Inkman and the members of the OMEGA ONE team now in India. Thereafter everyone in India will work together.

They will purchase relief supplies and medicines in India, and attempt to locate two vehicles for the first border crossing. The OMEGA ONE vehicle will be driven to Calcutta as soon as is possible after its arrival in Bombay and thereafter will be put to whatever use is most effective.

Entry into Bangladesh will be made by two vehicles together. In case of any incident immobilising the first team, the second team will attend and help, and also send back word to the border contact. He in turn will immediately alert the communications network. For the purposes of communication and support, there will be at least one OMEGA volunteer at the border and one in Calcutta whenever this is necessary for maintaining effective contact with London.

OPERATION OMEGA to Bangladesh could mark the beginning of a new era: an era in which governments will have to deal directly with the "human Factor". No longer will they have the luxury of ignoring letters, petitions, resolutions and crises at a distance, instead they will have to deal with the stubborn flesh and blood of those who are compelled to act by their very definition of what it is to be human.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ-এর ভূমিকা ও কর্মসূচী।	এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ-এর প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	জুলাই, ১৯৭১

ACTION BANGLADFSH

34 Stratford Villas

LONDON N W I

ACTION BANGLADESH, a British group, was set up on April 20, 1971 at a meeting attended by representatives of Peace News, International Conscience in Action, Peace Pledge Union, Third World Review, Young Liberals, Bangladesh Students Action Committee, Bangladesh Newsletter, and Friends Peace Committee, together with other concened individuals.

Its purpose was to provide information for members of the public, press and other organisations as to what they could do to help "GET THE TROOPS OUT OF EAST BENGAL AND RELIEF IN."

DIARY :

April 28 :

Co-sponsored the demonstration outside the English Speaking Union, which had organised a reception for the Pakistan Cricket XI. "Don't Start Play-Stop the War!"

May 13 :

Ran a 3/4 page advertisement in THE TIMES ("THIS IS THE MOMENT TO SHOW THAT MAN IS MORE THAN AN 'INTERNAL PROBLEM' ") This was signed and paid for by 206 people from all walks of life, and ran the day before the House of Commons debate of May 14.

Co-sponsored with the Birmingham Relief and Action Committee a candiee-light vigil on the Albert Embankment opposite the House of Commons : "M.P's SHOW YOU CARE !"

May 25 :

Launched the 'BREAK THE BLOCKADE RES 'LUTION' : a world-wide effort to locate support for the idea of running food and medicines into Bangladesh.

June 3 :

Sponsored and organised a reception for the distinguished disciple of Gandhi, JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN, at the De Vere Hotel in Kensington, with the object of escalating British action on this issue.

June 7 :

Launched with War Resistors International, Community Research and Action Group, Manchester, and Peace News : OPERATION OMEGA. This is an attempt to get food and medical help directly to the people of Bangladesh. without asking the 'permission' of the 'Pakistan authorities.'

June 10 :

Joined with the Bangladesh community of the London area (Bangladesh Students Action Committee, Bangla Desh Womens Association in G.B., B.D. Juba Sangha, B.D. Action Committee—Streatham. Action Committe for B.D. (N, and N.W. Loodon), Bangladesh Relief Fund and the Steering Committee) to launch the "Stop Aid to Pakistan Campaign."

June 11 :

Co-sponsored 1/4 page advertisement in THE GUARDIAN, on OPERATION OMEGA.

June 14-18 :

"Stop Aid to Pakistan Campaign" organised 10 demonstrations in 5 days outside the London embassies of the 10 countries in the Pakistan Aid Consortium. "FINANCIAL AID FOR PAKISTAN MEANS GENOCIDE FOR THE PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH!" At each embassy a delegation handed over a letter for the respective Head of State.

June 15 :

Two representatives of the "Stop Aid to Pakistan Campaign" were sent to Paris to escalate French concern on this issue before the meeting of the Pakistan Aid Consortium in Paris on June 21.

June 18 :

Sponsored 1/4 page advertisement in the NEW STATESMAN : "Action Bangladesh."

June 19 :

6 more representatives of the Stop Aid to Pakistan Campaign" were sent to Paris, including 3 recently returned eye-witnesses from Bangladesh.

June 21 :

PARIS : 11.00 a.m. Co-sponsored demonstration outside World Bank building where the Pakistan Aid Consortium was discussing fresh aid proposals to Pakistan. About 150 Bengalis came from Britain to support the demonstration 2 coaches came from Birmingham and another from London. Both Reuters and A.P. carried reports of the demonstration.

PARIS : 4.00 p.m. Held press conference at which the three eye-witnesses from Bangladesh gave an account of what they saw, before they escaped from Bangladesh, to the French press. The French newspaper COMBAT carried a full account of their testimony on June 22.

June 25 :

Sponsored advertisement in THE TRIBUNE : "Action Bangladesh".

June 30 :

Sponsored full-page advertisement in THE TIMES (page 3) : "GENOCIDE IN EAST BENGAL AND THE RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH." This consisted of the resolution before the House of Commons which has been signed by 210 M.P's including 11 Privy Councillors and over 30 former Ministers.

July 1 :

OPERATION OMEGA's first team and vehicle—OMEGA ONE—left Trafalgar Square at 12 noon, bound for Bangla Desh.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES :

OMEGA 2, OMEGA 3, etc....................

TRAFALGAR SQUARE RALLY 2.00 - 6.00 p.m. SUNDAY AUGUST 1.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর উপর তিনজন এম, পি'র বক্তব্য।	যাস্বলী কনটেম্পরারী ও হিন্দুস্তান টাইমস।	৫ ও ৬ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Lord Fenner Brockway, *London, August* 6.

From a political view point the military intervention in the province (East Bengal), was the most ruthless denial of democracy since Hitler. It is a cause of shame that the richer nations of the world did not act earlier and do more to meet the human suffering. Tragedy in East Bengal is the greatest in suffering since Bomb fell on Hiroshima.

Mr. Reginald Prentice, *Labour M.P., London, August 5.*

Britain and other countries should make new pledges to help India cope with over seven million refugees from East Bengal. This is necessary both on humanitarian grounds and to prevent a possible military solution. The sheer size and scale of this tragedy is something difficult to envisage. Having seen something it at first hand, I can say that I have never known anything so sterrible and I hope that I never have experience like it again.

Mukti Fouj guerillas in the area are having growing success, getting recruits from among the refugees. I think bulk of the population is on their side. The Pakistan situation is a threat to peace that can have the most appalling consequences for the whole of mankind.

Mr. Donald Chesworth, *Labour M.P., New Delhi, August* 6.

(in an interview with Shri Prithvis Chakravarty & reported in "The Hindustan Times" of August 7).

A sovereign, independent Bangladesh is inevitable. Pakistan military leaders showed no signs of any understanding of the problems they are up against. Army atrocities had only one result; they helped the guerillas to develop an unshakable determination to fight, the morale of Mukti Fouz fighters is very high : I think the level of the Mukti Fouj operations is higher and more effective that what I had seen in Algerian guerilla war against the French. The Pakistan army's capacity for repairing damages inflicted by the guerillas is much lower than that of the French army in Algeria. The utter dislocation of the railway system produces a glaring example.

The prospects of a political compromise between the Islamabad military junta and the Bangladesh leaders, are long past. The brutalities which still continue have only hardened the determination of the people of Bangladesh to free themselves from the West Pakistan shackles.

I do not quite see how Pakistan leaders hope to get any particular advantage out of war with India. World opinions, I believe, will not accept any Pakistani attempt to justify an over military action against India on the plea that India helped Mukti Fauj. Any one can see that Mukti Fauj operations are taking place well inside Bangladesh

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর উপর বৃটিশ এম, পি মিঃ আর্থার বটমলের বক্তব্য।	সাপ্তাহিক কন্টেম্পরারী	২৮ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

YAHYA KHAN ADAMANT

—Mr. Arthur Bottomley,

Labour M.P., Aug. 28.

I want Pakistan and India to come closer. I hope these two countries will become one again. But that will be my hope lest I shall be mistaken for interfering in their internal affairs. I do not want further fragmentation of the Indian sub-continent, because it is culturally great and has high standards in physics and mathematics, so necessary for the development in the modern world. Further fragmentation will prevent these assets from being employed. But Pakistan will be divided if the military is allowed to control the situation there. To avoid this the administration of East Bengal should be handed over to the civilian authorities under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I had also talked about this when I met Gen. Yahya Khan during my visit to Pakistan, but the general's response to my suggestion was not very favourable. In fact, I told him also that he should learn a lesson from the British, that those whom we imprisoned became leaders of the nation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর উপর বৃটিশ এম-পি মিঃ পিটার শোর-এর বক্তব্য।	মাদ্রলী কণ্টেম্পরারী।	৩১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

'Death Throes and Birth Pangs'

The happenings in Bangladesh are the death throes of an old nation (Pakistan) and birth pangs of a new nation (Bangladesh).

The only real solution of the Bangladesh problem lie in the immediate release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and negotiations with the elected representatives of the people of East Bengal.

During my talks with leaders of the Bangladesh Government that nothing short of total independence could bring about normalcy in East Bengal.

On my return to Britain I will meet the British Foreign Minister and leaders of the Labour Party to impress upon them the need for a total halt of economic aid to Pakistan as a first step to force it to come to senses

The US should stop all aid to the military regime of Pakistan till it agrees to end the brutal suppression of the democratic movement in Bangladesh.

Mr. Peter Shore, *British M P*
Aug. 31, *New Delhi.*

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব পাকিস্তান পরিস্থিতির উপর বৃটিশ এম, পি, বার্নার্ড ব্রেইন-এর বিবৃতি।	দি টাইমস।	১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Statement by Mr. Bernard Braine, British M.P., on East Pakistan

As sure as night follows day, there will be an appalling famine in East Pakistan by October unless the international community intervenes now. That was the sombre conclusion reached by a non-governmental conference of South Asia experts which met in Toronto last week under arrangements made by Oxfam of Canada.

Last month, a World Bank mission which had visited East Pakistan reported that they saw no signs of return to normal conditions. The people remained frightened and untrusting. Many workers and civil servants were failing to report for duty. Communications were completely disrupted.

As the weeks have slipped by, the situation has continued to deteriorate. There are now over 7.5 million refugees in India and their numbers increase daily. Their appalling physical condition is proof enough of the plight of those left behind. Insurgency continues. Far from any return to civil administration, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the elected leader of the province, now faces trial before a secret military tribunal.

What is the basis for believing that the still greater disaster of famine now looms ahead for East Pakistan?

First, it should be recognized that in spite of the abundant rainfall and rich soil of the province, hunger and malnutrition are endemic. The basic diet consists of rice supplimented by vegetables, fish and lentils. Meat and dairy products are rare luxuries. According to a World Bank report, the average per capita per day cereal consumption last year was 16.1 ounces. This provided only 1,700 calories compared with the North American and West European average of 2,700 calories. Indeed, a Pakistan Government nutrition survey conducted in 1964 showed that even then the average protein intake of people in the East wing was inadequate in 85 per cent of the rural population and over half the children were on the borderline of malnutrition The death-rate among all liveborn children was 26 per cent before their fifth birth day, compared with a European average of 2.4 per cent.

The implications of all this were spelt out at the Toronto conference by Dr. Jon Rohde of the Harvard Medical School who has recently returned from East Pakistan. His key point was that a people, whose diet and wellbeing are highly marginal in "normal" times, become dangerously vulnerable even if, there is only a marginal shortfall in traditional food supplies. If however, there ia a major shortfall, then massive famine is inevtable and millions are condemned to die.

What are the facts about the shortfall? From 1966 to 1970, East Pakistan produced an average of 10.8 million tons of grain a year, but still had to import 1.2 million tons a year to offset continuing deficits. The Fourth Five-Year Plan

envisaged a substantial increase in domestic production by 1975, but, even if this could have been achieved, imports would still have been necessary because of rapid population growth.

Unfortunately, far from increasing, production has fallen catastrophically. According to figures quoted by Dr. Rohde, based on recent estimates made by the United States Administration for International Development, domestic production in the coming year is likely to be 2.28 million tons below what was estimated before the present troubles. In short, East Pakistan faces its largest food deficit since the Bengal famine of 1943. Some idea of what is involved may be grasped by recalling that three million people are believed to have perished in that famine.

It is not difficult to enumerate the causes of this alarming situation. Hundreds of thousands of farmers have fled to India and are still fleeing. The agricultural credit system has totally collapsed. Public works programmes and private business activities have virtually ceased, and throughout the province there is an acute shortage of cash. Hoarding is taking place and the price of rice has risen sharply.

Dr. Rohde quoted United States AID estimates that some 2 9 million tons of grain imports will be needed to supplement domestic production merely to ensure an average daily consumption of 15 ounces (1,600 calories) a head. That is an absolute minimum, since even a sedentary adult requires 1,600 to 1,900 calories to maintain reasonable health. But, since the maximum import of foodgrains in any normal year up till now was 1 5 million tons in 1970, the prospect of importing and distributing nearly twice this amount in present circumstances is poor.

Even if the requisite quantities of food could be shipped an off-loaded, the ability to move them to deficit areas is severely limited Chittagong and other ports are operating well below capacity, because so many port workers have fled. Military operations by the army and sabotage by the insurgents have severely disrupted road and rail communications.

About 90 per cent of the pupulation live in the rural areas, and the proportion is now probably higher because half of the urban population has fled. But it is here, where the need is greatest, that the Pakistan Army's hold is most tenuous. Thus, there is real fear that if food distribution is left solely to the military they will give first priority to the restoration of order and will not hesitate to use food as a political weapon. If this happens, the insurgents can be expected to disrupt the process.

Dr. Rohde told the Toronto Conference that against this background, there were three urgent requirements. First, that international opinion should demand that the opposing parties in East Pakistan permit sufficient food to reach the affected areas regardless of whether these are under the control of the army or the insurgents. Second, the only way of ensuring that the foold reaches the people in direct need was to persuade the Pakistan Government to accept that distribution should be under the supervision and administration of a greatly augmented U.N. staff. Third, that an international team of experts should be permitted to enter East Pakistan without delay. Its tasks would be to determine were are the areas of gratest need, to assess current food stocks and to decide on the quantities and type of relief supplies needed, to evaluate the extent of damage and to supervise the repair of communication and transportation facilities for non-military purposes only, to establish food distribution centres accessible to air and water transport and to formulate equitable procedures of rationing and distribution.

Given these requirements, and given them quickly, there is a reasonable chance that an effective relief operation can be mounted. To cover immediate needs, emergency food supplies should be flown in. To avoid congestion in the ports, and to overcome the breakdown in road and rail communications ships should be used to stand off the coast and transfer supplies to an armada of small craft which can use the extensive waterways system to reach regional centres.

But time is desperately short. The world community must act now or be prepared to witness a human disaster of unimaginable proportions.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান কর্তৃপক্ষকে আর্থিক সাহায্য দেয়া উচিত নয় : বৃটিশ এম- পি মি: পিটার শোর-এর বক্তব্য।	সানডে টাইমস্।	৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Statement by Mr. Peter Shore, British M.P.
September 2, 1971.

Follo ing is a report on the statement :

The British Government should not resume consortia aid or economic aid to West Pakistan in the view of Mr. Peter Shore, Labour MP for Stepney.

Mr. Shore, who has just returned from a week's visit to Delhi and West Pakistan with the Right Rev Trevor Huddleston, Bishop of Stepney, has put this proposal to Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Foreign Secretary, in order to persuade the West Pakistan Government to recognize that its bonds with East Pakistan are shattered and to start to disengage from power there

Mr. Shore said yesterday (September 2), "The British Government has taken a satisfactory line so far, but a decision is coming up in October about whether consortia aid should be resumed.

"The West Pakistan Government is going through an elaborate window dress-ing operation in East Bengal to try to make a case for the resumption of aid We have to make sure that nobody is taken in by it.

"We must work closely with the American Government which has a consider-able influence with the West Pakistan Government. The American Government's policy is uncertain, though they are under pressure from their own Congress.

"This has grown since the visit of Senator Kennedy to India, and I hope that American opinion will be moving in the same way that opinion is moving in Britain"

The stark truth, said Mr. Shore, is that Pakistan has broken up. "From the start they were separated by 1,000 miles geographically", he said. "Now they are separated by an equal distance in terms of their political goals and their sense of common purpose. The bonds have been broken and shattered.

"Against the background of the extraordinary outpouring of people from East Bengal, still going on at a rate of over a million every month, I do not see that it is possible under any conceivable degree of pressure, indeed tyranny, from the West Pakistan Government to bring these two disparate parts of Pakistan together into a single political community.

Mr. Shore, who had a talk with Tajuddin Ahmed, the "Prime Minister of Bangladesh", during his visit, said that if the West Pakistan Government did not now start a disengagement from power in East Bengal "another bitter and un-controlled civil war would ensure in which other nations could be involved".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লণ্ডনের দি টাইমস্ পত্রিকায় লিখিত অক্সফামের পরিচালক মিঃ কার্কলের বিবৃতি।	দি টাইমস্, লণ্ডন।	৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**Letter of Mr. H. L. Kirkley, Director, Oxfam,
in THE TIMES, London
September 3, 1971**

Sir, I feel compelled to reinforce Bernard Braine's plea (article, September 1) that "the international community intervenes now" to avert total famine in East Pakistan.

This situation is clearly beyond the control of individuals and private agencies, but there is a role for lesser group to continue pressure for governmental and international action which could stave off famine now.

People must care sufficiently to supply their governments with the will to spend the people's money in the common cause of fighting famine, no matter in what land that ugly spectre launches its bitterest attack.

The food situation in East Pakistan is already precarious. One family, visited by an Oxfam representative, was sheltering 81 displaced persons—within East Pakistan itself, let it be clear.

The danger is further aggravated by floods, high tides, and also by the fact that the British Parliament is not in session, for this is a most important forum in maintaining public awareness and goading action at highest levels.

Indeed, the greatest problem is not the material shortage, which this technological generation could adequately combat, but the twin problems of starting up the lumbering machine of international commission and then maintaining public and government interest. Refugees who are hungry today are likely to be hungry every day for a long time. Public response is inclined to be in the form of one instinctive donation and then forgetfulness.

Since July 26, tractors of the consortium of British charties—Christian Aid. Oxfam, and War on Want— have been ploughing land in East Pakistan to help boost the flagging harvest. Is it too much to expect that now at this late hour the "international community" might be expected to step in with aid not tailored to the dictum "how much can we afford ?" but related to the positive "How much is needed ?"

In today's narrowing world, none of us can wash his hands of the hunger pangs of the starving children and old people in East Pakistaan, whatever our views of the political situation there. And the world has only a week or two left in which to act.

Yours, etc.,
H. L. KIRKLEY, Director, Oxfam,
274, Banbury Road, Oxford,
September 2.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কুয়ালালামপুর কমনওয়েলথ সংসদীয় সম্মেলনে মিঃ আর্থার বটমলের বক্তৃতা।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস্	১৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Statement by Mr. Arthur Bottomley (U. K.) at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Kualalumpur

September 13, 1971

....But I think, where things went wrong again was because of simple circumstances. When the Army came in, the first thing they did was to go to Dhaka, the capital of East Pakistan, and approach the Police Station. Now, the official story is when the Police Station was approached, the Police started firing the soldiers. But I heard a second story which was that one of these military leaders, arrogant, bombastic, demanded the Police lay down their arms, and the Chief of Police said, "On whose authority ?". Whereupon there was again another demand, "The arms are to be returned forthwith, if no. we fire." And firing opened up. The police in the main, East Pakistanis, and the troops in the main, West Pakistanis, thought that the troops from West Pakistan were going to mow them all down. And so, we have the situation where these men lost faith in the President of the country. And there is no doubt at all they created a situation where there was a breakdown of law and order. But instead of having a civil administrator, who could tackle this difficult political, social and economic situaticn, a Military Commander was put in, a man. whom I am very glad to say, has since been removed, General Tikka Khan. When I met General Tikka Khan, he told me that if anybody did anyting to upset this trr troops, then the order would be given immediately to shoot them down. I pleaded with him not to follow this policy. And it was because of this policy t hat the troops in the towns and the villages, knowing that there was this kind of leadership, behaving in the way went wild, and thousands and thousands of villagers terrorised, fled from the country. Moslems went first, followed by Hindus. Hindus understandably because they have been through this kind of circumstances before. And so you have a situation where millions of refugees had come across from East Pakistan to India. India through no cause of her own has probably one of the greatest problems any country has to handle. I saw the refugee camps, I saw the wonderful work being done by these Indian Administrators. They are short of food and equipment. It is true that the world is giving help, but not enough. My own country, for example, has given £8 million of aid to India and a million pounds to Pakistan, and I can confidently say we are going to give more. This problem in India is one that ought to be shared by all the Commonwealth countries, and all the Commonwealth countries should in turn be putting the pressure to bear upon the United Nations as a whole....

....I would say finally, Mr. President, this : that the only way in which we can bring about peace and security in that part of the world is by recognition by the President of Pakistan that the democratically elected leader of East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujib, is the one who could speak for the people. I said to the President personally and I repeat it here : one should learn by British history. We put a man in prison one day and the next day he was the leader of his nation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটিশ ওভারসীস সোশ্যালিস্ট ফেলোশীপ সমিতি আয়োজিত সভায় বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বক্তৃতাদানের আমন্ত্রণপত্র।	লেবার পার্টি	২৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE LABOUR PARTY

29th September, 1971

Mr. Justice Chowdhury,
Bangladesh Office,
11 Goring Street,
London, E.C.3.

Dear Sir,

BRITISH OVERSEAS SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

I am writing to you to confirm the arrangement you made in a telephone conversation with Mr. Daljit Sehbai, Vice—Chairman of this organisation, to speak at a meeting organised jointly by the British Overseas Socialist Fellowship and Mr. Peter Shore, M.P. on Bangladesh at 5.15 p.m. on Tuesday, October 5th, at the Brighton Labour Club, Lewes Road, Brighton, I understand that you want to observe the Labour Party Conference, and accommodation has been booked for you at the Bedford Hotel, Kings Road, Brighton, for the nights of October 3rd, 4th and 5th.

The British Overseas Socialist Fellowship was established by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party with the original intention of working for better contacts between members of the Labour Party and the immigrant communities in Britain, and in recent years has concentrated on informing Labour Party members about aspects of foreign affairs. The Chairman of the Fellowship is Miss Joan Lestor, M.P. a member of the National Executive Committee and a member of the Labour Government.

I shall be in Brighton on Tuesday, and I look forward to meeting you.

Yours faithfully ,

Tim Ridoutt

Secretary.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লেবার পার্টি কর্তৃক পাকিস্তানের ভূমিকার সমালোচনা।	টাইমস অফ ইণ্ডিয়া	৪ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

LABOUR EXECUTIVE INDICTS PAKISTAN

Countries Urged To Withhold Aid

BRIGHTON, Oct. 4.—The national executive committee of the Labour Party today formally presented to its national conference a statement indicting Pakistan for the happenings in East Bengal, reports PTI. The statement has been marked down for consideration and, as generally expected, adoption by the conference on Thursday.

THE statement called upon the United Nations to involve itself directly in working out a political solution based on the will of the people and acceptable to them. Such a solution could be reached, it asserted, only after the cessation of the current repression in the area and the release of political leaders of East Bengal, especially Sheik Mujibur Rahman, and through negotiations with them.

The statement urged all countries, members of the Aid-Pakistan Consortium, in particular, to withhold all but urgent humanitarian aid since without a satisfactory political solution " long-term aid to Pakistan would mean subssidizing a discredited military regime".

As for relief to the refugees, it said, that the response from the world community had been "totally inadequate" and India had had to carry a disproportionate share of this burden. It asked the British Government to increase substantially its contribution in this regard.

Our special representative adds: Bangladesh volunteers stood out side the conference hall this morning to distribute an appeal to the delegates. The appeal made five points ; withdrawal of the West Pakistani army from Bangladesh; Britain and others should raise the Bangladesh issue at the U.N. under the Genocide Convention; Britain should not resume economic aid to West Pakistan until the Army withdraws from East Bengal; other countries, particularly the USA, should be persuaded not to give military assistance to West Pakistan; and lastly, Britain and other "civilized countries" should be asked to recognize Bangladesh.

Reuter and AFP add: A Dominican priest, Father Jean-Yves Jolip, said in Paris today after and eight-day visit to India and East Bengal that he was convinced that there could only be a military solution to the Bangladesh problem. Gen. Yahya Khan was forcing a military solution by insisting on the unity of Pakistan and refusing to negotiate with Bangladesh leaders, he remarked.

Father Jolip, who undertook his trip under the auspices of the National Council for Peace Movement, said that the majority of East Bengalis supported the Bangladesh movement. The Bangladesh authorities

were creating an Army and had opened recruiting offices in all refugees camps. Youths were being equipped with uniforms and arms taken from West Pakistani soldiers. The liberation forces, he added, had taken over two zones north-west of the Indian border—one of 1,360 sq. km. with a population of 85,000 and another, 65 km to the west of the same size.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, said in Geneva today that more funds were urgently needed to tackle "the gigantic and cruel problem" of Bangladesh refugees.

He told delegates from 31 countries at the opening session of a 10-day meeting of the executive committee of the U.N. Refugee Programme that over the past year the world refugee situation had become worse and increasingly explosive.

"While it is heartening to note that the response from the international community to this (Bangladesh) refugee problem has been of unprecedented magnitude—with contributions in cash and kind amounting to some $ 115 million- I must emphasize that much more is still required. I intend making available shortly to all Governments a detailed account of the priority needs for their immediate attention."

"The situation remains very grim indeed and demands much greater efforts and more generosity on the part of the international community. Interest must not slacken and apathy should not set in The recent floods have had a devastating effect on the camps and distribution problems have added a new dimension to the tragedy. The fragile health of the young and the old will be further affected." the Prince added.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ন্যাশনাল ইউনিয়ন অফ স্টুডেন্টস এর প্রস্তাব এবং একটি আবেদন।	ন্যাশনাল ইউনিয়ন অফ স্টুডেন্টস।	১১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

Of the Universities and Colleges of the United Kingdom
3 Endsleigh Street
London

11th October. 1971

The Executive of the National Union passed the following resolution at its meeting of 10th October .

"The National Executive, taking note of :

1. The desperate situation facing millions of Bengal refugees who have entered India from Pakistan and who are facing disease and starvation ,
2. The enormous short-fall in crops that is forecast for East Pakistan ,
3. The numerous appeals for money and other assistance received from Bengal organizations and other groups (such as OXFAM) working to provide relief ;
4. The absence of any conference policy concerning the situation

RESOLVES

1. To refer all appeals for help to specific COs which make it known to NUS that they wish to be, or are actively involved in relief work for Bengal ,
2. To request through Main Mail that such COs contact the International Department ;
3. To continue to call for donations to be sent to the NUS Bengal Disaster Fund .
4. To allocate money received from that fund on the basis of IPG recommendations to be made to the executive meeting on 12th December ;
5. To refer all requests for assistance received in NUS to the International Department ; and
6. To publicize this resolution *via* the Student Press Service and the Main Mail."

APPEAL

Seventy five million people of East Bengal are today the victims of an organised genocide by the military junta which rules Pakistan. Hundreds of thousands have been exterminated. More than 6 million have been forced out of their homes to seek refugee in India. Those who have stayed back live in the company death.

When elections were held a few months ago, it was hoped that a new era had dawned. The people of Fast Bengal voted as one man for the Awami League. and for greater autonomy. But the people's verdict has been brushed aside. The party which won an absolute majority of seats in the national parliament of Pakistan has been outlawed ; the parliament itself has been suppressed. Guns have been turned on those who asked for human rights. In the true manner of a totalitarian army of occupation, the Pakistan army has directed all its wrath against political and professional leaders, teachers, students and writers.

What is happening in East Bengal is not an internal matter of Pakistan but a matter of international conscience. Can the world community be silent witness to this butchery ?

We, therefore, appeal to men and women of goodwill the world over to raise their voice, and to all governments to use their influence, to demand.

* an immediate end to military repression.

* a political settlement acceptable to the people of East Bengal.

* establishment of conditions in which the refugees can return to their homeland to live in security and with honour.

* cessation of all aid which may augment the resources of the military regime and thus delay political settlement.

We also appeal to governments and people of all lands to realise the international responsibility for the welfare of the refugees and rush immediate help to India to save them from hunger and disease and to provide them with shelter against the rigours of monsoon.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীন বাংলার সংগ্রামে বৃটিশ শ্রমিক দলের সমর্থন জানিয়ে মিঃ হেরাল্ড উইলসনের পক্ষে লিখিত একটি চিঠি।	ব্যক্তিগত চিঠি	১১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

HOUSE OF COMMONS
London, SW 1.

11 October, 1971

Dear Mr. Ali,

I am writing on behalf of Mr. Wilson to thank you for your letter of the 29 September.

As you must know, Mr. Wilson is immensely distressed by the tragic situation in East Pakistan. Mr. Wilson has asked me to apologise to you for the delay., in replying to your letter, but as I am sure you will understand, the pressure of work has been very great recently.

When Sir Alec Douglas-Home made his statement on the subject of aid to East Pakistan last June, the Rt Hon. Denis Healey, speaking for the Opposition, welcomed the fact that an additional 5 million direct aid had been given to the Indian Government on top of the existing aid ceiling, and also in addition to the £1 million to U Thant's appeal. Mr Healey also agreed strongly with the decision not to give any further aid to Pakistan until there was convincing progress towards a political settlement. He recommended that the best way to achieve such progress would be to release Sheikh Mujibar Rahman and to negotiate with him.

As you will know, it was on Mr. Wilson's insistence that there was a special debate on East Pakistan in the House of Commons on 9 June, and that he stressed the urgency of the matter and reproached the Government that in spite of pressure by Mr. Wilson during several preceding weeks they had made no report on the situation. In this debate the position of the Opposition was presented by the Rt Hon George Thomson who also urged the need for a political settlement and that Sheikh Mujib should be involved in this effort. A settlement in our view would have to be acceptable to the majority of the people of East Pakistan.

I am enclosing a copy of a resolution passed by the International Committee of the Labour Party in June, expressing the concern of the National Executive Committee, also a resolution passed by the Labour Party Conference last week.

When Sir, Alec Douglas-Home made a further statement in response to a request from the Opposition, The Rt Hon Denis Healey specifically asked the Foreign Secretary to take the initiative to ensure that the United Nations charges itself with control of the relief and political aspects of the situation in Pakistan.

I hope you will agree that the Labour Opposition has made its position clear.

Again, thank you for writing.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-
Research Assistant.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীন বাংলার সংগ্রামে লেবার পার্টির সমর্থনের আভাস দিয়ে বৃটিশ এম-পি মি: মিকার্ডো'র চিঠি।	ব্যক্তিগত চিঠি	১৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Palace Chambers
Bridge Street London SW 1A 2JX

Mr. M A H Miah B. Com
37 Biscott House
Devns Street
London
13 3LZ

13 October, 1971

Dear Mr. Miah I now have an opportunity, on my return from the Labour Party Conference, of thanking you for your letter of the 3rd. I am sure you will have read of the resolution which was pout to Conference by the National Executive Committee, and unanimously accepted ; and also of the speeches made both in Confenience and in meetings outside in the evenings There is a considerable volume of support for your cause within the Labour Party.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/

Dictated by Mr. Mikardo
and signed in his absence.

from : Ian Mikardo M P

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতির উপর ষাট ব্যক্তির প্রতিবেদন।	অক্সফাম রিপোর্ট	২১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

THE TESTIMONY OF 60 ON THE CRISIS IN BENGAL

(Compiled by H Leslie Kirkley, C B E Director, Oxfam, Oxford, October 21, 1971).

Sixty men and women have been to see and lived in a situation which has been referred to as "defying description". This is their attempt to describe it. It is their record, their voice, their testimony of a tragedy.

Senator Edward Kennedy and Mother Teresa are known to the world Others are international journalists testifying specially for this document : Michael Brunson (ITN). Clare Hollingworth (Daily Telegraph) Claude Mosse (Radio Suisse), Frederick Nossall (Toronto Telegram), John Pilger (Daily Mirror), Nicholas Tomalin (Sunday Times) Yet others are experienced relief workers from British, European, North American and Indian organisations. All have freely and generously given their time and their energy.

They are eye-witnesses, and the story they tell is horrifying. It is a story of millions hounded, homeless and dying It is too a story of the world community engaged in a communal ostrich act.

Perhaps it is that the world does not know Then let the facts sepeak. Perhaps it is that we just cannot comprehend the extent of the disaster. A population the size of Sweden and New Zealand together have already fled from their homeland. *Millions* more who remain now face famine It does not bear thinking about But we must. If a small girl can write to Oxfam and say "We decided to help. We raised altogether £56 15. We are all about 9½ ", then surely to God world governments can think in the terms necessary. In the name of the hundreds of thousands who have given and will go on giving through Oxfam and similar agencies throughout the world. I put forward the following appeal with all my heart :

Of the British Government—I ask for an immediate new sum of £25 million for refugee relief. Britain has given, but nowhere near the scale the situation warrants. A further £25 million would mean that Britain had covered about one month's refugee costs It is the least we can do as a nation.

Of the world community—I ask that the United Nations General Assembly, now meeting, should immediately appoint a special executive group of five, under the personal chairmanship of the Secretary-General, with authority to ensure the urgent funding and implementation of the relief programmes for India and East Pakistan. I further plead that every Government freely contributes all appropriate resources at its disposal to this vital humaniterian operation.

Of the Pakistan authorities and the Mukti Bahini—I ask for their full acceptance and encouragement of a comprehensive UN famine-relief programme and the creation of conditions genuinely compatible with the return of refugees to their homes.

Of people—ordinary people—I ask that they continue to care and give. I ask that they refuse to accept that even one life is dispensable.

It is, to me, inconceivable that we should do less.

Brief background to the crisis—At Independence, in 1947, "British India" was divided into four parts : India, Burma, and East and West Pakistan ; the latter united as one country by Mohammedanism but separated by a thousand miles, a different language and even a different script. It is as though Greece and Britain were one country, united by Christianity.

For many years, the conflicting regionalism within Pakistan—the Bengalis in the East, the Pathans, the Punjabis, the Baluchis in the West—were held together by a tough military dictatorship. Power was held in few hands. Twenty-two families owned over half the industrial wealth of the country.

For some years, the East has been getting a rough economic deal. In 1968 55% of exports came from the East; yet 70% of import went to the West. Jute, providing 40% of the country's exports, comes almost entirely from the East. In the third five-year plan (1966-70), 52% of the finance was allocated to the East: only 36% was spent there.

In March 1969 Ayub Khan resigned and was succeeded by General Yahya Khan, who was determined to hand over to civilian rule. Poignantly, it was the first step to democracy—the general election of December 1970 which started the crisis. In this election, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the East Pakistan based Awami League, gained 167 out of the 169 seats in the Eastern Assembly and thereby control of the 313 seats in the National Assembly. His programme stopped only just short of secession for the East.

In the West, Z. A. Bhutto of the People's Party won, and he boycotted the first meeting of the National Assembly, arranged for 3rd March 1971. Yahya Khan postponed the Assembly indefinitely. Murder and looting broke out in Dacca toghether with calls for independence for the East.

On March 25th, West Pakistani troops brought into the East struck to control Dacca and Chittagong, in anticipation of a Bengali mutiny. A bloodbath followed, of hideous proportions. Women and children were machine-gunned and raped. The army killed Bengalis indiscriminately. The Bengalis killed non-Bengalis. By early May hordes of refugees, 65% of them Hindu, were pouring across the borders of India, mute testimony to the massacres behind them.

By mid June, 5 million had gathered: the largest exodus of people since the SS stalked Europe. The Indian Government set up camps to feed them, but there was a desperate lack of sanitation, shelter and fresh water. Cholera broke out. Then the monsoon came. And all the time more refugees, until the numbers reached their present level of nine million: and still they come, 15—40,000 a day.

A call for assistance to Pakistan by Pope Paul—"Millions of human beings are in conditions of extreme want. One disaster after another has struck those people who are extremely poor. There is no lack of news and the facts are frightening, revealing a disturbing disparity between the help required and the means actually available. To save innumerable lives people must awake to the need. Public and private aid, including our own contribution, is being offered but it is not nearly enough. It is not too much to hope that the world will be touched by the plight of these people and send the things that are essential: food, clothing, medicine and money."

The money needed—The refugee programme is the biggest that has ever been mounted this century. The programme is currently running at $350 million for six months—over £1 million a day.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees called for funds to meet India's burden: so far only $114 million has been pledged, $70 million of which has been contributed by one country: America.

The British Government's contribution has been £8 million to India and £1 million to Pakistan. In addition to this British charities have spent another £1 million on their own programmes.

To get some kind of scale to the sum Leslie Kirkley asks of the British Government, two facts should be borne in mind.

1. International aid to Pakistan from 1950 to 1969 amounted to an astronomical $6,033 million: or over $300 million a year. Since the present crisis, new aid to Pakistan has been postponed by the major donor countries—with considerable savings to the British Government (last year, Britain's aid to Pakistan was £9½ million).

2. President Nixon is currently asking Congress for an *additional* $250 million.

(Acknowledgements Oxfam thanks those who made the Testimony of Sixty possible. The contributors make their testimony in their own words, photographs or sketches. Their views do not necessarily coincide with those of Oxfam; nor are they bound by their statements to Oxfam's policy. We thank Clare Hollingworth, Nicholas Tomallin and Martin Woollacott who gave their time for the main articles; the Daily Telegraph, the Sunday Times and the Guardian who released them; Romagno Cagnoni, Alan Leather and Donald McCullin for their photographs, Dennis O'Dair of the Observer for his design; all the eye-witnesses for the trouble and expense they took to get their statements in on time for the publication; finally to Gerald Scarfe, whom we rang for an eye-witness statement, but said "I'm not a man of words" and gave these drawings.)

SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY

Mosaic of misery

This stark tragedy is not yet understood by the world. I can tell you that not until you see it first-hand can you begin to understand its immensity. For only by being there can you sense the feelings and understand the plight of the people, and the forces of violence which continue to create refugees and increase the toll of civilian casualties.

In India I visited refugee areas along the entire border of East Bengal—from Calcutta and West Bengal in the west—to the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts in the north—to Agartala in the State of Tripura in the east. I listened to scores of refugees as they crowded into camps, struggling to survive in makeshift shelters in open fields or behind public buildings—or trudging down the roads of West Bengal from days and even weeks of desperate flight. Their faces and their stories etch a saga of shame which should overwhelm the moral sensitivities of people throughout the world.

I found that conditions varied widely from one refugee camp to another. But many defy description. Those refugees who suffer most from the congestion, the lack of adequate supplies and the frightful conditions of sanitation are the very young—the children under five—and the very old. The estimates of their numbers run as high as fifty per cent of all the refugees. Many of these infants and aged already have died. And it is possible—as you pick your steps among others—to identify those who will be dead within hours, or whose sufferings surely will end in a matter of days.

You see infants with their skin hanging loosely in folds from their tiny bones—lacking the strength even to lift their heads. You see children with legs and feet swollen with oedema and malnutrition, limp in the arms of their mothers. You see babies going blind for lack of vitamins, or covered with sores that will not heal. You see in the eyes of their parents the despair of ever having their children well again. And, most dificult of all, you see the corpse of the child who died just the night before.

The story is the same in camp after camp. And it is complicated by the continually growing number of civilian casualties overburdening an already limited hospital system. Most of these casualties have been brought across the border by their fellow refugees. Yet there are also large numbers of Indians whose border villages have been subjected to shelling from Pakistani troops. In addition, there are the untold numbers of victims who remain uncounted and unattended in the rural areas of East Bengal.

The government of India, as it first saw this tide of human misery begin to flow across its borders, could have cordoned off its land and refused entry. But, to its everlasting credit, India chose the way of compassion. The Indian Government has made Herculean efforts to assist and accommodate the refugees—efforts which history will record and remember. And while the magnitude of the problem staggers the imagination, the individual accounts of the people who have fled East Bengal tear at your heart.

A 55-year-old railway employee—he was a Muslim civil servant with 35 years service—told me of an unexplained noontime attack by the Pakistani army on his railroad station. "I do not know why they shot me," he said. "I don't belong to any political party, I was just a railway clerk." Now he sits idly in an Indian refugee camp, financially crippled, and with no prospect of returning to receive his long-earned government pension that was to begin next month.

Even more tragic are the experiences of the innocent and uneducated villagers. You can piece together the mosaic of misery from dozens of interviews among new refugees on the Boyra-Bongaon Road north of Calcutta.

On the day we traveled this 20-mile road, at least 7,000 new refugees were streaming along the banks of the border river crossing near Boyra. Nearly all were peasant farmers. Most were Hindus, from the Khulna and Barisal districts south of Dacca—on the fringe of the area affected by last fall's cyclone.

The very young and very old were exhausted from many days and nights in flight—usually on foot. Many were in a visible state of shock, sitting aimlessly by the roadside or wandering aimlessly toward an unknown fate. They told sories of atrocities, of slaughter, of looting and burning, of harassment and abuse by West Pakistan soldiers and collaborators. Many children were dying along the way, their parents pleading and begging for help. Monsoon rains were drenching the countryside, adding to the depression and despair on their faces. To those of us who went out that day, the rains meant no more than a change of clothes, but to these people it meant still another night without rest, food, or shelter.

It is difficult to erase from your mind the look on the face of a child paralysed from the waist down, never to walk again; or a child quivering in fear on a mat in a small tent still in shock from seeing his parents, his brothers and his sisters executed before his eyes; or the anxiety of a 10-year-old girl out foraging for something to cover the body of her baby brother who had died of cholera a few moments before our arrival. When I asked one refugee camp director what he would describe as his greatest need, his answer was "a crematorium". He was in charge of one of the largest refugee camps in the world. It was originally designed to provide low income and middle income housing, and has now become the home for 170,000 refugees.

The tragedy of East Bengal is not only a tragedy for Pakistan. It is not only a tragedy for India. It is a tragedy for the entire world community, and it is the responsibility of that community to act together to ease the crisis.

Simple humanity demands that America and the United Nations must accept the truth that this heavy burden should be borne by the entire international community, and not by India alone.

MOTHER TERESA

(Mother Teresa is the founder of "The Missionaries of Charity". Last year she received the Pope's Prize. She has been working amongst the dying and destitute in Calcutta since 1948. Her Order is one of the few Catholic Orders with no shortage of novitiates. She has 700 nuns and postulants. They lives in the slums, sworn to total poverty, eating the same food as the poor.)

We are trying to make the problem of Indian the problem of the world.

India has been wonderful in accepting and taking care of the millions of Pakistan refugees and India will continue to take care of them. In opening the door to them, the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, has done a wonderful, a Christ-like thing.

Let us remember this: the people of Pakistan, the people of India, the people of Vietnam, all people wherever they may be, are the children of God, all created by the same hand. Today, the Pakistan people belong especially to us. They are part of the family of God in all the world.

This problem is not only India's problem, it is the world's problem. The burden must be carried by the world, the answer must be given by the world.

For us in India, good has come from the problem because our people have made considerable sacrifices and will continue to make them.

But the entire world must, I repeat must become concerned. Let us all, wherever we are, realise that we have millions of children suffering from malnutrition and starvation, and there are other difficulties, the enormity of which people find it hard to appreciate. Here again unless the world comes in with food and proteins and those other things the children need just to lead ordinary, healthy lives, these children will die—and the world will have to answer for their death.

I have been working among the refugees for five or six months. I have seen these children, and the adults, dying. That is why I can assure the world how grave the situation is and how urgently it must help.

The appeal is to the world—and the world must answer.

NICOLAS TOMALIN

When the newsmen crack up

("The rest of us who watch it find it more and more impossible to know what to do as individuals." Nicholas Tomalin of The Sunday Times writes an exclusive report on the worsening plight of the refugees in India.)

The Pakistan crisis is the worst disaster that has faced the world for the past 30 years. It is also morally the most simple. The villains, those Pakistani generals who ordered a military attack on their own countrymen last March 25th, are more obviously in the wrong than any military aggressors since the Hitler war.

The victims, nine million refugees in India, sixty-five million Bengalis left behind in East Pakistan, are more innocent, more suffering and more numerous than any we can remember. The circumstances combining war, famine, cyclone, gross injustice and apparent apathy on the part of people and governments elsewhere throughout the world, are terrible in a way that clearly exceeds the horror of Vietnam, Biafra, or any of the bloody African conflicts of the past 15 years. All that this huge melodramatic tragedy lacks is a hero and a solution.

As the weeks go by and more people die—some say it is two or three thsousand a week—the rest of us who watch it going on find it more and more impossible to know what to do as individuals. We are helpless.

Some of us salve our consciences by sending in cheques to chartitable funds, some organise concerts or protest meetings in faraway cities, some campaign for an idependent Bangladesh. A few come to India and try to feed or nurse a hundred or so of those nine million.

Relief agencies like Oxfam can lessen the suffering and delay the final catestrophe but none of them have enough money, people or power to solve the real problem,

Only governments, the most powerful ones acting together, can do that. They must take ruthless and skilful political action to force Yahya Khan and his Pakistan Government to admit that their present policy is criminal and stupid and must stop. Then they must force him or his successors to remove virtually all his troops from East Pakistan and guarantee the safety of those refugees who want to return there. Then they must persuade Indira Gandhi and her Indian Government to accept and support those refugees who do not want to return. Then they must pay out money, hundreds of millions of pounds of it, to save people from death by starvation, disease and explosure.

If all these things are done quickly there might not be a catastrophe. East Pakistan, in fact Bengal in general, would still be a disaster area. But that is by contrast a happy prospect.

I am writing down these apocalyptic thoughts about a week after going to see some of the refugee camps that have been set up around Calcutta. I am lying on a soft mattress beside the large swimming-pool of the Grand Hotel in the centre of the city, drinking many bottles of cold beer, munching peanuts and occasionally breaking off to read a grubbily printed paper called "I love you" comic about a boy and girl ski-ing down a hill, while the girl says, "I love Steve, but what will he do when he learns my secret ? Can he forget my past ?"

I swim a lot, eat strange bitter curries and try not to be irritated with Bengali liftboys who fuss over me like some parading Maharajah, in the hope of a large tip.

I do all this because it is taking a long time to get unjittery again after seeing what is happening to the refugees. My newspaper colleagues seem the same. I mention this because in all other situations they have always been able to watch the most appalling events and experience unbearable human misery and remain unaffected in themselves.

I have seen them in Vietnam, back from Biafra, or in the Bengal cyclone. They were concerned, not without compassion, but able to cope with their emotions. This time they cannot cope.

One colleague who has had an operation for throat cancer is already back on seventy cigarettes a day. The gathered newspapermen arm themselves with a specially virulent form of cynical self-protecton.

Looking at a picture of an emaciated little Bengali girl admiring herself in a fragment of mirror, someone says : "Preparing to be an Oxfam poster," and everyone giggles.

"I got a wonderful picture today," says one photographer. "Two babies dying together in the mud."

"I did better than that," says another, "I got them to hold hands."

Everyone else in Calcutta is equally emotional. A local diplomat, who looks as if he would remain perfectly urbane throughout the second coming, is talking passionately about war. He thinks there will be one between India and Pakistan

this November, or if not this November *next November*. India, he argues, will simply not be able to bear the economic burden of the nine million starving, non-productive new inhabitants.

Already there are riots in Assam where the hill people dislike the Bengalis from the plains, who have fled to their mountains, Already there are continual figths and quarrels, even in the camps around Calcutta. The Indian peasants welcomed their suffering brothers at first. Now, as they see the strangers take their jobs at starvation wages, despoil their field, and steal their goods and women, the hostilities grow.

Therefore, argues this diplomat, India will very soon be forced into a desperate milltary offensive against East Pakistan, gambling on clearing out Yahya Khan's troops (with the support of the local Bengalis) within a week. Then she will ship all the refugees back to East Pakistan. Then she will decide whether or not to make East Pakistan a province of India. It has to happen in November because snow blocks the mountain passes and prevents China attacking from the north.

This man has been in India for many years : he loves Bengal and even loves Calcutta. Until this summer he believed that India's terrible problems of recurrent crisis, famine and war were coming to an end with a new strong central government. He thought the country, at last, would being to be peaceful united and prosperous. Now this.

"I am more depressed than I can tell you," he says, "I cannot see any way out. I cannot see any solution. Death and ruination everywhere, that's all I can see."

My friend the Indian Army general has bags two inches deep beneath each eye. He seldom sleeps at night. 'I don't know if they're going to attack or where or how. I can no longer understand these Pakistani soldiers' minds," he says. "Really, I think they've gone mad. They see the total collapse of their policy in East Pakistan, but it only seems to encourage them in their folly. They suffer from that tragic warrior's blindness : the more terrible, hopeless and unjust their cause, the more noble it sems to them. The more their actions threaten to annihilate everyone, the more they brandish their swords.

"Honestly, I think the Islamabad government is going to make a supreme gesture and go down fighting. If they do that they'll bring down the whole subcontinent with them, not to mention the refugees and our own Bengali people. Then may be China will join in, then Russia, then the Americans and yourselves, then we have a Third World War."

Meanwhile the luxurous swimming-pool has ceased to be the haven it seemed. A soft Plopping noise announces the arrival of a dead rat dropped carelessly from the beak of a carrion crow. It stains the tiling round the diving board.

Perhaps what makes all of us around the swimming-pool so neurotic and jittery is the unremittingness of the disasters in this part of the world. They never stop. I do not mean by this the repetitive history of conquest and reconquest, when wave after wave of warriors reduced the once dazzling prosperous area of Bengal to the poorest part of the world, aided by centuries of natural disasters.

It was, of course, the East Bengalis' special bad luck that the Moghul emperors decided to forcibly convert them to Mohammedanism when they sewept lin from Persia and the West, Mohammedanism does not suit excitable and intellectual Bengalis, and had they remained Hindus there would have been no partition riots there, no religious problem in Bengal, and most important of all, no splitting off of the nonsense province of East Pakistan, They would all have been part of India, which is the only geographical arrangement which makes economic sense.

What really hurts is the recent history. Misfortune created poverty which created greater misfortune which could not withstand further natural disasters, exploitation, internal corruption, religious bigotry and political inflammability. In such a hopeless, messy place, how could the disciplined Punjabi rulers of Pakistan creater any order and prosperity ? How could they stop their brisk merchants from exploiting the place ? How could they defy Muslim principles and start a proper birth control programme to reduce the bursting population ?

How understandable that East Pakistan became in essence a colony of West Pakistan with racial hostility between the tall brown unemotional Westerners and the small dark excitable talented Easterners. The Punjabis and Biharis thought of Bengalis as little better than poor grubbly monkeys and uncontrolable. And in their own terms the situation seemed to justify that belief.

The Bengalis saw the Western army rulers, merchants, and money lenders as worse than the British imperialists, less benevolent, less understanding of their special sensitiveness and talents for self expression. No wonder that hostilities built up so fiercely that just before the blow-up last March the Bengalis had been demonstrating, ferociously and killing Western 'foreigners' in their country. Because they had lived such doomed lives for so long, such atrocities (which have long been a part of violent tradition in the subcontinent) were entirely understandable. And no wonder, finally, that East Pakistan, after a million of its inhabitants were reportedly drowned and killed in the cyclone disaster last year, finally voted almost unanimously for their own Awami League and against Islamabad domination.

What was criminal and stupid in this situation was General Yahya Khan's decision that the simple military solution was the only one possible. He should have known that no military solution could cope with such hostility, that it was not only obviously unjust and illegal to take the action he did, but bound to fall.

In the months that followed the March attack, everything happened that Yahya should have been able to predict. The country grew not less but more hostile. The Bengali guerillas destroyed all communications. And where they failed the Army's counter-attacks succeeded. The food harvesting in this naturally fertile area was largely disrupted. The hostility and killing began to be increasingly religious as well as racial. There were about ten million Hindus living amongst the Moslems in East Pakistan. As soon as it became clear that the Pakistani army was killing Hindus indiscriminately, nearly all of them fled into India. With them came Moslem Bengali Nationalists, Awami League supporters and people who merely wished to escape the fighting. As the fighting and chaos grew, it became self-perpetuating. The Army would be attacked by guerillas from over the Indian border and would retaliate against the local population. Then irregular Moslem volunteers were recruited to help the Army hold down the Bengalis, and it is these recruits, or rhazacars, a bunch of Moslem fanatics,

hoodlums, time servers, who are now doing most of the killing. It is because of them that the present numbers of refugees are coming across the border, despite the monsoon rains.

When the rains cease the situation will change. The country may settle down as the Army is better able to control the roads and the border. Things may get worse as more people can travel and decide to kill each other. Some Indian authorities predict a new flood of refugees, perhaps another four million. Others predict that a quarter to a half of the refugees now in India will drift back into Pakistan.

However, here they now are, these refugees huddled into camps in India with insufficient food, nothing to do, no proper place to live. The spectacle of the typical starving Pakistan refugee is by now familiar to anyone able to read or even just to use his eyes. It forces itself on all of us from the newspapers, television and advertising hoardings.

After such a bombardment, to see them in actuality is in some ways an anticlimax. A sense of occasion interferes with one's compassion. As a long anticipatod cathedral or ancient castle is often not up to the evocation photographs, so some of the refugees in the camps near Calcutta seem surprisingly normal.

Some of them are cheerful. A few are almost fat. Some have work to do. Some live better than they did in their own villages back in East Pakistan. Some. But most do not, million do not, and as one travels along the roads by the border and sees camp after camp, hundreds of thousands of tents put up beside the road in trees, on plies of bricks, anywhere possible in the crowded land, it is the numbers of them that are so terrible.

After a while, grown expert in the suffering of such people, it is clear their situation is incomprehensible because it is so terrible. I spent only two days driving round the refugee camps and one night sleeping in a relatively well-organised one. At first, as I have explained, they did not seem to be too badly off along the road which leads to the border at Hasnabad. In a suburb of Calcutta, Salt Lake City, 250,000 lived in a reasonable state. There was food—just sufficient. There were three or four special hospitals set up by foreign relief agencies. There was even some form of policing, thanks to the nearness of Calcutta. But even here it was the children who looked the worst.

It takes some nutritional knowledge to realise how badly they are suffering. A child needs lots of protein if he has trekked several hundreds of miles and now is living, permanently diseased, on food which is different from that he is used to. He needs specially large amounts. But the Indian authorities at present hand out only 400 grams of rice per person, plus some rations of vegetables, cooking oil, cereals. Distribution problems have cut these down to 200 grams per person, in many cases, and children get only half this, 100 grams of rice a day. That's about as much as you could hold in your hand.

According to medical experts—both foreign and Indian—those children will certainly die unless they are given additional protein feeding. Three quarters of them will be dead within nine months. A million children.

Therefore, slowly, laboriously, special feeding centres for children are being set up where they get milk and high protein food called Balahar. As yet most

of these feeding centres merely hand the food to the children who return to their families, where by old tradition much of it is taken from them and shared round the elders. The child therefore is still likely to die by the time this article is published.

May be a million children won't die. They will continue to live, nearly live, without hope or education or function, surrounded by the other seven million, the adults, also with nothing to do and no hope, with only the ferocious rhetoric of Bangladesh revolutionaries to occupy them and the forlorn hope of reinvading their own country, vanquishing Pakistani tanks, to sustain them.

It is a frightful and dangerous prospect. No wonder everyone is neurotic, jittery, depressed, without solutions.

Add to this, impressionistic moments around the camps. The old woman walking through the flood carrying two buckets of rice, the water up to her shoulders, buckets held just above it. Most of the time tiny clusters of tents, all that is left of some camps, reached by narrow bridges made of bamboo. Whole families permanently covered in mud and their own———which never finally washes off, having to struggle through the water to feeding centres, cut off from medicine.

There was one camp called Deara, where 30,000 people in their neat tents, all well housed and settled, were overnight submerged in flood water They lost most of their belongings and all their shelter and gathered on the high ground nearby there. For the third or fourth time they began to try and collect their lives again.

There was the reception centre at Hasnabad Railway station, a night mare throng of desperate people waiting to be registered for their food ration. The old men and women so exhausted they couldn't move, the young with bulging eyes, while flakey stuff like dandruff on their skin from malnutrition, and every imaginable disease, perhaps from simple tiredness. Dead children, their teeth unnaturally prominent in shrunken faces. The stronger adults unable to do anything but crouch in their tents, occasionally haggling with local peasants for special food, spending their last few rupees.

These sights are everywhere : one could list them endlessly. What is more important however is to try and imagine what is going to happen now the floods are receding. The worst prospect is political trouble between the refugees and the displaced Indian peasants who are also starving, and winter in Bengal. This doesn't matter too much, it is always warm, but in the North in Sylhet, in Assam, it is already very chilly. In two months it will be snowing, freezing, continual cold.

The Bengali refugees have no clothes, no blankets, few proper tents. Three million blankets are needed immediately for these people, and clothes and tenting to match.

So these nine million refugees have suffered political injustice, then a cyclone, then a war, then displacement, hunger, disease, and all the ills of refugees in a land which cannot afford them, then flood and now they face the prospect of winter.

It is, as I have said, the worst disaster that has struck the world for 30 years. It is also, as I have tried to describe, a catastrophe so terrible one cannot respond to it in proper reasonable terms. The journalists in Calcutta all know, as do Oxfam and other relief workers, that this is to big a problem for us. This is no longer a case for simple compassion or simple charity. After all, the world has already responded charitably. We all poured out money in a surge of pity last May when the reports of a cholera epidemic began, so the world has virtually exhausted its effective pity. Therefore the real charity must be shown in ruthless political action, in sanctions that make it absolutely clear to the Pakistani Government, which exists only because of international financial and military aid, that it will be worse off if it continues its present policies than if it abandons them. The political moves should be directed at the Army officers who still bolster Yahya Khan.

If they can be persuaded to discard him, use him as a scapegoat for past mistakes, there is a chance of a new policy of reconciliation. That is the first essential action. What happens afterwards is not so clear. There might be an independent Bangladesh but that would create many problems. There might be a new constitution of Pakistan which allowed the East to be linked federally with the West. Or, ultimately, a new racial state of Bengal might come into exsitence, made up of half Moslems, half Hindus, and sliced out of both India and Pakistan. All of these possibilities are dangerous. None of them is as dangerous as allowing things to go on as they are.

The great powers must inspire themselves with the political will to change things and do it soon. They must also give money, food and equipment on a scale far bigger than anyone has imagined as yet : enough to re-establish the refugees properly in East Pakistan or subsidise them in India.

If they choose to stay, this means hundreds of millions of pounds, channelled probably through United Nations agencies. Unless this happens the luxurious figures round the Grand Hotel swimming-pool will continue to be jittery, neurotic and depressed. The local diplomats and generals will continue to talk apoclyptically and not sleep at night. The million children will die. So will thousands of adults. And the consequences for the hundreds of millions who live in the Indian sub-continent will dwarf even these disasters.

CLARE HOLLINGWORTH

The Long Road to India

(Clare Hollingworth of the Daily Telegraph. There is famine in East Pakistan. 8 million people are homeless refugees in their own land, wandering, looking for India.)

There are today over eight million displaced people inside East Pakistan—men, women and children hungry and homeless, "refugees" in their own country.

Groups of villagers are wandering around looking for India, often going in the wrong direction, in a stunned and vague manner. But there is little doubt that a large proportion of these miserable people will cross the border in the hope of obtaining food and shelter in a refugee camp.

The vast majority left their homes in a blind panic when they heard gunfire or saw the next house or the next village set alight by West Pakistan soldiers as a reprisal for an act to terrorism by the Mukti Fouj—Bangladesh liberation army.

Some of the women instinctively picked up a few pots and pans or a bag of rice as they rushed into the protective marshland. With luck some of the men had few coins in their pockets, which were quickly spent. These roaming people keep well away from the main routes frequented by the army. Indeed the sound of an army jeep causes all the able bodied to dive into the nearest undergrowth. Sometimes the wanderers take possession of an uninhabited village but they are too frightened to appeal to the local authorities for food. They believe with some reason that it is the army that has the real power and requests for help will merely cause the arrest of some of the younger men and women.

Owing to floods, a chronic shortage of boats, and the havoc the Mukti Fouj have caused to the railways and roads, these pathetic groups of wanderers are not easy to trace except in those areas where there are Christian missions or European workers.

It is difficult to say how many of them die on their way to India but at least, according to some doctors, one fifth. The groups I have seen certainly showed advanced signs of malnutrition.

These displaced wanderers urgently need clothes and medical services but it is difficult to know how this can be arranged until they arrive in India except by sending supplies to those few missions still working in East Pakistan and urging the United Nations to put pressure on the Pakistan Government to allow relief workers to distribute food. At present the Pakistan Government have agreed to allow a totally inadequate handful of ovservers to see that the gift food reaches the right mouths. Food is a political weapon and as it grows more scarce the "good guys" who are members of the peace committees set up by the Pakistan army are likely to feed their political supporters.

The "bad guys" who have not demonstrated in favour of a united Pakistan and are therefore believed to have some sympathy with Bangladesh can count on rough treatment except in whose limited areas where the army has established an efficient civil administration.

Many hundreds of thousands of people are already suffering from the pangs of hunger in their own homes when there is still planty of rice in the nearby village market; but they have no purchasing power owning to the breakdown of economic life. Growers have not been able to sell their jute and men have been "laid off" work on development projects as a result of the civil war. Again, the impartial distribution of relief is urgent, otherwise hundreds of thousands more miserable people will leave the familiar shelter they have and take the road to India.

The only way to save thousands, perhaps millions, of lives is to begin the relief operation. Famine cannot be avoided when the autumn rice crops have been consumed as the population will eat two million more tons of rice and grain each month than the amount now available. The problem is largely one of transport for at present food stocks are building up at the major ports and there are no trains and far too few vessels and lorries to distribute it. What is urgently neded are

powered river boats and trucks with the authority to use them to carry grain to those areas not on the well-known main routes from the capital.

At the moment the Pakistan army has absolute priority and lorry loads of grain can be kept waiting at one of the many ferries for hours. It is only fair to add that every terrorist act of the Mukti Fouj causes additional dislocation and suffering for the Bengalis.

Dramatic measures such as air lifts or air drops of food may be essential in an urgent action to save life when the famine begins towards the end of this year but this is not a realistic manner to feed some fifty to seventy million people.

Unhappily too many families are split and the man who is forced to keep his shop open in Dacca or Chittagong has frequently sent his wife and children off to relations in the country little realising the greater danger there. Indeed it is estimated that the urban population has been reduced by more than a half.

But this is not a question of figures. I recall in a flooded area only ten miles away from Dacca seeing a queue of half naked people waiting outside a reed hut to obtain clothes and a ticket for a daily rice ration from a Catholic priest. I talked with one woman who had five small hungry children. She told me her husband had been killed earlier in the fighting. Her Basha—reed home—had been suddenly burnt by the Pakistan soldiers. She only had time to pick up the sleeping children before the flames enveloped their home. That is why she had no clothes, nothing. Her story could be repeated thousands of times.

There was no Pakistan Government assistance or help available even though a railway line was functioning within a mile of this spot and had it not been for the priest, the widow and her five children would have died.

Urgent relief is also require by the thirty thousand people who escaped from East Pakistan over the frontier into Burma. No foreign visitors have been allowed to visit them but Burmese doctors told me their plight was appalling.

MARTIN WOOLLACOTT

The price of disaster

(Martin Woollacott of the Guardian on Indiana's dilemma. "By helping the refugees now she will have to cut development and pay the price in future deaths of her own children.")

It would be wrong to paint a picture of budgetary panic in New Delhi, of an administration near collapse in West Bengal, or of new development programmes cancelled. But, the money being spent by India will at least delay development and the Indian people will eventually pay a price in lives for their aid to the refugees, unless the West—and the Soviet Union—pays now. India to her credit has not tried to pretent that the cost of looking after the refugees from East Bengal has pushed the country to the verge of bankruptcy If India were to get into serious difficulties directly attributable to the refugees, or was able to point to the actual abandonment of key development projects, it would be a lot easier to get funds.

India has a long history of successfully coping with disasters, even when there seemed all too little room for extra spending, particularly unproductive spending. To put the refugee problem into perspective, the estimated cost for the financial year 1971—1972 has now been put at 650 to 700 million dollars. That is, ironically enough, about equal to the amount by which it had been hoped, given luck, to increase development spending in 1971—1972. To use another kind of comparison, the refugee cost is about equal to one third of the 1970—71 military budget.

Indian's Labour and Rehabilitation Minister, Mr. Khadilkr, said recently that India had had to curtail development programmes because of the cost of paying for the refugees. In fact the spending for the refugees has gone on the budget deficit. The curtailment takes a rather more generalised but equally serious form. First of all, the extra funds which central and state finance ministries had hope to dole out this year to development projects are not now going to be forthcoming.

Secondly, as one official told me; we're determined not to cut anything. But we are reviewing everything to find economies." On the ground this can mean anything from a cut in the books and stationery budget of a new agricultural school to a slow-down in rural electrification with a concomitant slow-down in the extension of pump-operated irrigation works necessary for the spread of "green revolution" wheat and rice. It can mean cuts in the rural unemployment programme, so that many peasants will not get the jobs. And that not only means that there will be so many less new ditches, roads, or bridges but that the already dreadfully low standards of some rural poor will be further depressed.

Within North-eastern India, the refugees are now on the labour market. That means the depression of local wage rates, and a vast expansion of the already huge ranks of the unemployed, which could be explosive, and, as one West Bengal administrator said "It's not quantifiable, but as long as these people are here, they represent an extra strain."

The limited number of local administrators have been almost entirely diverted from their normal tasks, and the results of their inevitable neglect of other matters are bound to show sooner or later. Many have hardly opened their local files for four or five months.

The rich nations have contributed rather less than a third of what will be the 1971—1972 cost of sustaining the refugees. There has been little compensation on the normal aid front. One Indian official put it like this : "of course we can manage. We always have in the past. But what the West has to think about is what does 'managing' mean? It means a slow-down of all the programmes through which India is trying to create a better future for her people. And time is precious here."

Governments have made contributions in kind—sometimes putting a cash value on them that is to say the least disputable—or they have tied purchase to a particular kind of goods or, worse, still, they have tied the money to purchases in their own countries.

This is naturally quite infuriating to the Indians. The burden can be eased by making purchases of the necessary food and materials in India. But the quality of aid is a secondary problem. What matters most is the quantity.

The Indian Government is constrained to act as if the refugees are to be on Indian soil for only a brief period, so this question has not been raised in its sharpest form. Yet even if we assume Bangladesh independence within the next couple of years—which is going well beyond what India is prepared to talk about—there are many who believe that large numbers of the refugees will never go back. Perhaps fifty per cent are landless peasants with absolutely nothing to go back to. The more enterprising are already trying to obtain Indian documentation which will enable them to pose as Indian citizens.

If the costs of the refugee operation could genuinely be regarded as a once and for all expenditure, the wealthy countries might allow themselves, without too bad a conscience, to contribute only a fifth or a quarter. But this is not a problem which well be liquidated by Bangladesh independence or by a political settlement in East Bengal.

Before the influx of refugees started, many observers felt reasonably sanguine about India's short term economic prospects. Food output has gone up, thanks to the green revolution. National income has been growing by about five per cent a year, industrial production has also been creeping up, and foreign exchange reserves are in a reasonably healthy state.

Making India at once more productive, more profitable, and more labour-intensive should be the first aim, India needs to create millions of new jobs. And even in the short term, the diversion of resources by the refugee costs amounts to a dangerous juggling with lives. What has been gained if East Bengali refugee children are kept alive by Indian efforts, when the diversion of resources may well mean, indirectly and over a period of time, the deaths of children elsewhere in India?

We have seen

(These are the testimonies of people, drawn from many nations, from journalists, relief workers, and Members of Parliament. All are eye witnesses to the situation in India or Pakistan. With one accord, they plead for action.)

JOHN PILGER, DAILY MIRROR

The life, or death, of Bangladesh is the single most important issue the world has had to face since the decision to use nuclear weaponry as a means of political blackmail. It is that, because never before have the world's poor confronted the world's rich with such a mighty mirror of Man's Inhumanity.

Usually we in the West, who are the rich, can dismiss or rationalise famine, unexpected disaster and even mass extermination by simply nothing that the poor, who are characterised by the people of Bangladesh, are numerous and ought to be pruned. If only, we say, they could organize their own resources and subscribe to decent, Western politics. Surely they are expendable. We even allow ourselves a good snigger at places crying out against odds we cannot comprehend places like the Congo and the ravaged republics of the Americans. None has followed the Western wisdom of democracy, and so they must suffer. A pity.

Bangladesh has called our bluff. The people of what was East Pakistan, who represented the majority of the State of Pakistan, voted to be a democracy and to be led by moderate middle-class Western-styled politicians. Foolishly perhaps, they chose our way in their pursuit of freedom, in spite of problems we have never had to face.

And for this reason alone, they are being exterminated and enslaved in a manner reminiscent of Adolf Hitler, over whom the world went to war. But, of course, he was exterminating Europeans.

We in the West have no intention of going to war over Bangladesh. Instead, through our elected government, we have contributed what amounts to one week's survival pocket money to the refugees of Bangladesh, now pertified in India must provide the rest.

It is a cliche but it remains the truth of today: that there will be peace and civilisation and "progress" throughout the planet only when the rich minority—us—begin to close the gap between ourselves and the poor majority. We have the opportunity of beginning to do that in Bangladesh; for this is a cause in which we may locate our lost twentieth century soul. Oh yes, and save, some human lives.

DR. R. C. HICKMAN, MRCP, SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND, BENGAL

Tens of thousands of children have already died in the refugee camps in the Indian border area. I saw worse malnutrition in these camps than in former Biafra. Several hundred thousand children now urgently need supplementary high protein food. They seem unlikely to receive help in time to save their lives.

PETER DUNN, PHOTOGRAPHER, SUNDAY TIMES

I was overwhelmed. I, who have travelled the disaster spots of the world for many years—I was completely overwhelmed.

A press photographer can usually tell himself that he is doing some good no matter how gruesome the photograph he is taking. But in Bengal this panacea was denied me. I felt completely and utterly inadequate. In fact, whenever I had any free time I went out with the War on Want team helping them to inject people against cholera.

BRUCE DOUGLAS MANN, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The situation in Bengal is possibly the greatest threat to peace in the world today; it has certainly created the greatest concentration of human misery. The millions of deaths, which are likely to occur in the coming months, both among the 8 million refugees in India and the 79 million people still in East Bengal, are not inevitable. Money and aid, which the rich countries of the world can easily afford, would save lives on an enormous scale; but only the withdrawal of the West Pakistan army will end the murder, terror and oppresssion and enable normal conditions to be restored. Until world influence is exerted to compel that withdrawal the refugees will not return and war and oppression in Bengal will continue.

ALEXE HENDRY, FINANCIAL TIMES

The plump nocturnal rats that scampered around the door at Dacca International Hotel looked better fed and healthier than most of the stricken delta people in the first few weeks after the floods.

At that time many of the survivors were clamoring and fighting over supplies that would not have ranked as bargains at a suburban jumble sale. Some relief workers found themselves in the ridiculous position of having to fend off the very people they had come to help. It was a miserable experience for them but emphasised the difference between long term, professional relief work and the massive emotional response the disaster touched off through the world.

There was a lot that was wrong with that first effort. But it saved lives, reduced suffering and brought hope to hundreds of thousands who had been left with only hunger.

There is still room for individual effort. But the scale of the tragedy needs government help. Not faceless bureaucrats distributing public funds but nations offering surplus wealth to prevent a tragedy.

The cost per head amongst the developed countries would be quite small. As one relief worker said to me when we were in the disaster area "Lives are cheap here—you can save them for a few shillings a week".

It hardly seems worth the trouble of not bothering to help.

ROLF RANGE, NORWEGIAN CHURCH RELIEF

We were a group of Norwegians visiting Cooch Behar in the northern part of India to get an impression of the refugee situation. One TV reporter, two cameramen and I, previously a journalist, at present Information Officer in Norwegian Church Relief. Our first impression: too much propaganda. We did not see many refugees, and as a journalist, I did not have confidence in the newspapers available. To me it appeared as pure propaganda all these stories about burning villages, massacres and raping.

When we told people about our opinion they replied: Wait, you will see things yourself at the boundary!

An early morning in May we approached the border to East Pakistan. The sun had just risen, the dew drops were glittering and the landscape was idyllic. Vast green rice fields and small cluttering of palms. After a half hour of waiting we saw people coming up the road.

They were refugees—an endless stream of people. We counted five hundred ox-carts and on both sides of the vehicles walked people. Seven or eight men abreast. Young and old. They started to walk faster, raised their hands and started to yell. They appeared to be very eager to tell us of their plight.

The people up in front started running toward us, yelling and pointing in the direction from where they had come. None of us spoke Bengali, but it was not difficult to understand.

The village which they had been forced to leave was burning. An old white-haired man lifted his hands towards heaven and cried out his grief. With gestures he told us that all his eight children had been killed. A finger across the throat told the story. The refugees were so eager to tell their story that they in fact did not discover we did not know the language.

A man caught my arm with a strong grip. He carried a little girl on his arm. He pointed at the girl and I grasped that he wanted to tell me something about the mother of the little girl, his daughter. Something horrible had happened to her—some place inside East Pakistan. Twice he tried to tell me his story. Each time he swallowed and started to open his mouth. And each time he burst into helpless crying. He held my arm and cried out his sorrow.

A woman looked at me without saying a word. Tears trickled down her cheeks. The children got frightened seeing their parents crying so openly and started to shriek out, Several of the grown-ups put up their hands to hide their faces and passed us without saying anything. We were now in the middle of the refugee stream, a tremendous river of people.

On both sides people were passing us with faces wet with tears, on the oxcarts people lay outstretched. some wounded. A man went by hitting and hitting the oxcart with his bare fist. Others looked ahead with frozen faces, stiffened by sorrow.

I threw a look at the cameraman, and discovered he had trouble in filming. He kept drying his eyes all the time to get rid of the tears. He fought with himself to look into the camera, but his crying intensified. At last he helplessly threw out his hands. He could not take it. The TV reporter from Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation had been talking all the time. I heard him saying: "Something terrible has happened. These people are coming from a burning village. There has been shooting and many people have been killed. They tell us that .... I cannot tell you more. We will make the pictures speak."

And then I discovered he was unable to speak. He also was crying. Then I couldn't take any more. Tears came bursting, and we all left the road and went aside, letting the refugees pass.

Four tough men not being tough at all..... ....

FREDERICK NOSSAL, TORONTO TELEGRAM

I visited several refugee camps near Calcutta in June 1971. Despite tremendous efforts by the Governments of India and of West Bengal, conditions were simply terrible. Particularly young children and old people were dying by the score from cholera, malnutrition and diseases connected with food deficiency. Makeshift canvas shelters let through the rain, and thousands lay or slept on damp straw mats and even on the wet ground. They were too weak to move. Those who found shelter in steel and concrete pipes at construction sites considered themselves lucky. At least they were dry.

Conditions seemed worse than during the 1967 famine in Bihar, which I also witnessed, mainly because of the number of East Bengali refugees involved. Hospitals were so overcrowded, patients were accommodated on the floor and in the corridors. Many children and infants were only skin and bones, and obviously dying from dysentery, cholera and malnutrition, and perhaps a combination of different diseases. There was a shortage of doctors and nurses. Refugees waited patiently in line for many hours for their meager daily rations, often in pouring rain.

Since June conditions have worsened in many camps, and unless a concerted global effort is mounted, thousands more will die.

Thomas Jamieson, Unher

After three prolonged visits to India and to all of the refugee areas, I have the following vivid reactions. The Government of India has been faced with one of the greatest exoduses in history. The refugees are to be found not only on the Calcutta area, but also in Tripura, Assam and Megalaya. The Government of India has made a magnificent effort against all odds, including the worst monsoon in recent history.

To get the impact of the problem, one could mention that Tripura, which before March of this year had a population of 1,400,000, now has in addition 1,500,000 refugees. It was fortunate indeed that in all the affected areas the Government had buffer stocks in store which they normally have against the monsoon period. Thus from the first day, refugees were able to receive a modest ration. Whilst much of the problem beggars description, it is stimulating to see the local workers and volunteers, sometime in a sea of mud, continuing the ration distribution and completing the rather flimsy but important shelter arrangements. Medical clinics have also been established. The containment of the cholera epidemic was little short of a miracle.

One of the great problems concerning this particular refugee situation has been that it has changed in magnitude almost every day and so far no-one clearly sees the end and how it will be possible for the people to return home. We therefore have merely a massive relief operation without any aspect of solution whatsoever."

James Cameron, Journalist

For six months we have stood by in shocked surprise and watched disaster grow into catastrophe and hourly nearer to tragedy—and we still stand by and watch. I just cannot understand how rich and powerful nations who interfere so readily with poor ones when they are not wanted, can look straight through them when the want is so desperate—and the time so short. Twenty-four years ago Britain drew that Bengal frontier in blood and pain. Did that let us out politically for ever ?

The Reverend Alan Stephens, Methodist Missionary

HOPE ? A crowd gathers to watch a group of young girls, members of a volunteer corps, perform a stick dance. The "stage" is a dry open space in a camp—very difficult to find in the heavy monsoon. The "costumes" are dull and drab and some of the girls are embarrassed because they have no blouse to wear under their saris. But there is strength in their voices as they sing and firmness in their step as they dance and innate grace in every movement they make. They give pleasure to those who watch, and help them to forget for a time the emptiness and weariness of their day to day subsistence.

But for how long can morale be maintained, how long can they be saved from despair and hopelessness ?

John Stonehouse, Member of Parliament

The horror of Bengal is one of the greatest man-made disasters in this half century. To see the pathetic refugee camps is to marvel that human beings can survive such terrible conditions after many of them had walked over one hundred miles from the insane brutality of the Pakistan army. It is frightful that the world community has done so little to help. The crisis which now threatens is likely to be many times worse than the horrors of the last six months, for with the continuing chaos in East Bengal a famine is coming which could lead to ten million deaths.

The appeals to the President of Pakistan might well have been made to a deaf and blindman. This however, is no excuse for the world community failing to act. It must act soon.

Dr. R. B. M'Clure, Ex-Moderator, United Church of Canada

It was raining and the man came to me clad only in a worn breech-clout. He begged me to come over to Hut No. 85 to see a woman and four boys. We sloshed through the mud and jumped the ditch surrounding the "long house", and there was the remnant of a family. Mother was huddled under some old sacking and around her, three boys aged from 4—8 years. In her lap was one about 3 years of age. The children looked exhausted, their eyes shining in fever reddened faces

I knelt down to take their pulse and feel their foreheads and pat their abdomens. The four boys had typhoid fever and the youngest one nestled against his mother probably would not make it through the night. The others had a chance. Under the sacking I asked mother if she was ill She said : "I don't know You feel me and see." I felt her forehead and she had no fever, her abdomen was soft and her pulse not too strong. She was confused mentally, and who would not be ? The man was her uncle. Her husband has disappeared at the border—been led off, shot or conscripted as a coolie and never to be heard from again.

Why was she under the sacking ? Well, when you come on a trip like this you don't have any spare saris and the youngest boy had soiled her only sari. She had washed it and hung it out to dry.

It was a wet day, and would take a long time to dry. She was under the sacking until she could wear it again. One canadian dollar would give her a sari.

James Ramsden, Member of Parliament

In June I visited India and Pakistan as one of a delegation of British MP's. We spent one of our days being shown the condition of the refugees in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

One's first impression is of the sheer tragedy of so many helpless and homeless human beings. Then one comes to look beyond the horror, and appreciate the immense additional strain on the financial and administrative resources of Government of India.

Where are they to find temporary accommdation in a countryside which is usually wet and low-lying and already intensively farmed ? Where are they to get even the simplest materials to make shelter ? How are they to are they to organize rudimentary standards of hygiene and keep disease at bay ? How do they make available large quantities of additional food, and having got it how are they to organise its distribution along few and desperately overcrowded roads ?

How do they reconcile the existing population, already crowded enough, to the presence of large extra numbers ? How are they to keep the normal administrative machine running as well as coping with the abormal ?

The local administration and the additional officers made available by the Central Goverment of India are doing wonders, but the fact remains that an unexpected transfer of population on this scale would strain the internal resources of any state, and the world should continue to look with sympathy and generosity at any request for help which the Government of India puts forward."

Tobias Iveland, Den Norske Santalmisjon

"It is a targedy, a very, very great tragedy and we like to do what ever we can to help to solve this problem....... It is a tremendous task you have taken up God's blessing."

Dr. Christine Pickard. War On Want Volunteer.

"I expected the pain and the suffering ; as a doctor used to the awful details of disease I knew how to cope with that side of things, even though it was worse than anything I had ever seen before. It is not the quality but the quantity of the problem that is so appalling. For the first time I felt swamped by the magnitude of a situation where I could see no light at all. As a result my sympathies had to be drawn by the rebels, the political agitators. For in the end the solution to the problem must be a political one.

I arrived in India as a new journalist, but, willy nilly, I was drawn into politics while living there.

Why on earth anyone was ever mad enough to expect two such different groups of people as those living in East and West Pakistan to exist happily as one nationality was suddenly beyond me : though I had accepted it without a murmur before.

In a situaion the size of this, answers rather than questions are very elusive. But I became sure of one thing. We must not only send money, we must really set our minds to trying to find some long-term solution, and I mean long-term, even at the expense of short-term gain. This might involve a lot of rethinking on our own part and it could be uncomfortable, but we must make the effort ; after all, so much of the blame can be laid directly at our door."

Trevor Huddleston, Bishop Of Stepney

I have stood on the frontier between India and Pakistan. I have seen the flood of human suffering at full tide flowing over into the already crowded villages of Bengal. I have seen the camps and the efforts being made there to bring relief.

The enemy is TIME. For God's sake get the world aware of its responsibility to humanity quickly. Only a massive swift magnanimous response can be effective. Delay must mean death to millions of our brethren.

Mathew Salisbury, United Relief Service

Eight million refugees and more coming. Then floods rendering areas of West Bengal inaccessible by road for nearly two months : then a typhoon ripping apart the "homes" of flood victims and evacuees.

I have to walk ahead of a Land-Rover, removing from the middle of the road those few meagre possessions salvaged from the flood, because the only dry space for shelter was the road itself. Tube-wells were often sub-merged : floods were the only drinking water, adding further to the death-roll.

Governments abroad may not be able to ease the administrative burden, but at least they can mitigate the effects of the financial load. But even the colossal aid to India which world governments could mobilise can only buy time. It cannot build here, where there is no community to bulid on For Goverment, relief workers and evacuees, the only end can be a political solution which will give security to the evacuees—inside East Bengal.

Both massive increased aid and solution are vital to India. There is a limit to her endurance.

Julian Francis, UNA Volunteer Bihar

There are no walls to keep the rain from blowing in, nor any partitions except lines of washing to separate one family from the next. The thatched roof seems to sweat smoke, but just as the smoke drifts out the rain comes in at every pore, and the mud floor which is their bed gets damp and slimy

Regularly each hut disgorges a hundred refugees or more who form queues for their government rations, queues for the wells, queues for a place at the trench latrines. Those with dysentery seldom make it to the queue. The children form lines for their daily dollop of special nutritious food

This is the totality of life for nine million refugees—there is no work, there is no money. They knew what they were coming to. They knew, that despite everything, it was better than what they were leaving, for here there is a chance of physical survival

We shall go on trying to help them survive here. Please do not give up at your end. But above all, please push, press and persuade everyone with influence until the refugees are safe again. Get them out of these monstrous camps.

Stanley Burke, Canadian Journalist

A man-made disaster of almost unimaginable proportions is unfolding in East Pakistan and in India. Millions are already suffering and millions more are threatened by hunger and famine. And yet the world stands by almost indifferent. Why ?

Governments are caught up by the international power game and are fearful that social strife, if not suppressed, may spread. The United Nations is crippled by the attitudes of its member governments and, by the existing code of international conduct. Churches feel restrained, fearing that their world-wide interest may be jeopardized if they take actions which are offensive to governments. Even relief agencies dedicated to the relief of human suffering fear to act without governmental consent.

Why? Why do people keep saying "we mustn't get involved in politics"? The answer seems to be that we have an almost instinctive fear or power which makes us hesitate to cry out. Governments feel that they are fellow members of a club and that they must help one another out. Organisations feel that any authority is better than no authority. Whatever the explanations, the fact is that the world stands by and allows the tragedy to grow. Here then is the moment when private organisations and private individuals, if they have courage, must stand up and protest. They must show their outrage that this totally unnecessary tragedy was allowed to happen and is allowed to continue.

But protest is not enough. In a complex power-dominated world it is no longer effective to pass plaintive resolutions or to write isolated letters to editors. Power for good must be effectively and massively organised and courageously advanced. Already the citizens' fight to save the environment, has shown the effectiveness of private protest.

On Pakistan th[illegible] must demand an answer to one basic question: Are there limits to the right of a Government to use force against people it claims as its own in order to perpetuate a political system? The question cries out for attention.

It is thought-provoking to realise that in the First World War people were horrified by the sinking of the Lusitania with the loss of a few hundred lives. In the Second World War people were shocked by the bombing of Hiroshima at a cost of 150,000 lives. Today the world is indifferent to a tragedy affecting millions.

Vincent Philippe Feuille D'avis De Lausanne

I have just left one of the innumerable refugee camps which border the Indo-Pakistan frontier. A small camp, it has 6,000 people (Salt Lake camp has 300,000) : an "acceptable" camp. I use this shocking word for nothing is really "acceptable" in saying that misery is well organised. I saw what the Indian Government is doing to give at least shelter and something to alleviate famine. I saw, too, the efforts made by several foreign and international charities: may be a ray of hope, but a ray only, because the situation is getting worse. The mass of refugees is growing quickly. Tomorrow, their emotion being over, their conscience being relieved, the rich countries will forget Bengal, whereas it needs help more than ever.

It seems to me obvious that in the face of such a dramatic situation, private and charitable giving is not enough. Only a huge and concerted action by governments can put an end to the tragedy.

Monseigneur Bruce Kent War On Want

It was a Saturday and with the monsoon starting, heavy rain had fallen for nearly five hours. There was a little, almost unofficial camp, not far away from our hospital—perhaps a thousand people huddling in shelters on the roadside or even without shelter at all. In a few large bamboo type huts a number of families had crowded—perhaps 12 families to a hut.

But the huts had been built below flood level and the water had risen in the huts to a depth of about two feet. A crowd stood around one in particular. With the endless rain the roof had given way. Most of the people had got out. But a baby, knocked on to the ground had either drowned or suffocated and its little body was held by a weeping mother. Guilty of nothing, life was suddenly over. I could not look at the parents who had come so far only to find this extra tragedy at the end of a road of tears.

Kevin Rafferty, Financial Times

The biggest tragedy is the meanness of the rich nation "friends" of the refugees. If one creams off the layer of self-interested businessmen and politicians, who have dealt too much with men from the power blocks of the West, whose concern is with money, the people of India and Pakistan are simple and poor—but hospitable and loving. When I first went to India a complete stranger in Delhi offered me his room in his 3 roomed house, fed me and looked after me when I was ill and would not take anything in return. I found the same warmth in East Pakistan and was always greeted with a smile and a ready offer of a cup of tea.

Yet we—Christians!—cannot cough up even half a per cent of our annual defence budget to rescue these poor people. Their plight is not their own fault. Ironically it is the fault of men of their own country who have dedicated themselves firstly to pursuing Western inculcated ideas of wealth and power.

Romano Cagnoni Photographer

I was in Biafra for six months. I hoped I would never see a tragedy on that scale again. The situation in Bengal in its beginning is worse than Biafra at the end of the war.

Dr. Meyer Caritas

So many marasmic children are seen suck the breast and looking like wizened old men, that the mothers get used to the idea of having a very thin child and do not become unduly alarmed at the sight. In fact, they would rather leave the child alone than coax him to take any extra rice or dahl if the child refuses to take anything at all—even fluids.

Malnutrition claims a considerable number of lives a day in each camp. To counter-act this menace, Operation Lifeline has been inaugurated under the Red Cross Umbrella and supported by the Government of India. Each participating voluntary agency retains its own autonomy and identity.

What are the reasons for this acute incidence of marasmus and kwashiorkor? Change of dietary constituents is not the only factor, as the refugees have been living under more severe conditions before coming to Salt Lake camp. In peace time, fish comprised a large part of their diet and now it is unavailable, except for a small quantity which the refugees sell themselves in the local shops they have constructed along the roads into the camps.

Protein deficiency becomes inevitable. Other factors are dysentery, worm infestations, measles, and chest and skin infections which interfere with the child's appetite and cause loss of weight. Once the child has reached the crucial point of being 60% below his normal standard of weight, there is very little hope of recovery by maternal care alone.

Doug Attwood, Bob Sweeney, Care

Considering the sea of mud that surrounds us it is astonishing to find people actually still washing their saris and dhotis and trying to keep their children slightly clean -often in the largest puddle around us or in a small pond some yards away. They do have some sense of sanitation involved but almost no means of coping with the necessities. From here I look into some of these tent-like structures. I hear the babies crying. I see people sitting there, many of them quite languidly, many of them of course old but still others passing in and out trying to gather water, trying to mind the children, really almost nothing left for them to do here. They dont' know how long they can be here, no-one is able to tell them. They know that they do get rations and they do have some sort of shelter over their heads but from day to day they don't have very much to look forward to.

John Saar, Life agazine

In the village of Kanthali, a thin, gray-bearded man named Nalini Mohan Biswas, welcomed 125 cholera victims into the courtyard of his home when they collapsed while passing through town. Biswas himself was unprotected by a vaccination. Even so, he nursed the stricken refugees so conscientiously that only four died.

But such rare and extraordinary efforts are only pinpoints in a vast tragedy. Narayan Desai, secretary of a national volunteer group, has no doubts about the gravity and explosiveness of the refugee issue. "I see a series of calamities, beginning with huge health problems. I imagine that thousands will die every day."

Anthony Mascarenhas, Journalist

When I visited East Bengal I was also appalled by the extraordinary hostility of non-Bengali officials to the local population.

For example, when I talked about the impending famine to a senior agricultural official, he buntly told me: "The famine is the result of their acts of sabotage. So let them die. Perhaps then the Bengalis will come to their senses"

This statement and others have convinced me that food is being used as an instrumnt of politics.

It is essential that any international relief, to be effective, must be internationally, supervised to ensure it reaches the right places, otherwise it will be wasted.

Florence Priest, Church Missionary Society

For four months we worked as a medical team serving five camps in North Bengal. Each day we held dispensaries for the sick. We always found a long queue and it was seldom that we were able to reach the end of the queue. It was heartbreaking work as we watched families get smaller as one child after another died, and then came the cholera to take its great toll. Although so much was done and every day there were long queues for rations which were given without fail, conditions were appalling and almost my last glimpse of a camp was of men and women pulling up the bamboos that supported the small tarpaulin which had been "home", as the flood waters reached the camp and once again they were on the move. It was not difficult to move, they had few possessions.

Philip Jackson Oxfam

It becomes quickly apparent in West Bengal that all government officials social and relief workers, are totally preoccupied with the refugee " Invasion". Their fingures are struck bravely into the dyke and it is incredible that the dyke has not yet burst beyond repair. It is tragic to see how other work so desperately needed in this part of India, has had to be disrupted. How long, one wonders, will the poor of India stand for it?

Marilyn Silverstone, Magnum

At one crossing point in West Bengal, a slippery track through flooded fields, in mud and pouring rain we counted refugees passing at the rate of 70 a minute in a continuous stream. That is over 30,000 a day from this one point alone, day after day. It is difficult for a western mind to conceive the enormity of these numbers. Many had walked for four or more days. Saddest of all are the old people.

David Loshak, Daily Telegraph

Salt Lake Camp, on the edge of Calcutta, is very convenient for visiting VIPs. It's near the airport and near the Grand Hotel, and they can come and tut-tut before swiftly moving on. It's pitiably different for the refugees, more than a quarter of a million souls—a population as large as Leicester's, living, barely existing, in an area the size of St. James Park. They are there not because it's convenient, and it's certainly no park. There is a life of unremitting material deprivation, sapping physical hardship and, worse by far of all, moral desolation and hopelessness. And Salt Lake is only one of more than 900 camps for the refugees of East Pakistan. However successfully they may be kept from starving, or dying from the ever-present threats of epidemic or exposure, their fate is so desperate that many of the millions still living quite simply envy the dead. Saddest of all are the children, condemned to lives of endless uncertainties except the certainty of despair. Condemened by the facts of proverty to have weakened stunted bodies and physically shrivelled minds. But they are remote and to many of us seem, if not undeserving, at any rate, unappealing objects of our charity or even our concern. Our com-

passion is not a limitless commodity. Yet, the tormented refugees, their wretched old and bewildered young, are no island. Not to realise that we in our affluence depend as much on them as they on us is to ignore the realities of the present and future world. It is not only compassion and conscience that cry out for our concern and charity, but simple common sence.

BERNARD LLEWELLYN, OXFAM

Back-in England three days after my visit to the frontier, the details are already blurring. I see the old grandmother asleep or dying in the station yard her bony buttocks sticking out of the rag she wore; the mother who collapsed in the camp hospital and the thud as her baby's head hit the floor; the father searching for his lost child in a thickening crowd.

But I have forgotten their faces and the look in their eyes. It is more bearable that way !

CLAUDE AZOULAY, PARIS MATCH

The whole world stands accused of inaction while seven million people are in danger of death. A graveyard of children. This is the scar which is in danger of marking for ever the generation of man which for the first time, has stepped on the surface of the moon. In an age when an innocent bystander uanable to swim can be thrown into prison for not having gone to the rescue of an imprudent swimmer in danger of drowning in Bengal two million children are dying, killed by hunger, and we remain idle and no sanctions will be imposed on us except may be—oh so remote—that of guilt.

Why the apathy? How has our civilisation reached this height of barbarism?

JIM HOWARD, OXFAM

The people of East Pakistan are the people who do not move easily, whose only survival is to stay where they were born. Nothing has moved them : through the yearly floods and cyclones and then the great cyclone disaster last year they have remained tenaciously on their land so there is something, some great power that is moving them now. That power is fear, the fear of death.

My great concern at the moment apart from danger to India's development programme is that the world will regard these people as expendable. They are not. They must survive, they must not only be helped to survive, but finally they must be allowed to go back to their homes.

BERNARD BRAINE, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

What is so unforgiveable about the tragic situation in Bengal is that month after month we have seen it moving towards catastrophe, with hardly anyone lifting a finger to stop it. It is manifesly clear that neither India, burdened with a huge and growing army of refugees, nor Pakistan herself, faced with the prospect of massive famine, can cope without outside support. Yet so far the response to U Thant's appeal for help has been pitifully inadequate. The world community must act now or be prepared to witness a human disaster of unimaginable proportions.

MARK EDWARDS, KEYSTONE PRESS AGENCY

Almost total lethargy has overtaken the adult refugees. How long this will last before political agitators start to rouse them to action, even possibly violent action, is anyone's guess. But it is one of the dangers of leaving this problem unsolved.

TIGER STACK, OXFAM

Coming back to this country from working in the utter human degradation and suffering of the refugee camps, the thing that hits one is the *indifference* of people here . . . . . their total preoccupation with home affairs.

ERNEST HILLEN, WEEKEND MAGAZINE (CANADA)

Thus far the attitude of governments and people—including us in Canada—to the continuing East Pakistan disaster has been mostly one of indifference. And this is hard to understand. Standing in the rain in one of the hundreds of miserable refugee camps that crowd East Pakistan's border, it is beyond comprehension. Unprecedented numbers of people are suffering and dying, and the numbers are growing, there is widespread famine, and there is the very real threat of war.

The blame for the catastrophe rightly enough belongs to the men who run the West Pakistan Government. The shame belongs to all of us. Almost from the start, the world community could have stopped it. And it must be stopped now—by whatever manner or means. Our children will inherit enough shame.

DR. TIM LUSTY, VOLUNTEER DOCTOR

I remember one evening walking through a refugee camp in Couch Behar, 700 miles north of Calcutta. Our progress was interupted several times by sick and dying children who had been laid on mats in our path. I asked the camp's director, a Norwegian, whether general malnutrition was improving or getting worse. "Definitely worse", he replied.

Within days Oxfam had Indian medical teams working in the area; but there is a limit to what private charities can do. That limit is set by the degree of concern shown by more fortunate people.

DAVID HART. SCF VOLUNTEER

I spent fourteen years in the East as a Tea Planter so I know something about conditions out there. I saw the plight of the East Pakistanis after the Cyclone which hit them last November and the misery and suffering that followed. But nothing I have seen before compares with the tragedy which I witnessed in the Refugee Camps in India recently. Mile after mile, camp after camp, it was the same. Millions of human beings somehow existing in conditions that we in England would not allow our animals to endure. Within two short months, from June to August, I saw the situation deteriorate very badly. The effect, too, on the morale of the refugees was alarming. Not only had they lost their homes and their possessions, they began to lose

dignity and feeling. Faced with an inhuman environment, they became withdrawn and apathetic. They appeared to be unmoved by the sight of a dead child lying in the rain, it's arm and legs gnawed off by dogs, it's eyes pecked out by crows. I could afford my emotion—I would be going home to my pleasant house in the country, my warm comfortable bed. For me it was a nightmare, for them a reality.

FATHER D'SOUZA, CATHOLIC CHURCH, BONGAON

Now that the area is flooded, 29, out of 32 camps are under water and it is very sad to see the people crowded on the road, with no proper shelter, just jute canes over their heads.

The Government is trying its best with the help of different organizations, but there is need of much help in this colossal work, because in Bongaon sub-division there are over 450,000 refugees. And now that the roads are blocked it is difficult for the Government to carry foodstuff.

After the floods, I expect the medical condition in the camps to be very bad because of the large expanses of stagnant water. The Government will have to do something in the line of disinfecting the areas, giving cholera injections again, because the refugees are going to have a very hard time in the winter, and if discease start will make thing must worse.

JOHN DREWERY, CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORP.

I found it impossible to shut away the memories of what I saw, in the refugee camps of West Bengal and along the trails leading out of East Pakistan, in that corner of my mind reserved fror other horrors I witnessed during wars I covered in Korea, the Congo, Egypt, Vitnam and Biafra. It is not that the brutalization of the people of East Pakistan is worse than what has happened to countless others throughout history. The effect of sword, fire and starvation differ very little in degree on the individual body and spirit.

It is simply that the magnitude of the tragedy is so immense, so overwhelming, it overshadows all other things. The cry for help coming out of In and East Pakistan is echoing all around the world. If we ignore it we are killing our future too.

MONA MOLLERUP, DANISH CHURCH AID

The Government of India and the voluntary agencies are doing a great deal to house, feed and provide medical care for the evacuees. We can never do enough for this tide of humanity.

The creeping malnutrition among the infants and children in the camps is frightening.

MR. J. BANERJI, GOBARDANGA SOCIAL WELFARE SOCIETY

Imagine the whole population of Scotland trekking south, bag and baggage leaving their country hearth and home with a basket on their heads. Leading their old parents by the hand and ailing children on their heads in continuous streams day after day and finally taking shelter under

improvised sheds, only God looking after them. Imagine heavy rains, cholera and deaths on the roadside. This is the picture. How will England or the world accept the situation?

We want every citizen of the world to come to the aid of these refugees.

REG PRENTICE, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The situation I saw in the refugee camps in july was the most terrible that I have ever seen—both in its degree of individual suffering and in its size. Since then it has become much worse. In the next few months it will become much worse still. Millions will die unless we act in time.

In West Bengal and the other boarder states, the local officials and doctors are doing a first-class job. They are working on behalf of the rest of the human family. We should all recognise this and insist that the government of our country, and all countries, take over a fair share of the burden that is falling on India. The impending famine within East Bengal adds a terrible new dimension to the tragedy. We must respond urgently to this threat as well. Time is not on anyone's side.

NARAYAN DESAI, GHANDI PEACE FOUNDATION

Like an octopus, the problem is clutching the situation from a number of directions.

When approaching a refugee camp the problem that stares at you is that of accommodation. Twenty-three persons living in a tent measuring 12 feet by 9 feet. Sixteen living on a raised 8 feet square platform of bamboo chips. avoiding direct contact with knee-deep water. This is the rule, rather than the exception.

Going a little closer, you see a number of other problems. Thousands of women with just half a piece of cloth to wrap their bodies, thousands suffering from gastro-enteritis cholera, dysentery and diarrhea; hundreds of thousands of children slowly succumbing to malnutrition, millions dreading the advent of winter winds along with peneumonia.

Moving right among them you realise the more subtle problems: 9 million pairs of hands remaining idle result in frustration : every story of atrocity across the border—thousands of women molested, almost half a million killed—bring with it bitterness, anger and contempt.

MICHAEL BLACKMAN, OXFAM

It took the bogy of cholera to stir the conscience of the world, but even this killer came and went. It left behind what was there before, suffering and despair—no homes, little or no food, insufficient medical supplies—and worst of all, no hope.

MISS PAT BENNETT, CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

You know how bright children normally are. Well, some of the children we treated in the camps were just little lifeless bodies, hardly able to move in their mothers' arms, let alone to smile. The reports of malnutrition have

certainly not been exaggerated at all, in spite of the fact that the Indian Government has been doing the most tremendous job. Nevertheless, the need for outside help is essential and is growing all the time, particularly for the children.

ALAN HART, BBC PANORAMA

They'd been hacked to death with knives and clubs. Twelve bodies. From some of their wounds the blood was still gushing. And when you thought they were dead and finished—they weren't They went on twitching, some of these bodies, for several minutes.

These are the images that I captured for my first film report from inside East Pakistan during the opening weeks of the war. I shall never be able to wash that scene from my mind, yet strangely enough it disturbed and angered me much less than another incident I saw several months later.

I was watching a young girl dying of starvation. I who held by her eyes. They were accusing me "You don't care do you" they were saying I knelt down beside her and took her hand. I wanted to tell her that we really did care —all those of us in the outside world. I opened my mouth to speak. But I couldn't tell her something that was untrue.

MICHEL BRUNSON, ITN NEWS

Things do not usually happen just as television reporters want them to happen. So the tragedy of West Bengal is that you only have to get the cameras out of the cases to get the evidence of death, of starvation, of disease and of suffering on record. Imagine Britain from the Highlands to Cornwall with columns of refugees on many of the roads, a refugee camp in most of the villages. That's what it's like arround the border of East Pakistan. Only two things—thousands of deaths and thousands of pounds worth of money or medical supplies—are in the end going to let us put our cameras back in their cases.

CLAUDE MOSSE, RADIO SUISSE ROMANDE

Between 1942 and 1944, therr were ten million deaths in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany. A quarter of a century later this memory is still in our minds. There are ten million refugee in East Bengal and apart from some news especially in the Anglo-Saxon press, the whole world accepts with complete apathy the slow agony of these human beings whose horizon was limited by the muddy marshes of the Ganges valley. The Indian Government has already withdrawn one billion Swiss francs from its investments to save these ten million living skeletons. Now India is exhausted. Without immediate and continuous international help we will have to resign ourselves to the fact that two million children under eight will die of hunger and cold. They turn their eyes in our direction. They ask for nothing. Their acceptance of a tragic destiny which has made of them our shame must force a reaction from what remains of our conscience. It is not too late, but there isn't a minute to lose.

The long lines of bamboo huts flattened by rain become longer everyday. In these hovels people sleep on the ground, defecate along the paths and giant crows hover above. Fifty children fight over an egg we had given because we didn't have the courage to eat it in front of them. In the milk queue a child vomits and collapses. In the mud a woman heaves, groans, and gives birth. The poorest of Norwegian lumber jacks, the most deprived Welsh miner, is a thousand times, ten thousands times richer than the happiest of the ten million refugees. If we can accept the potential death of these ten million refugees it means that we can accept the ten million deaths of Auschwitz. The powers which united to give freedom to the oppressed people in 1944 cannot fail to unite today to save the innocent victims of this tragedy. Their destiny is linked with ours. If we let them die it means our civilisation is already dead.

What is needed today is a permanent airlift to take supplies into India, but above all, blankets because it will soon be cold, very cold, and death through cold is as terrible as that through hunger.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
অধিকৃত বাংলাদেশে ত্রাণকর্মরত অপারেশন ওমেগা কর্মীর কারাবরণ।	বাংলাদেশ নিউজলেটার	১০ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

MONSTROUS PUNISHMENT

Two workers of the Operation Omega, an international relief mission with headquarters in England, have recently been arrested by the occupation army of West Pakistan for "illegally" distributing relief supplies inside the occupied Bangladesh. They were charged with "smuggling" and sentenced by a military court to two years in prison.

Ellen Langle Connett, 27, of Dumont, New Jersey and another volunteer, Gordon Slaven, a British citizen, were distributing clothes and medicine about 10 miles inside the occupied Bangladesh when they were arrested on Oct. 4.

Mrs. Connett was the second U. S. relief volunteer to be tried for illegally distributing relief supplies in Bangladesh, but the first to be given a prison sentence. Daniol Due, of San Francisco, also of Operation Omega, was tried last September and deported.

According to the officials of Operation Omega, the two volunteers are being treated as "class C" prisoners, the status given to common criminals, and denied an American lawyer.

In an editorial under the caption "Monstrous Punishment" British daily Observer (Oct. 17) wrote :

> "Two young relief workers have been sentenced to two years' imprisonment by the Pakistan courts. The aim of their exercise was to demonstrate that the claims of charity should have priority over political reasons of state. They therefore illegally entered East Pakistan to try to help those suffering there from hunger and disease.
>
> "The Pakistan authorities used a big stick and imprisoned them. This has secured publicity and support for their aims from people all over the world......A two year sentence is monstrously excessive and must bring discredit on the regime."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রী ত্রাণ তহবিলের যুক্তরাজ্য কমিটির আবেদন।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেণ্টস	৩০ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**Appeal by the U.K. (Refugee) Committee for the Prime Minister of India's National Relief Fund
November 30, 1971**

The following is a letter to the Editor published in The Guardian, London, November 30, 1971 :

Sir,—The newspapers are now full of the war danger resulting from the nightmare situation in East Bengal, but we mustn't forget that the refugees—nearly ten million of them—are still in India, or that the burden of keeping them fed and sheltered is still very largely being borne by the Indian Government.

This would be a big enough humanitarian task even if India were one of the world's richest nations, but for a nation struggling to conquer mass poverty, it is really a stupendous effort. And the Indian people share the credit with their Government, because India is a free country whose rulers are chosen by, and responsive to the people. Without popular support Mrs. Gandhi would have been unable to admit the refugees in the first place, let alone keep them for so long and at such vast expense on Indian soil.

The British Committee of the Prime Minister of India's Relief Fund has been raising money here for direct transmission to Mrs. Gandhi. Under her auspices it is then used for the benefit of the refugees for buying medicines and medical equipment, clothing—both winter and summer—blankets and bedding, tents and lanterns, baby food, hand tools, shovels, etc.

Cheques can be made out simply to INR and sent either to me or to the Fund Account No. 1561146, Llyods Bank Ltd., 6 Pall Mall, London, SW 1. I urge everyone to give as much as they can afford for this supremely deserving and urgent cause.

Yours very sincerely,
SYBIL THORNDIKE CASSON.

The U.K. (Refugee) Committee for the Prime Minister of India's National Relief Fund.

যুক্তরাষ্ট্র

সরকারী ও কংগ্রেসের দলিলপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে

মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের ভূমিকা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
যুক্তরাষ্ট্র পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর মুখপাত্রের বাংলাদেশ সংক্রান্ত বিবৃতি (সংকলিত)।	পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর	মার্চ - এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE CRISIS IN EAST PAKISTAN

STATEMENTS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE PRESS SPOKESMEN

March 26 :

"We are watching development closely with concern."

March 31 :

"A ranking officer of the Embassy in Islamabad expressed our concern to a ranking official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs....that while we recognized that there was censorship in effect, we felt that the legitimate news gathering functions of American journalists had been unduly restricted."

April 2 :

"We are naturally concerned at the reported loss of life, damage and hardship suffered by the people of Pakistan."

"Now in this respect we have noted the statement yesterday by the UN Secretary General. And in this connection we would, of course, give sympathetic consideration to any international humanitarian efforts to assist that might be requested by the Government of Pakistan in line with the Secretary General's statement."

"We view what is going on in Pakistan as an internal matter."

April 5 .

"It is our hope that peaceful conditions can be re-established."

"We are naturally concerned at the reported loss of life, damage and hardship suffered by the people of Pakistan. We have noted U Thant's statement of March 31 and said that we would, of course, give sympathetic consideration to any international humanitarian efforts to assist that might be requested by the Government of Pakistan in line with the Secretary General's statement."

April 6 :

"Naturally, as a general proposition we would be concerned if American weapons were used in circumstances such as these."

MAIN DEPARTMENT STATEMENT

April 7 :

"Since the beginning of the present crisis, we have on several occasions expressed concern over the loss of life and damage which have occurred in East Pakistan. and we have expressed the hope that peaceful conditions will be restored

While we have pointed out the difficulty of obtaining reliable information on the situation. it is increasingly clear that there have been substantial casualties and damage. although we still have no way of estimating the extent of the casualties and damage with any precision.

Our sympathy goes out to the victims of recent events. Normal life in East Pakistan has been seriously disrupted. We continue to believe it is important and that every feasible step be taken to end the conflict and achieve a peaceful accommodation

We hope that it will be possible soon to alleviate the suffering caused by recent events. In this connection, we also hope the Government of Pakistan will avail itself of offers of assistance from the international community. The United States is prepared to assist in any international humanitarian efforts of this kind. We have discussed these matters with the Government of Pakistan and we will continue to do so."

"I do not believe that there has been a request for international relief assistance from the Government of Pakistan to any party....we continue to hope that the Government of Pakistan will avail itself of the offers that are and may be forthcoming."

"We expressed shortly after the newsman were expelled our deep concern that their legitimate news-gathering functions had been inhibited and that their cameras, notes, etc., had been taken from them. We asked that this personal property be returned."

April 12 :

"We do not have, as some accounts have suggested, a large on-going military assistance program with Pakistan. There has been an embargo since 1965. The one-time exception announced last October is still under discussion in terms of specifications and prices

There is no—repeat—no equipment in the pipeline and none has been delivered under that exception. Indeed, technical talks on this subject have not been held for some six weeks.

We have had a modest program of sales, predominantly cash, to Pakistan, for non-lethal military equipment, spare parts for equipment already in Pakistani hands and some ammunition.

The agreements under which this program was worked out were arrived at well before the beginning of the present crisis, and I am not aware of any new arrangements with the Pakistan Government since the crisis began. Insofar as shipments under these agreements are concerned, we have this matter under review,

In brief, the notion that we have a substantial military assistance program with Pakistan is erroneous."

April 13 :

"The over-all food supply in East Pakistan appears to be adequate now. Obviously, one cannot be sure there are no local shortages, but as a general proposition, we feel safe in saying there is no widespread famine. Stocks presently .... 700,000 tons, or 4 months supply at normal rates. Additionally, 200,000 tons on the water, much of that in East Pakistan ports. Further, 300,000 tons of U. S. grain has been authorized and will move as soon as delivery can be made. If future needs prove to be greater than this, we would, of course, consider additional PL-480 shipments. And we are in a position to move promptly if it proves necessary.

Now, the Department of Agriculture yesterday said we were advising the Government of Pakistan that we are anxious to resume shipments at the earliest possible time that port congestion in East Pakistan is eased and off-loading and distribution arranged. All this by way of saying that the problem is not supply, but off-loading facilities and distribution in East Pakistan, because rail, boat and road transport have been disrupted, and labour at the docks is largely unavailable.

Now, we have stressed to the Government of Pakistan the importance of resolving distribution problems, and we have also continued to emphasize we are prepared to support any international humanitarian efforts to provide assistance to East Pakistan."

April 15 ·

"We have been struck by the fact that some reporting on Pakistan continues to assert that U. S. arms are flowing into Pakistan, and that U. S. food assistance is being cut off. These assertions are not true.

First, there is no widespread famine in East Pakistan, based on the best information available to us, although local shortage may exist. The problem is not supply, it is distribution and port congestion. We have taken up with the Government of Pakistan a number of times the urgent need to resolve these problems. 900,000 tons of grain, including large quantities of U. S. PL-480 wheat are either in government stocks in East Pakistan or at its ports or on the high seas. 300,000 additional tons of U. S. grain have been authorized and will move as soon as deliveries can be made, and the United States will act promptly if more is needed. We have said, and repeated our willingness to support any additional international humanitarian relief effort, and the Government of Pakistan is fully aware of our readiness to do so.

On the question of U. S. arms, the embargo has been in effect since 1965. With regard to the one-time exception announced last October, no arms have been delivered and none are in the pipeline. Since 1966-67, under the foreign military sales agreement with Pakistan, a very modest quantity of such items as communications, medical and transport equipment as well as spare parts and ammunition for arms provided prior to the 1965 embargo, have gone to Pakistan. With respect to the question of ammunition, no more than 10 or 15 per cent of the total material has been ammunition.... We have been informed by the Department of Defense that none of these items have been provided to the Pakistan Government or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan, March 25-26, and nothing is now scheduled for such delivery. In

short, no arms have been provided to the Government of Pakistan since the beginning of this crisis, and the question of deliveries will be kept under review in light of developments."

Refugee Problem

April 27 .

'We have had a number of conversations with the Indian Government on this subject, both here and in New Delhi, and we will be moving as promptly as we can within the framework of some form of international effort, perhaps under the United Nations, perhaps the International Red Cross. The details are not settled.

I do understand that three--and may be more, but I know of only three—voluntary agencies—Catholic Relief Service, or Services; Church World Service; and CARE—which have humanitarian programs in India, are, with our consent, diverting some of the commodities which they use in their normal programs to establish refugee relief programs in West Bengal, which I believe will take care of roughly 150,000 refugees in West Bengal for several weeks."

"I have seen figures, with an Indian source, which suggest that there may be on the order of half a million refugees in the States of West Bengal and Assam. But I stress that we have no independent figure of our own"

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর রবার্ট সি বায়ার্ডকে লিখিত পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর কর্মকর্তার চিঠি।	পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর	২১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D. C. 20520

April 21, 1971

Honourable Robert C. Byrd
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510.

Dear Senator Byrd:

I have received your inquiry dated March 30, conveying Mr. and Mrs. Fred Stottlemyer's views on East Pakistan.

As former Peace Corps Volunteers in East Pakistan, the Stottlemyers' concern over the tragic developments there, and especially the use of U. S.-supplied arms, is understandable. The fact is that Department of State spokesmen have repeatedly addressed these matters in official statements over the past several weeks. These statements, however, have not received all the publicity which we feel they have deserved

We have expressed concern over the loss of life and damage which have occurred in East Pakistan and the hope that peaceful conditions will be restored there. We have extended our sympathy to the victims of these events. We have stated our belief that it is important that every feasible step be taken to end the conflict and achieve a peaceful accommodation. We have emphasized our willingness to support any international humanitarian relief effort to alleviate the suffering caused by these events. We have also discussed these matters with the Government of Pakistan and will continue to do so.

As for the particular points raised by Mr. and Mrs Stottlemyer, I wish to assure you that such views are being seriously considered by the Department. Our spokesmen have specifically stated our concern when American weapons are used in such situations The Department has announced that no arms have been provided to the Government of Pakistan since this crisis began and that the question of military sales shipments to Pakistan is being reviewed. **The question of recognition of an independent Government in East Pakistan has not arisen since the United States has not received such a request.**

According to the best available information there is no imminent threat of famine in East Pakistan although local food shortages may exist. We understand that about 900,000 tons of foodgrain, including large quantities of U.S. PL-480 wheat, are either in Government stocks in East Pakistan, at ports or on the way there. An additional 300,000 tons of U. S. foodgrain have been authorized and will move forward to East Pakistan as soon as deliveries can be made. We have taken up with the Government of Pakistan the urgent need to resolve the present problems of port congestion and distribution of food to people throughout East Pakistan and we will continue to address this problem on a priority basis.

I enclose for your reference a compilation of statements on the East Pakistan situation made by the Department's spokesmen over the past three weeks. I hope this information will be helpful to you in replying to Mr. and Mrs. Stottlemyer. Please continue to call on me whenever you believe we might be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,
Sd/-
David M. Abshire
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations.

Enclosures :

1. Compilation of statements.
2. Correspondence returned.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর জে ডাবলু ফুলব্রাইটকে লিখিত পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর কর্মকর্তার পত্রগুচ্ছ।	সিনেট বৈদেশিক সম্পর্ক কমিটির রিপোর্ট: পরিশিষ্ট	১৩ মে, ১৯৭১

(Senate Foreign Relation Committee Report Appendix —May 13, 1971, calling for the suspension of military assistance to Pakistan)

Department of State
Washington, D.C., April 23, 1971.

Hon. J. W. Fulbright,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U. S. Senate.

Dear Mr. Chairman: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of April 6, 1971 indicating your concern over the situation in East Pakistan and requesting information on the use of U. S. supplied military grant assistance in East Pakistan and the current status of discussions with the Government of Pakistan for the sale of military equipment and the status of any current shipments.

We share your concern that U. S. equipment has been used in this situation and have not been silent on the matter. Since the military action began on March 25, the Department's spokesman has expressed our concern over the reported use of American weapons, and we have done so privately to the Pakistan as well The reports which we have received indicate that some M-24 tanks and F-86 aircraft have been observed in use in East Pakistan in recent weeks It also seems likely that military equipment supplied to Pakistan by a number of other countries, including China, the Soviet Union and Western European countries, has also been used. Our information is fragmentary and is largely confined to first-hand reports from the cities of Dacca and Chittagong.

This U. S. origin equipment would have been provided in the late 1950's under our Military Assistance Program with Pakistan. That program, as you may know, specifically permitted the use of our assistance for the maintenance of internal security, and in the case of a 1959 agreement for the preservation of national independence and integrity, as well as for external defense. We provided equipment for Pakistan Army units only in West Pakistan since the threat was perceived to be from the north-west of that province. No equipment was supplied for the Army division in East Pakistan. However, there was no obligation on the part of the Government of Pakistan to consult with us if it in wished to transfer equipment from one wing of the country to the other. Although we were not informed, it would appear that some U. S. supplied equipment was sent from West to East Pakistan, especially older items replaced by newer equipment in the West, as in the case of M-24 tanks.

Since we terminated MAP grant assistance and suspended military sales to Pakistan and India in 1965, we have supplied no lethal end--items to Pakistan. After resuming a limited military sales program to both countries in 1966-67, we have sold to Pakistan, predominar for cash, only non-lethal equipment and spare parts and ammunition for arms previously supplied by us. Non-lethal items have included trainer and transport aircraft : transport equipment such as trucks and jeeps ; and communications, medical engineering equipment. Ammunition in various calibres for weapons supplied prior to the enlarge in 1965 has comprised less than 15 per cent of the total sales program since 1966. We have continued to sell spare parts and ammunition in order to keep previously supplied U.S. equipment operational, in the belief that to allow this equipment to become inoperative would compel Pakistan to purchase more expensive and modern replacements, diverting resources from economic development to defence and fueling an arms race in the Subcontinent.

We have been informed by the Department of Defense that no military items have been provided to the Government of Pakistan or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25 and nothing is now scheduled for such delivery. We are urgently reviewing this military sales program.

As you know, last October we announced a one-time exception to our military supply policy to sell Pakistan a limited quantity of arms including same armoured personnel cariers, a few replacement interceptor and bomber aircraft, and several maritime patrol aircraft. Nothing has been delivered following this decision, nothing is in the pipeline, and technical talks on this subject have not been held during the past six weeks. This matter is also being kept under review.

We are very much aware that some members of the Senate are concerned about our military supply policy toward Pakistan. Department officers are prepared to brief you and other Senators on this subject and to answer any further questions you may have.

I am enclosing a compilation of recent statements made by Department spokesmen on the situation in East Pakistan. They include several statements specifically on military supply as well as statements of official concern over the loss of life and damage, symphathy for the victims of these events, information on the food situation and expressions of hope that peaceful conditions can be restored and a peaceful accommodation achieved.

Sincerely yours,

David M. Abshire,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Department of State,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1971.

Hon. J. W. Fulbright,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate.

Dear Mr. Chairman : The Acting Secretary asked me to reply to your letter of April 23, 1971, requesting reports received from posts in West and East Pakistan regarding the current crisis in that country. We have given the most careful consideration to your latter. I hope you will understand that the Department is unable to accede to your request without departing from established practice as mentioned in my letter to you of September 28, 1970, in regard to Under Secretary Irwin's appearance on Chile.

Consistent therewith and with the Administration's policy of cooperating with the Congress in providing information on foreign policy developments. Deputy Assistant Secretary Van Hollen is prepared to testify tomorrow in executive session on the situation in Pakistan. I trust Mr. Van Hollen's testimony can satisfy the Committee's need for information.

Sincerely yours,

David M. Abshire,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Department of State,
Washington, D.C., May 6, 1971.

Hon. J. W. Fulbright,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate.

Dear Mr. Chairman : The Secretary has asked my to reply to your letter of April 19 requesting coordinated Executive Branch comments on S. Cen. Res. 21, a concurrent resolution calling for suspension of all American military assistance and all licenses for military sales to Pakistan "until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved."

First let me assure you that we share the Committee's regret over the conflict which has arisen in East Pakistan and over the bloodshed in a country with which we have maintained longstanding friendly relations. As I men-

tioned to you in my letter of April 22, the Department's spokesman has noted publicly the concern felt over the involvement of American weapons and we have privately called this concern to the attention of the Government of Pakistan as well.

As I pointed out in my letter of April 22, however, our Military Asistance Programme (MAP) with Pakistan specifically acknowledged the right of that country to use equipment provided under MAP to maintain its internal security as well as its external defense. This position as contained in our 1954 bilateral Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the Government of Pakistan was based on provisions of Congressional legislation.

Much has already been done, however, that parallels the basic concern expressed in the concurrent resolution. As you know, we terminated all grant military assistance to Pakistan and India, as a consequence of the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. We have provided no weapons to either country since then. The only measure of grant military assistance which we have reinstituted since 1965 has been a modest program of military training, running at about $ 200,000 annually for each country. We believe this progam serves a useful and constructive purpose in maintaining liaison and friendly ties between the armed forces of the United States and Pakistan, offering the latter a continuing avenue of contract with the West and exposure to western ideas. We would hope this activity could continue and we would regret its suspension or termination.

With respect to military supply, as the Department's spokesman announce on April 15, the Department of Defense has informed us that no military sales items including spare parts and ammunition have been provided to the Government of Pakistan or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan on March 25. In short, no-arms have been provided since the beginning of the crisis and the question of deliveries is under review.

.... Thus an absolute suspension, regardless of developing circumstance, would not significantly affect the military situation in East Pakistan and could have a strongly adverse political impact on our relations with Pakistan. Thus we believe some flexibility is desirable in our military supply program, in the light of developments, to permit us to preserve a viable relationship with the Government of Pakistan that will be essential if we are to help in providing assistance to those whose lives have been disrupted in the recent fighting and in rebuilding normal patterns of life.

It would, therefore, appear desirable for the U.S. to be able to continue to supply limited quantities of military items to Pakistan to enable us both to maintain a constructive bilateral political dialogue and to help ensure that Pakistan is not compelled to rely increasingly on other sources of supply.

Finally, I would like to express our view that the time frame within which the resolution has been drafted—"until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved"—is so imprecise as to render its application difficult if not impossible. The conflict in East Pakistan in terms of an active resistance movement appears already to have largely subsided as the Government of Pakistan has succeeded in extending its control over the chief population

centres and much of the countryside of East Pakistan The present official position of the Government of Pakistan is that the armed conflict in East Pakistan has actually ended and that economic rehabilitation and political accommodation are to be undertaken President Yahya Khan has reiterated his intention to restore Government to the elected representatives of the people as soon as circumstances permit. The difficulty in this situation would be how to determine precisely when the conflict in East Pakistan has actually been resolved.

I hope these Executive Branch comments will be helpful to you and the Committee in deciding what action to take on S Con Res. 21 which we hope you will reconsider in the light of the points set forth above.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,

DAVID M ABSHIRE,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন সরকারের শরণার্থী ত্রাণ কার্যক্রম সংক্রান্ত বিবৃতি।	পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর	১৮ মে, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT ON HUMANITARIAN AND REFUGEES RELIEF EFFORTS IN EAST PAKISTAN AND INDIA

May 18, 1971

The United States Government continues to be seriously concerned about the suffering and hardship which have arisen from the civil disturbances in East Pakistan. Two aspects of this problem have engaged our particular attention. The first is the re-establishment of conditions that will permit restoration of transportation, administration and more normal economic activity so that food distribution and other essential services can be resumed. The second is the care of refugees who have gone to India from East Pakistan.

We have publicly and privately expressed our concern for an early peaceful accommodation that would permit life to return to normal in East Pakistan and the refugees to return to their homes.

We have discussed humanitarian relief efforts with the Governments of Pakistan and India and we have urged international organizations and other interested countries to undertake appropriate contingency planning. We recognize that the problem is basically one for the Governments and people immediately concerned to solve. Their efforts are essential; but the international community can be of great assistance in supporting their efforts and supplementing their resources.

We have associated ourselves, both publicly and privately, with UN Secretary General U Thant's April 1, offer of international humanitarian relief for East Pakistan. We have repeatedly discussed this matter with the Government of Pakistan. Secretary Rogers joined the British Foreign Secretary in a message to the Secretary General April 27, suggesting that he renew his offer of humanitarian assistance. We have indicated our willingness to support such an effort when requested by Pakistan Meanwhile, we are actively moving forward with contingency planning within the U.S. Government.

We are now encouraged to note that the President of Pakistan, in a letter of May 3 to Secretary General U Thant released by the UN on May, 12, has welcomed the Secretary General's offer to provide relief assistance to East Pakistan through the UN and its specialized agencies President Yahya stated that, while adequate supplies are presently available, his Government is assessing its possible requirements for present and future international assistance.

We have also indicated that as soon as the local situation permits we are ready to resume rehabilitation projects in the cyclone disaster area along the East Pakistan coast where there is an especially urgent need for food supplies. For this purpose. we can draw on the \$7·5 million allocation and over \$100 million in US-owned Pakistani currency made available by Congress for

rehabilitation projects. We can move forward with an agreement to provide a further 150,000 tons of foodgrains for rehabilitation in the cyclone disaster area. We have also held in readiness a further 170,000 tons of wheat, the balance from an earlier agreement for East Pakistan as a whole, to be shipped as soon as port and distribution facilities permit.

Large numbers of refugees have gone to India from East Pakistan. The Government of India has already requested international assistance and has sought bilateral assistance from several countries to supplement its own very considerable efforts to help the refugees. We have taken the lead in supporting the international relief effort which is being organized by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. We have been working closely with the World Food Program which will also be cooperating with the UN High Commissioner in the relief effort.

As soon as the refugee flow became substantial, we began a program of feeding the steadily growing number of refugees through US voluntary agencies in India. By the end of this week, we anticipate that CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service and the Lutheran World Federation will be Feeding as many as 300,000 refugees using PL-480 Title II food. For this and other relief purposes we have authorized up to $2·5 million in food and other assistance as our initial contribution to enable urgent relief activities to get under way while the international relief effort is being organized. A UNHCR team is currently in India assessing relief needs. We will consider what types of additional contributions we might make when this team has reported its findings.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ডঃ গ্রীনোর উদ্দেশে পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর কর্মকর্তার চিঠি।	পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর	২৬ মে, ১৯৭১

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 26, 1971

Dr. William B. Greenough, III
Chief, Infectious Diseases Division
School of Medicine
The Johns Hopkins University Hospital
Baltimore, Maryland 21205

Dear Dr. Greenough :

Secretary Rogers has asked me to reply to your letter of May 6, forwarded to him by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, in which you have expressed your views on various aspects of the situation in East Pakistan.

First, let me assure you that we have read your thoughtful and articulate letter with sincere interest and appreciation. We greatly value receiving from private American citizens assessments of this sort of important aspects of our foreign relations.

Your expression of profound concern over the recent tragic developments in East Pakistan is certainly understandable, particularly in light of the first hand information you have received from your colleagues who have been involved in medical research and training activities in Dacca and Calcutta in recent years. The Department of State has shared this concern and has not been inactive or silent on the subject since the civil strife began in East Pakistan in March. Our spokesmen have addressed various aspects of this subject repeatedly in official statements over the past several weeks. Since these statements have not received all the publicity which we feel they have deserved, it might be useful for me to summarize them for you.

Immediately after the outbreak of civil strife, we expressed concern over the loss of life and damage which have occurred in East Pakistan and the hope that peaceful conditions will be restored there. We extended our sympathy to the victims of these events. We emphasized our belief that it is important that every feasible step be taken by the Pakistan Government to end the conflict and achieve a peaceful accommodation. We declared our willingness to support any international humanitarian relief effort to alleviate the suffering caused by these events. We are already extending substantial relief assistance to many refugees from East Pakistan in India and are prepared to provide emergency aid to the people in East Pakistan when requested. We have also discussed these matters fully with the Government of Pakistan and continue to do so.

With respect to particular points raised in your letter, I wish to assure you that reasoned views of this sort are given serious consideration by the

Department. I believe the most useful way I can respond is to explain to you the positions which we have considered appropriate to take on various aspects of this complex and difficult problem in our foreign relations, and to mention some of the steps we are taking to meet it.

We are, of course, fully cognizant of the political, military and economic difficulties and dangers inherent in this situation, to which you have referred. As a Government, however, we have to be careful to avoid interfering in the domestic concerns of others just as we would not want them to interfere in ours. The U. S. Government, as you know, maintains diplomatic relations with the Government of Pakistan which exercises *de jure* and *de facto* control over both wings of the country. We have therefore, regarded the recent developments in East Pakistan as essentially an internal affair for the Pakistanis to work out for themselves. It is our earnest hope that we can, through our policies and actions, be helpful to all concerned in alleviating human suffering and contributing to a peaceful solution in so far as possible within normal diplomatic practice. Tragic as the loss of human life and destruction has been on both sides of this conflict, I agree with you that we must now focus on what can be done to help improve the situation in the months ahead.

With respect to economic assistance, our programs are designed to accomplish specific development objectives for the benefit of the people of recipient countries. They are not to be extended, or withheld, for the purpose of exerting political pressure on other Governments. We regret that many of our aid activities have had to be curtailed in East Pakistan because of conditions there, and we hope to resume them as soon as circumstances permit. While we are carrying on existing programs where feasible in Pakistan, we are reviewing them to insure that established development criteria are being met. To the best of our knowledge, our economic aid has not been used to support the military actions of either side in the East Pakistan civil strife.

I agree with you that the highest priority must now be given to relief efforts in East Pakistan to alleviate human distress, avert the possibility of famine and create a climate in which peaceful conditions can be restored and progress resumed toward a political settlement. I can assure you that the U. S. Government has been active in promoting such a relief program. We promptly associated ourselves with the offer of international humanitarian assistance made by the Secretary General of the United Nations last month. We have urged the Government of Pakistan to accept offers of assistance from the international community. We are encouraged that President Yahya has informed Secretary General U Thant that he would welcome assistance from the international community and is currently assessing the needs in East Pakistan. We are following this matter closely, and on a contingency basis are inventorying resources which we might provide for such an international relief effort.

According to the best available information, food stocks in East Pakistan are adequate to meet expected needs for several months and additional supplies can be shipped as soon as port and inland distribution facilities permit. We are preparing with other interested countries to do what we can to help resolve the port and distribution problems so that food can be brought to the people who need it.

We are also doing our best to provide assistance for the many refugees who have crossed into Indian territory. To meet immediate needs, we have

authorized three American voluntary agencies in India to draw on PL-480 Title II stocks in that country to help feed some 300,000 of these refugees. We are also preparing to participate in an international relief effort being organized by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

As you have indicated, we have a continuing special interest in the relief and rehabilitation of the coastal areas of East Pakistan which were devastated by the cyclonic storm last November. In addition to our substantial PL-480 foodgrain assistance, much of which is still to be delivered, AID and a number of American voluntary agencies have extended help of various types for the rehabilitation of the cyclone affected area. Many of the programs contemplated were not able to get underway before civil strife broke out in East Pakistan. As soon as access can be gained to that area, we hope to resume the relief and rehabilitation programs already launched. We also hope to draw upon dollar and rupee funds that have been made available to initiate further programs in the area, on which negotiations have not yet been completed with the Government. Meanwhile, we are directing special attention toward getting food to the cyclone area as soon as the international relief effort in East Pakistan is launched.

Regarding military supply, our spokesmen have expressed our concern over the reported use of some American weapons in East Pakistan and we have done so privately to the Pakistanis as well. We have not funded the supply of arms to Pakistan since our military assistance program was terminated in 1965 and we have not sold any weapons to Pakistan since then. We have had a limited military sales program with Pakistan since 1967 for the supply of non-lethal equipment, and ammunition and spare parts for equipment previously supplied. We have been informed by the Department of Defense that no items under this sales program have been provided since the crisis began and that the question of military sales deliveries to Pakistan is being reviewed.

I enclose for your reference a compilation of statements on the East Pakistan situation made by the Department's spokesmen over the past two months. Also enclosed is a statement on the humanitarian relief efforts we are making, and are preparing to make, to assist the refugees from East Pakistan in India and the people in East Pakistan itself. I hope this information will be useful to you in understanding our position and the actions we have taken and plan to take with respect to the situation in East Pakistan.

Sincerely,
Christopher Van Hollen
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern and
South Asian Affairs.

Enclosures :

1. Compilation of statements
2. Statement on humanitarian relief efforts.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর কেনেডীর কাছে লিখিত পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের পত্রগুচ্ছ।	সিনেট জুডিসিয়ারী কমিটির শরণার্থী উপকমিটির রিপোর্ট : পরিশিষ্ট-৪।	২৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

(Senate Judiciary Refugees Subcommittee Report Relief problems in East Pakistan and India : Appendix IV, June 28, 1971)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D. C., Appril 20, 1971.

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, *Chairman,*
Sub-committee on Refugees
Committee on the Judiciary
U. S. Senate
Washington D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY : The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of April 6, 1971 concerning the civil strife in East Pakistan and expressing your views on the position which the U. S. Government should assume toward the situation there.

We are prepared to share fully with you our information on the situation in East Pakistan. In that connection I am pleased that Deputy Assistant Secretary Christopher Van Hollen accompanied by Mr. Herbirt Rees of AID and Mr. Cleve Fuller of the Department. discussed many aspects of the East Pakistan situation last week with Mr. Dale de Hanu and Mr. Jerry Tinker of the Committee staff. Assistant Secretary Sisco will be glad to give you any additional information you may desire.

As Mr. Van Hollen emphasized during that meeting, we share your concern about East Pakistan and have not been silent about the situation there. On a number of occasions since the military action began on March 25, the Drpartment of State spokesman has underscored our concern about the death and destruction in the area, our willingness to assist the Government of Pakistan as part of an international humanitarian effort, and our hope for a political accommodation.

We have also expressed our concern over the use of American arms in East Pakistan, although, I should add, our information on the use of such arms is quite limited. It seems likely that arms acquired from a number of countries, including China the USSR, and the UK, also have been used. Since we placed an overall embargo on Map assistance to Pakistan in 1965, we have supplied no lethal end-items of military equipment to Pakistan. Last October we announced a one time exception to sell to Pakistan a limited quantity of lethal arms. Nothing has been delivered following this decision nor is anything in the pipeline under this decision. Technical talks on the subject have not been held during the past six weeks. The matter is being kept under review.

In addition, we have a modest program of cash and credit sales to Pakistan of non-lethal military end-items as well as some spare parts and ammunition.

We have been informed by the Department of Defense that none of these items has been provided to the Pakistan Government or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25, 26, and nothing is presently scheduled for such delivery.

Like you, we have noted reports of imminent food shortages in East Pakistan and possible famine. We are watching this potential problem very closely. At last account, Pakistan Government stocks stood at 700,000 tons of foodgrains, or four months supply for the urban areas at normal rates of offtake. Over 200,000 tons is enroute from various countries, including the U.S. A further 300,000 tons for U.S. grain has been authorized and will move as soon as conditions are created in East Pakistan where unloading and the movement of grains can take place. The problem at the moment is not supply but distribution. We, therefore, have been urging the Government of Pakistan to make every effort to ...... the unloading of the grains and to open up distribution channels so that the food can be distributed promptly and equitably throughout East Pakistan. If future needs require, we would of courseimmediately consider additional PL-480 shipments.

At the time of Mr. Van Hollen's meeting, our information was that there had not been any substantial flow or refugees from East Pakistan into India. Since then, press reports indicate that the Pakistan Army has consolidated its position and moved closer to the Indian border. As a consequence, there has been an increased flow of refugees into India. We have asked the Government of India to give us up-to-date information about the situation and have reiterated our willingness to support any necessary relief effort on the part of international organizations such as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the League of Red Cross Societies, and the World Food Program.

In light of the possibly serious situation that may be developing in respect to a food shortage and also refugee requirements, there is an active and continuous inter-agency review of the need for relief in East Pakistan and for refugees. We are inventoryifig resources which we and other nations might draw on to meet these needs.

We have provided members of your staff with a compilation of the Department of State's Statements on East Pakistan. a copy of which is enclosed. These relate to our concern over the situation there, our hope that the Pakistan Government will avail itself of international humanitarian offers of assistance, and our concern over the use of U.S. arms. We have also conveyed these concerns privately to the Government of Pakistan on a number of occasions, both here and in Islamabad, and will continue to do so.

We will give the East Pakistan situation our very closest attention and will also continue to remain in close touch with members of your staff on aspects of the situation in which you and your staff are interested.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRE,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Enclosure :

Press Spokesmen's Statements.

Department of State
Washington, D. C., May 10, 1971.

Hon. Edward M. Kenedy.
Chairman, Subcommittee on Refugees
Committee on the Judiciary
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN : I want to bring you up to date on developments since my letter of April 20 which affect our mutual interest in helping to meet the humanitarian needs produced by the situation in East Pakistan. I am focussing primarliy on emergency relief effort for the growing number of refugees from East Pakistan in India.

East Pakistan Refugees in India

The refugee flow from East Pakistan to India has increased substantially in the past three weeks. The Government of India says the total is now 1.8 million. Although we have no exact figures, at least 526,000 are said to be in camps—most of them in West Bengal.

In a letter from India's UN Ambassador Sen to UN Secretary General U Thant. India on April 23 formally requested UN assistance for the refugees. The Secretary General has referred this request to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, who had sent a special three-man team to New Delhi May 5 to assess needs and develop a plan of international action. We have formally told both the Government of India and the High Commissioner that we will participate in an international relief effort for these refugees. We believe this relief effort should be truly international and non-political, with the international and voluntary agencies involved given facilities to make objective assessments of needs and reasonable inspections of the use of the relief supplies.

While this UNHCR effort is being organized, we have concurrently begun to provide emergency food assistance for 217,000 refugees in West Bengal. This assistance is being distributed by three American voluntary agencies already operating in India—CARE, Catholic Relief Services and Church World Service/Lutheran World Relief. These voluntary agencies are drawing on existing PL—150 Title II stocks in India, which are being replenished. Food will likely continue to be the most useful item we can supply in this situation, and we are taking steps to assure that additional food is available to meet expected requirements. All this food assistance will be provided as a part of the international relief program organized by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. We have informed the Pakistan Government of the Title II assistance to the refugees and it has expressed no objection to American voluntary agencies engaging in the distribution of relief supplies to the refugees.

To date we have authorized up to $25 million in food and other assistance as our initial contribution to the international relief effort.

Representatives of American voluntary agencies who have visited some of the refugee camps report no serious food shortages as of that time, and no unusual evidence of disease, such as cholera or smallpox. The flow of

additional refugees may continue high, however, at least until the beginning of the monsoon in a few weeks, when both military operations and travel will become more difficult. For this reason, we have urged both the UNHCR and the Government of India to mount the international relief effort as quickly as possible. The World Food Program has responded by authorizing release to the Government of India for refugee feeding all their stocks in India of non-fat dry milk and edible oil. With respect to wheat and rice, the Government has said that their stocks are adequate and will be made available for the refugees, with the expectation that the supply will be replenished through the World Food Program.

Relief in East Pakistan

We continue to be seriously concerned about the situation arising from the civil disturbances and general disruption of life in East Pakistan. As you are aware, we have expressed this concern publicity on a number of occasions and privately to the Government of Pakistan, the United Nations, the governments of other interested countries, and American and international relief organizations. We have discussed humnitarian relief efforts with them all and have undertaken appropriate contingency planning.

In taking these initiatives and preparing contingency programs, we recognize that the problem is basically that of the Governments and people immediately concerned. Unless their resources are mobilized, those of the international community alone cannot meet the need.

To recapitulate what we have done to date, we have :

associated the U.S. Government with UN Secretary General U Thant's April 1 offer of international humanitarian relief for East Pakistan if requested by the Government of Pakistan.

expressed hope that the Government of Pakistan will avail itself of offers of assistance from the international community.

reviewed the foodgrain situation and future needs in East Pakistan and confirmed the assessment by the Pakistani authorities that the main short-term problem is improved internal distribution : alleviating port congestion ; reestablishing inland transportation ; and reviving public works projects to increase purchasing power.

conferred with the Pakistan central and provincial gavernments on how to overcome these distribution problems and how the U.S. Government, in concert with others, might be helpful.

indicated that we are ready to move, as soon as the local situation permits, to resume rehabilitation projects in the cyclone disaster area along the East Pakistan coast, where there is an especially urgent need for food supplies. We can draw on the $7.5 million in dollars and over $100 million in US-owned Pakistani currency made available by Congress for rehabilitation projects. We can also move forward an agreement to provide 150,000 tons of foodgrains for rehabilitation purposes in the cyclone disaster area.

Also held in readiness a further 170,000 tons of wheat, the balance from an earlier agreement for East Pakistan as a whole, to be shipped as soon as port and distribution facilities permit.

Though to date there has been no specific request from the Government of Pakistan for international relief assistance in East Pakistan, we have been informed that the Government would welcome such assistance. It is now in the process of compiling lists of supplies that may be needed in East Pakistan, and intends to approach friendly governments, in due course.

We will continue to keep in close touch with you and with your staff on the situation in East Pakistan and on the refugee problem.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRE,
Assistant Secretary, Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
WASHINGTON D. C. JUNE 15, 1971.

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, Chairman,
Subcommittee on Refugees
Committee on the Judiciary
U. S. Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN : Thank you for your further letter, dated May 27, on the situation in East Pakistan and the heavy flow of refugees into India, and for the suggestions you have made for U. S. bilateral and multi-lateral action on these very pressing and serious problems.

At the out set, I wish to reassure you that the United States Government views, with the same compassion you do, the plight of the people in East Pakistan and the refugees in India. We have responded directly and in cooperation with other countries to the requirements of peace and humanitarian relief in this area. We shall continue to do so.

I am enclosing a Department of State Press Release of June 12 which sets forth our recent actions to support relief efforts for East Pakistan and for the refugees in India and which also describes the three basic elements of U. S. policy regarding the East Pakistan situation. It demonstrates that we have responded promtly and possitively to the emergency needs of both countries when requested. The following additional comments bring our actions up to date and respond to specific points you have raised.

In your letter you speak first of the need for individual governments and the United Nations to encourage and facilitate a political accommodation in East Pakistan. We have been urging such an accommodation publicly, and privately in discussions with the Government of Pakistan and have noted that President Yahya, in his May 24 press conferance in Karachi, affirmed his intention to return power to the elected representatives. While the United Nations, as you know cannot intervene in the political aspects of this situation, its participation in the humaniterian relief efforts both in East Pakistan and in India could be helpful in promoting peace and conciliation in the area.

We also recognize the imperative need to them the flight of refugees into India and facilitate the return of those who have already fled from East Pakistan. We have discussed these issues as well with the Government of Pakistan and have been encouraged to note that it has publicly welcomed the return of the refugees, has offered an amnesty, and is setting up reception centres along the border for the returnees. We are also pleased to note that, Prince sadruddin Aga Khan the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, is visiting both Pakistan and India and that there are reports that first groups of refugees are returning to East Pakistan.

In the meantime we are giving high priority to emergency relief efforts in East Pakistan which you cite as your second suggestion. We agree that such a program is a necessary prelude for normalization of general economic assistance. Pakistan has sought assistance, as you state, in the form of foodgrains and water transport. Pending the launching of a coordinated international relief program under United Nations auspices, we have taken direct action relevant to these requirements as described in the enclosure. No request has yet been received from the Pakistan Government for medical supplies.

Thirdly, you refer to deplomatic action to ameliorate the escalation of tensions between Pakistan and India. We have made and continue to make appropriate diplomatic representations to both the Governments, Urging them to exercise restraint towards each other in the present tense atmosphere.

Finally, with regard to the refugee relief problem in India, we have been responding promptly to meet the needs as they develop. There have been no delays in our efforts which have been initiated within the framework of international assistance effort but on a preliminary basis while the effort was being formally organized. In the interim, we released Title II foodstocks to various voluntary agencies operating in India for refugee feeding in mid-April. We have since extended our assistance to provide enough food to feed 1,250,000 refugees daily. Similarly, we have sent four C-130 aircraft to airlift refugees from Tripura to Assam and to bring relief supplies from Assam to Tripura in response to an Indian request which came to us through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The plains carried 1,000,000 doses of U. S. produced cholera vaccine to help combat the epidemic that has broken out among the refugees. In recognition of the continuing emergency. We have now authorised a further allocation for food and cash aid of $15 million, bringing our total assistance to $17.5 million.

As you know, $500,000 of the $2.5 million initially allocated by the U. S. Government for refugee relief in India was allocated to the UNHCR immediately after the UN Secretary General's appeal was made. We will continue to assist the High Commissioner in funding some of his organization's activities and expenses but we will also continue to extend relief directly through U. S. voluntary agencies within the framework of the international program.

Likewise, in East Pakistan, we are extending assistance bilaterally, pending the organization of an international relief operation. Most importantly, we have offered the Government of Pakistan a grant of $1 million to finance the chartering of coastal and river vessels to carry needed food and other relief supplies from the ports to inland distribution points. And we are prepared to move ahead quickly with more shipments of foodgrains when they can be received at the ports and utilized.

Responsive to the Pakistan Government's formal request to the U.N. for relief assistance on May 22, the Secretary General has sent a special envoy to Islamabad to arrange for the international effort. We understand that the necessary arrangements have been made and that a special U. N. representative is being stationed in Dacca to plan and coordinate international relief assistance.

Our purposes, like yours, are to ensure effective relief for both the people of East Pakistan and the refugees who have fled to India. I wish to assure you that the United States Government is actively moving to employ all appropriate resources, both bilaterally and through international organizations to achieve these humanitarian purposes.

Recognizing your understandable and real interest in the refugee and relief situation in South Asia. We will continue to keep you advised of significant developments as they occur.

Please continue to call on me whenever you belive we might be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRS.
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations

Enclosure.
Press Release dated June 12.

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আন্তর্জাতিক উন্নয়ন এজেন্সীর রিপোর্ট (অংশ)।	পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর	২০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Washington D.C. 20523

Disaster Memo. Number Three July 20, 1971

East Pakistan—Civil Strife and Cyclone Victims.

SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN

General. Pakistan refugees are reported crossing the border into India at a rate of about 50,000 per day. Total in India as of July 14, is approximately 6·8 million. The return flow so far has been small about 50,000.

In his speech of June 28, President Yahya Khan of Pakistan reviewed the steps the GOP has planned designed to end the refugee flow and to encourage Pakistanis now in India to return: grant of amnesty; establishment of reception centers; guarantees for restitution of property; assurances of protection for returning Hindus (the vast majority of the refugees); agreement to UN presence; forthcoming appointment of senior civilian officials for refugee and relief programs.

North-western East Pakistan. A survey team report on a recent visit to the northwestern part of East Pakistan disclosed much dislocation of people had occurred as a result of villages having been burned and towns damaged. Acute depopulation was in evidence in Pabna, Bogra, Dinajpur and Paksi. An exception, however, was Rangpur, which had remained stable and had suffered little damage. Lack of authority at the local level in some of these towns has allowed traditional conflicts among groups with opposing political and religious views still to erupt. Almost none of the refugees who left this region have returned to their former homes. Normal rail and road transport routes are still disrupted. The important aman rice crop to be harvested in in October/November is not expected to approach former productivity. If a large number of the displaced people do return, the food problem could become even more serious. The question has been raised, according to reports, whether insurgent groups might resist efforts to bring in food and make agricultural inputs that would normalize the situation in northwestern East Pakistan.

Schools for the most part have not been operating in the area and attendance was estimated at 5 to 10 per cent of normal. Few people were seen working in the fields. The restoration of rail and road routes are particularly important in northwestern East Pakistan where many places are not accessible by river.

With regard to agricultural production, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Rajshahi, and Bogra are normally surplus areas. Pabna and Kushtia are normally deficit. Because the area normally surplus is now underpopulated, famine conditions are not expected to develop in this area, but the anticipated lower production will affect the total production levels in East Pakistan as a whole. Among the reasons for anticipated lower agricultural production are the inability to transport and distribute production inputs such as water, seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, and disruption of labor and credit. Following is the outlook for fall harvest by crops:

Aman—in Dinajpur may be as low as 10% of normal; in Rangpur it is expected to be about 80% of normal.

Jute—down 15%.

Boro (water-planted rice)-about normal.

Sugar—good but the ability of mills to process is in doubt due to labor shortages and destruction of one mill.

Russell S. McClure
Disaster Relief Coordinator

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পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর কর্তৃক পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্র প্রেরণ প্রশ্নে কংগ্রেস সদস্য মাইকেল হ্যারিংটনের পত্রের জবাব ও এতদসংক্রান্ত বিবৃতি।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	২৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

American Arms Shipments To Pakistan

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington. D. C., July 21, 1971.

Hon. Michael J. Harrington.

House of Representatives.

Washington. D. C.

Dear Mr. Harrington: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of June 29 requesting a statement of our military supply policy toward Pakistan.

In view of the considerable public interest in this matter, and with the object of clarifying misunderstandings which have arisen, we have prepared the enclosed full statement of our, policy, including an explanation of the actions we have taken as a result of the outbreak of civil strife in East Pakistan. I wish to point out that our earlier statement on military supply policy referred to the suspension of deliveries by the Department of Defense after March 25, 1971, of military equipment from its stocks under the Foreign Military Sales program. While this covereed many important supply items from a military point of view, including ammunition, it did not take account of FMS and commercially supplied items previously licensed and still in the pipeline. I wish to assure you, however, that there was no intention on the Department's part deliberately to conceal or mislead.

The enclosed statement provides a complete explanation of our position on this matter. I hope this information is helpful to you. Please continue to call on me whenever you believe we might be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

David M. Abshire,

Assistant Secretary for congressional Relations.

Enclosure: Statement on Military Supply Policy.

July 1, 1971—Statement on U. S. Military Supply Policy for Pakistan

In 1965 when hostilities broke out between India and Pakistan, het United States placed an embargo on the supply of all military equipment to both countries. All grant assistance was terminated and none has been resumed except for modest military training programs.

In 1966 the embargo was modified to permit the sale to both countries of non-lethal and-items such as communications, medical and transportation equipment.

In 1967 the policy was further modified to permit the sale of ammunition and spare parts for those items of military equipment, such as aircraft and tanks, provided by the United States prior to the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict. A one-time exception to the continuing embargo on lethal equipment was announced in October, 1970. This authorized the sale to Pakistan of 300 armored personnel carriers and about 20 aircraft.

This policy on military supply to Pakistan has been based on the judgment that it is desirable for the United States to continue to supply limited quantities of military items to Pakistan to enable us to maintain a constructive political relationship. We have also wanted to ensure that Pakistan is not compelled to rely exclusively on other sources of supply.

The Government of Pakistan purchases Munitions List items either through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program or commercially from the manufacturer or distributor. Items under the FMS program are purchased either from stocks which are under direct Department of Defense control or from the Defense Department's commercial contractors. All equipment either obtained commercially or delivered under the FMS program to Pakistan Government representatives in the United States must be licensed for export by the State Department's Office of Munitions Control before it may be exported.

There are also items which are common to military as well as civilian use (such as certain automobile and truck spare parts) which are not on the Munitions List, but which may require a Department of Commerce license.

In light of the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan on March 25-26, we have taken certain interim actions with regard to military supply for Pakistan. While no formal embargo was imposed, the following interim actions were taken in early April :

(A) A hold was put on delivery of FMS items from Department of Defense stocks , no such items have been released to Pakistan since then.

(B) The Department of State's Office of Munitions Control has suspended the issuance of new licenses and renewal of expired licenses (valid for one year) for items on the Munition List—for either FMS or commercial sales.

(C) We have held in abeyance any action on the one-time exception arms supply offer announced last October ; no item in that offer has been delivered to Pakistan or its agents, and nothing is scheduled for delivery.

By early April, when these interim actions were taken, the Government of Pakistan or its agents had obtained legal title to, and were in possession of, some items still physically in the United States. In addition DOD commercial contractors under the FMS program, and other commercial suppliers, continued to utilize valid licenses issued before the actions taken in early April. Some of these items, legally the property of the Government of Pakistan, have been shipped to Pakistan from U. S. ports and it is likely that additional military supplies, under valid licenses, will be shipped in the future.

Our overall military supply policy toward Pakistan continues under close review.

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প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সনের সাংবাদিক সম্মেলন।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৫ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

[President Nixons News Conference]

[From the New York Times, Aug. 5, 1971].

Washington, August 4.- Following is the transcript of President Nixon's news conference today :

OPENING STATEMENT

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wanted to begin this with a brief resume of the conversation I have just had with the Secretary of State, because I know the subject will probably come up in any event.

This is regard to the Pakistan refugee situation, to recap what we have done. Insofar as the refugees, who are in India, are concerned, we have provided $70-million to date for the refugees, and we are prepared to provide more. That, incidentally, is more than all the rest of the nations of the world put together, so it is a substantial amount

As far as those in East Pakistan themselves are concerned, whereas you know there are prospects of famine, in the event that the crop reports are as bad as they seem to be, at this time we have 360,000 tons of grain ready for shipment there. We have also allotted $3-million for the chartering ships for the purpose of getting the grain into the overcrowded ports.

As a further step, the Secretary of State has worked out, with my very strong approval, a plan to go to the United Nations next week to talk to the responsible and appropriate members of the United Nations, including the U. N. High Commissioner in that office, to see what additional steps can be taken on both fronts to help the refugees in India from East Pakistan, and also to help those who are in East Pakistan and are presently confronting famine situations.

With regard to a problem that was addressed by the House yesterday, we do not favoir the idea that the United States should cut off economic assistance to Pakistan. To do so would simply aggravate the refugee problem because it would mean that the ability of the Government of Pakistan to work with the U. N., as it presently has indicated it is willing to do so in distributing the food supplies—its ability to create some stability would be seriously jeopardized.

We feel that the most constructive role we can play is to continue our economic assistance to west Pakistan and, thereby, to be able to influence the course of events in a way that will deal with the problem of hunger in East Pakistan, which would reduce the refugee flow into India and which will, we trust, in the future look toward a viable political settlement.

We are not going to engage in public pressure on the Government of west Pakistan. That would be totally counterproductive. These are matters that we will discuss only in private channels.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন আন্তঃ এজেন্সী কমিটির শরণার্থী ত্রাণ সম্পর্কিত রিপোর্ট।	পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর	১৭ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE ON PAKISTANI-REFUGEE RELIEF

Situation Report 10 August 17, 1971.

U. S. Voluntary Agencies in Action

"Only one in ten or twenty families have a sleeping mat with them and one in thirty seem to have a metal tool of any kind. As though they were in permanent shock and walked out of a village to visit a neighbour and kept on going."

Thus an official of **Church World Service** described the condition of refugees he saw arriving in India from Pakistan The refugees now number more than 7·5 million The Church World Service official was there to see how his group could help Church World Service is one of 17 American voluntary agencies which have committed $2·5 million in money, material or both to the world-wide effort to help the refugees.

Different relief agencies have focused on various needs. **CARE**, for example, has directed its efforts to food, shelter and sanitation. CARE quickly made available $480,000 to buy 12,000 tarpaulins—enough to shelter 180,000 people. CARE has also worked closely with the Indian Government's Ministry of Rehabilitation to distribute wheat and other foods.

The **International Rescue Committee** pays expenses so refugee doctors and teachers can assist other refugees in the camps. It is also assisting refugee artists and writers.

Three teams of **Medical Mission Sisters** work in the area near Rajibpur.

Catholic Relief Services (CRS) works through its counterpart and is providing food, medicines, medical equipment, and baby foods to care for well over 500,000 children and adults.

Church World Service, at the time of the epidemic, sent cholera vaccine, syrings for inoculations, water purification tablets, and money to buy tarpaulins for shelter. It is also helping to feed refugees and is supporting, along with the **Mennonite Central Committee** and **Lutheran World Relief**, the Christian Agency for Social Action (CASA) in India.

Lutheran World Relief is working with CASA in feeding and providing medical care and other refugee services. The Cooch Behar Refugee Service works directly with the Government of India and is supported by the Lutheran World Federation and other national Lutheran organizations.

The World Vision Relief Organization has begun several projects such as care for orphans, providing milk-saline solution to fight cholera, and giving tarpaulins for shelter.

Many other American agencies have also acted and all seventeen, with contribution totals and addresses, are listed at the end of this report.

The United States Government, through its Interagency Committee on Pakistani Refugee Relief, is working closely with the voluntary agencies. Six of these agencies American National Red Cross, CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, Lutheran World Relief, Mennonite Central Committee are allowed duty-free entry for their goods into India under the Indo-American Agreement of 1951 and several other American voluntary agencies have sent their contributions through the facilities of these six.

The United States Government, through Title II of Public Law 480, is providing most of the foods distributed by the voluntary agencies. The initial feeding efforts of the refugees by the agencies began last Spring with PL 480 foods which the agencies had stocked in India for their school feeding, food for work and other on-going programs. These stocks are being depleted by the massive influx of refugees but will be replenished with new shipments by the United States Government.

Mr. Frank L. Kellogg, who, as Chairman of the Inter-agency Committee, coordinates the U.S. Government's relief effort for the refugees, has said of the voluntary groups; "Their efforts and their personal knowledge of conditions in India have made an invaluable contribution to this fight against famine, malnutrition and sickness. They add sickness. They add so the relief effort a personal, human touch for which there is no substitute in Government."

Mr. Kollogg realizes that many Americans would like to help the refugees and suggests that the voluntary agencies are an excellent channel. Those who wish to help the East Pakistani refugees in India can best do so by sending cash contributions through one of the voluntary agencies listed below. Contributions are tax deductible.

American voluntary efforts are, of course, just a part of the world-wide effort to help the refugees. Total contributions from governments and private agencies are now about $ 151,000,000. of this, $70.5 million is from the U. S. Government. Still, the cost of caring for the refugees is estimated at $350 to $400 million for a six month period — with some $200 million expended so far. The major burden, in money and personnel effort, has fallen on India through its government and private agencies.

Frank L. Kellogg
Chairman, Interagency Committee
on Pakistani Refugee Relief.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আন্তর্জাতিক উন্নয়ন এজেন্সীর রিপোর্ট (অংশ)।	পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর	২৩ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Washington D.C. 20523

August 23, 1971

Disaster Memo. Number Four
East Pakistan—Civil Strife and Cyclone Victims.

SITUATION SUMMARY

UN Relief Operations Role.

As reported previously, the Government of Pakistan on May 22, 1971, requested the United Nations to coordinate international relief in East Pakistan. The UN agreed to accept this responsibility and sent a special envoy, Ismat Kittani, to Pakistan to work out the framework for an international relief effort in cooperation with the Pakistan Government.

During the month of June, the UN assigned a number of personnel to help plan an effective UN-guided relief program. These included the appointments of Mr. Bahgat El-Tawil as special representative in charge of relief coordination in Dacca, Mr. Stephen R. Tripp as special headquarters coordinator to work with Mr. Kittani in New York and Geneva, and Mr. Glen Haydon to work in Dacca for several weeks assisting Mr. El-Tawil in surveying relief requirements. It also included special teams from the World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, and the World Food Program to determine health and food needs. At the same time, UNICEF was formulating a special feeding program for mothers and children with Pakistan authorities, WFP, and WHO.

On July, 15, 1971, the UN issued a press release on its first comprehensive survey of initial relief requirements in East Pakistan. These are covered in a special section below. On August 11, the UN reported that it had completed its organizational staffing plan and that it was in the process of implementing Phase 1 of the plan Phase 1 called for sending 38 people to work in East Pakistan. The UN indicated some of these people had already arrived and some were on the way. The rest of the positions were expected to be filled by the end of the month. This group of personnel included increased staffing for the Office of the Secretary-General's Representative in Dacca; an advisory team on agriculture. ports and water transport management, health and general relief problems; an operations unit, including four area coordinators; and an administrative unit, including finance, transport, and communications personnel.

The U.S. Government has pledged its full cooperation and support to the UN coordination of relief operations in East Pakistan.

Identification of Major Problems.

The most critical problem hampering the delivery of food and other supplies to disaster victims is that of the breakdown of transportation. This is the result of a severe shortage of coastal and river vessels and the destruction of rail and road facilities. There are additional problems to be solved. There is a great need (1) to improve the nutritional value of imported food, (2) to restore purchasing power in rural areas by reactivating the Taccavi loan system, cooperatives, and other work projects, (3) to increase input of seeds, fertilizers and equipment, and (4) to improve irrigation with emphasis on increasing the average area irrigated per pump. It has been estimated that for every ton of fertilizer not made available now, five tons of food-grains will have to be transported later.

Transport and Distribution-Recent Breakthroughs.

On July 26, it was reported that the Government of East Pakistan had submitted a utilization plan for coastal vessels. On July 28, information was received that the Governor had appointed a coordination committee for inland water transport. The purpose of this committee is to maximize the use of available water transport facilities of East Pakistan. The GOEP has established a headquarters station for water transport functions at Narayanganj with a regional office at Chittagong. These actions are expected to aid in the proper use and coordination of chartered foreign vessels and "mini-bulkers" for which the USG has contributed $4 million under three agreements with the Government of Pakistan. Arrangements have already been made for leasing of 26 coasters exhausting this total of $4 million provided under these three agreements. The first coaster arrived in East Pakistan to begin relief operations on August 1, and eight others are scheduled to arrive before October 1. Total capacity of these nine vessels is 6.300 tons, and it is expected they will have 3 turn-rounds per month.

UNICEF reported that 24 of its vehicles had been returned the latter part of July in good condition. They had been commandered by the Pakistan Army.

Refugees.

As of August 6, the Government of Pakistan estimated 107,093 refugees had returned from India to Pakistan. Of this number 25.006 returned through refugee reception centers and 82,092 through "unrecognized" routes. Of the total, some 35,000 are said to be non-Muslims. Since June 10, 29 refugee centers have been established in East Pakistan by the Government.

Economy.

The economy is recovering slowly from the effects of the civil strife which started March 11 and began subsiding in June. Most factories and mills have reopened but only about 50 per cent of the labor force has returned to work. Production stands at about 40 per cent of normal. In large cities about one-third of the commerce has been resumed. Agricultural yields are expected to decrease between 10-15 per cent. The entire economy is suffering from the breakdown of the transportation and communication systems. Until there is improvement in these areas the economy will remain strapped.

Agriculture.

Hundreds of thousands of farmers have left their lands, seriously disrupting farming operations in East Pakistan. This exodus of farmers has affected all border areas and even some internal areas, especially Khulna, Dinajpur, and Rajshahi Districts.

A July 1971 USAID forecast on rice production for Fiscal Year 1972 is 9·64 million tons 12 per cent below the record crop in FY 1970. Average grain production is 11 million tons per year. In addition an estimated 1·5 to 2 million tons should be imported to achieve "normal" consumption levels. Because of the dislocation of the entire economy, production shortfall is expected to be 1·5 million tons, thus increasing the need for import to an estimated 3 million tons. The maximum import of foodgrains in any previous year was about 1·5 million tons in FY 1970.

It will take heroic efforts to get that much moved through the system in FY 1972, considering the problems of transportation and distribution, but higest priority must be given to this task if severe food shortages are to be averted.

Special Report on the Situation on Bhola Island.

Subsequent to the above agricultural projection, two USAID representatives on July 24, reviewed agriculture and food distribution on Bhola Island. They found food distribution to be about half of the requirement but improving. They reported that prospects for rice production were better than expected because a large acreage (about 125,000 acres) of Aus rice had been planted and was now being harvested. The USAID representatives commented that although the food situation on Bhola appeared to be recovering from the effects of the November cyclone and March disturbances, it could not be assumed that the same conditions prevailed in other cyclone-affected areas. Bhola is more accessible in the monsoon season than other areas such as Manpura or other Islands.

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Russell S. McClure
Disaster Relief Coordinator.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কংগ্রেসের নিকট অতিরিক্ত অর্থ-বরাদ্দের আবেদনকালে বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সন।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৬ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

OCTOBER 6, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 16007

Presidential Statement.

I am today requesting the Congress to appropriate additional funds to meet human needs in South Asia. The United States has been deeply concerned over the situation in South Asia both on humanitarian grounds and because of the implications for peace.

Recent events in East Pakistan, compounding the distruction from natural disasters, have led to widespread human suffering. Unchecked this situation could drift toward greater disaster in the form of famine or even war. It is a primary objective of the Administration to relieve suffering and help avert such a situation.

Acting on its mandate as the conscience of the world community, the United Nation, under the leadership of the Secretary General, has focused concern on the plight of those who are caught in this situation. Through its special missions in Dacca and New Delhi, the United Nations has also provided the operational framework for channeling relief supplies to the millions who need them both in India and in East Pakistan.

Many countries and private donors are responding to his enormous challenge. The United States has already provided substantial amounts of food and foreign exchange to support the programs of he United Nations in aid of the millions of refugees in India and the millions who could face starvation in East Pakistan.

But more needs to be done—by the United States and by other donors. The costs of dealing with this problem through this fiscal year are expected to be over a billion dollars, far beyond the means of India and Pakistan. The House of Representatives early recognized the need for unusual humanitarian relief for South Asia and on August 3, 1971, authorized $100 million in additional funds under the Foreign Assistance Act, that we be able to play our proper role Since that time, however the magnitude of the need has ground. It is also important that we be able to play our proper role promptly if contingencies in the relief operation arise.

I, therefore, urge that in addition to completing action on the House initiative, the Congress authorize and appropriate an additional sum of $150 million for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan and for humanitarian relief in East Pakistan under the Foreign Assistance Act. Together with food supplied under Public Law 480, these funds will enable us to do our share in mitigating the effects of this human crisis, and thus help avert the deeper tragedies that all too easily could follow.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তর কর্মকর্তা কর্তৃক সিনেটর বার্চ বে-র পত্রের জবাব।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

S 16924 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE OCTOBER 27, 1971

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D. C., August 26, 1971.
Hon. Birch Bayh,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Bayh : The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of August 12 concerning United States policy in the current crisis in East Pakistan.

Your letter touches on numerous aspects of the crisis. The questions you raise are difficult ones. reflecting the exceedingly complex and serious policy issues that are involved. I think you will agree that the answers are also difficult, for all of us, as this Government seeks to pursue policies that will preserve both our own interests and help make a contribution toward relieving the great humanitarian aspects of the crisis.

Our approach to this difficult situation from the outset has been essentially threefold. First, to alleviate the suffering of the millions of people caught up in this great human tragedy, we have been in the forefront of humanitarian relief efforts, on both sides of the border. We intend to continue that role. Secondly, because of the obvious dangers of conflict between India and Pakistan which would so drastically worsen this crisis, we have counseled restraint with both countries. We are continuing to do so. Thirdly, recognizing the essential need to focus on the root cause of the problem, we have urged the Government of Pakistan to move as quickly as it can with steps that will begin the urgent task of a peaceful political accommodation. To the extent we can meaningfully contribute to this process, we will continue this effort.

We believe that this policy is the right one under the circumstances. We intend to persevere in the various efforts that make up this policy, conscious in doing so of both the limitations on what any outside power can do to influence the actions of sovereign powers in such a crisis and of the compulsions that rest on the entire world community to be responsive in a tragedy of such proportions and potential.

Let me now respond to your questions about the various elements that go into our policy.

There has been a widespread and erroneous belief that the United States has been a major supplier of arms to Pakistan since the critical days of March 1971. In fact, we have provided no lethal end-items of military

equipment since our grant military program in Pakistan was suspended (later terminated) in September 1965. Since that time Pakistan has obtained equipment from several suppliers, including China, the USSR, and France. We must assume that some of this equipment has been used in East Pakistan, as well as equipment that we previously supplied, but we have no way of knowing the proportions of use in the present crisis. We regret that U.S. equipment has been so used and have so advised the Government of Pakistan, which however sees itself as within its sovereign right in using its military forces to preserve its internal security as it sees best.

What we have sold to Pakistan since 1965 has been limited to a very large degree to such end items as transport and communications equipment and spare parts for previously supplied U.S. equipment. Some ammunition was also sold. After fighting broke out in East Pakistan in late March of this year, we took action to suspend all further sales—except for those items in the pipeline where valid licenses were outstanding. What has gone to Pakistan since that time, under those valid licenses, has been almost entirely spare parts and, because many of the licenses either expired or were not utilized, has totalled no more than $3 to $4 million. No military ammunition has been involved. As of the present time what remains in the pipeline represents a figure considerably less than $4 million, and this figure will continue todecline as the few remaining licenses are utilized or expire.

Thus what we are talking about is not only a small figure but one with little real military consequence in East Pakistan. We have not felt we should apply a full embargo on these remaining shipments because of our wish to avoid arbitrary actions with the Government of Pakistan that could limit the role we may be able to play in helping to restore peaceful conditions.

We have been similarly guided in our approach to economic aid. We have not provided any new bilateral economic aid (except for humanitarian assistance) since the fighting began, but we have felt that formally to terminate existing projects would not only be counterproductive for the flexibility we seek to retain in our overall relationship with Pakistan but would in the final analysis be detrimental to the people of Pakistan. This is the position of most, if not all, other aid donors to Pakistan. As for the future we have said that we look forward to resuming our support for what was a promising development effort prior to the events in March, but that we could do so only in the context of a revised national development plan encompassing both wings. Any such revision by the Pakistan must obviously take full account of the current political situation. We do not believe this position differs materially from that of most other donors.

You refer to our role in humanitarian relief. There our purpose is clear and, we hope, unquestioned—to support as effectively and strongly as we can the efforts of the international community led by the United Nations to relieve human suffering and to prevent future famine. Both the President and the Secretary of State have made clear our determination to provide all-out support for this effort. In doing so it would be difficult to guarantee particularly under present conditions in East Pakistan, that our relief contributions will in every case be fully and effectively utilized, but we are

reasonably confident that our contributions and those of others are in fact reaching the people concerned. That confidence will be strengthened as the United Nations establishes itself on the ground in East Pakistan an operation to which we are giving full and material support.

It is our strong hope and belief that as this U.N.-led effort of relief and rehabilitation gets underway in East Pakistan it will help restore confidence among the people of East Pakistan, which in turn should contribute to conditions that will encourage a return flow of those refugees now in India. We are under no illusions on this score, however, since we recognize full well that there can be no significant return of the millions of refugees until there are political, economic and social conditions in East Pakistan that wil inspire confidence among the refugees themselves.

All of these issues relate to the two clearly fundamental points you raise in your letter, that is, the part we might be able to play o encourage reconciliation between the two wings of Pakistan and to contribute to the outlook for peace among the countries of South Asia. These purposes are fundamental to our policies in South Asia. We believe that any progress toward their accomplishment requires that we seek actively to maintain co-operative relationships with both India and Pakistan. We cannot dictate to either how they should solve their problems and we must recognize the limits on our influence. But we believe it is only through keeping a substantive relationship with each of them that we can be effective in counseling restraint and encouraging resolution of the great problems that have so often divided these two countries and endangered peace in the subcontinent.

I know that officers of the Department directly concerned would be be happy to meet with you or your staff if you would want elaboration on any, of these points. Please feel free to call on us to this effect whenever the Department can be of help.

Sincerely yours,
Harrison M. Symmes,
Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'পাক-ভারত সংঘর্ষ থেকে দূরে থাকার জন্য যুক্তরাষ্ট্র সবকিছু করবে': রজার্স।	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৪ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

INDO-PAK WAR THREAT

U. S. A. WILL DO EVERYTHING TO STAY OUT: ROGERS

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13—The U. S Secretary of State. Mr. William Rogers, said yesterday that in the event of hostilities between India and Pakistan the USA "will do everything we can to stay out", report AP and Reuter.

He told an annual meeting of the National Journalism Society that the USA has "no intention to get into any other war".

He said the USA had asked both sides to exercise maximum restraint. The USA was very concerned about the build-up of Military forces in the border areas in India and Pakistan, he added.. ....

..............."We are apprehensive that these clashes (at the borders) might lead to the outbreak of hostilities in days ahead"........

..............Mr. Rogers said that in 1965 the USA had not provided any sub-stantial military assistance to either side. The USA was not supplying arms to either side now, he added.

He said that active consultations were under way with both countries at the present time.

Announcing the suspension of the sale of military spare parts to Pakistan, Mr. Rogers said the USA had explained previously to the Pakistan Government that such minor sales were causing serious problems here because of misunderstandings in India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সন-এর জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা বিষয়ক উপদেষ্টা হেনরী কিসিঞ্জারের ৭ই ডিসেম্বর '৭১-এর সাংবাদিক সম্মেলন।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 21612 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE December 9, 1971

[*Following are excerpts from* a background briefing for a news conference given on 7 December by Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's adviser on national security. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona obtained the transcript from the White House and inserted it in the Congressional Record on 9 December.]

INDIA-PAKISTAN

(Background briefing with Henry A Kissinger)

………. ….Dr. KISSINGER. I thought I would talk to you about how we have approached the problem in South Asia : What we have done and what has led to the number of pronouncements that have been made by official spokesmen at the U. N. in recent days.

I do not have any organized notes, so I am going to speak to you extemporaneously, and I may refer to an occasional paper just for accuracy in the question period.

First of all, let us get a number of things straight. There have been some comments that the administration is anti-Indian. This is totally inaccurate. India is a great country. It is the most populous free country. It is governed by democratic procedures.

Americans through all Administrations in the postwar period have felt a commitment to the progress and development of India, and the American people have contributed to this to the extent of $10 billion. Last year, in this Administration, India received from all sources $1·2 billion for development assistance, economic assistance, of which $700 million came from the United States in various forms. Therefore, we have a commitment to the progress and to the future of India, and we have always recognized that the success of India, and the Indian democratic experiment, would be of profound significance to many of the countries in the underdeveloped world.

Therefore, when we have differed with India, as we have in recent weeks, we do so with great sadness and with great disappointments.

Now let me describe the situation as we saw it going back to March 25th. March 25th is, of course, the day when the central government of Pakistan decided to establish military rule in East Bengal and started the process which has led to the present situation.

The United States has never supported the particular action that let to this tragic series of events, and the United States has always recognized that this action had consequences which had a considerable impact on India. We have always recognized that the influx of refugees into India produced the danger of communal strife in a country always precariously poised on the edge of communal strife. We have known that it is a strain on the already scarce economic resources of a country in the process of development.

Therefore, from the beginning the United States has played a very active role in attempting to ease the suffering of the refugees and the impact on India of this large influx of unexpected people. The United States position has been to attempt two efforts simultaneously: One, to ease the human suffering and to bring about the return of the refugees; and secondly, we have attempted to bring about a political resolution of the conflict which generated the refugees in the first place.

One of the difficulties has been that the time required to bring about a political evolution is somewhat longer than what is needed to be done immediately to bring about and easing of human suffering.

There were two aspects to the refugee problem; One, taking care of the refugees that were inside India; and secondly, to avert condition inside East Pakistan that would generate more refugees, particularly to ease famine conditions. We committed $90 million for the support of the refugees in India and $155 million to avert famine in East Pakistan, which is more than the rest of the world has done combined.

I might add that the sums that have been devoted to averting famine in East Pakistan have been contributed at the specific request of the Indian Government, which was concerned that there would be another major outflow of refugees which would make their problem totally unmanageable.

The President has requested Congress, in the present AID appropriation, for an additional $250 million to continue this work, and this is in addition to food shipments which we were prepared to make. In other words, the United States has contributed $500 million for the relief of refugees and to ease suffering in India, and to prevent more refugees from coming into India.

The United States also financed the chartering of 26 vessels to increase their capacity to transport grain from ocean ports into the interior of East Pakistan.....

Now, the United States did not condone what happened in March 1971: on the contrary, the United States has made no new development loans to Pakistan since March 1971.

Secondly, there has been a great deal of talk about military supplies to Pakistan. The fact of the matter is that immediately after the actions in East Pakistan at the end of March of this past year, the United States suspended any new licenses. It stopped the shipment of all military supplies out of American depots or that were under American governmental control. The only arms that were continued to be shipped to Pakistan were arms on old licenses in commercial channels, and those were spare parts. There were no lethal end-items involved.

To give you a sense of the magnitude, the United States cut off $35 million worth of arms at the end of March of this year, or early April of this year, immediately after the actions in East Bengal, and continued to ship something less than $5 million worth; whereupon, all the remainder on the pipeline was cut off. In other words, when one is reading some of the commentaries, the impression is created that we were equipping four armored divisions. The fact of the matter is that $35 million worth of arms were cut off immediately, and the only thing that was continued to be shipped was something less than $5 million—I don't have the precise figure; I think it is between $4 and $5 million—of spare parts that were in commercial channels under existing licenses.

So I believe it is correct to say that the United States, by its actions, took a stand, staring in March of this year; and that the United States did indicate, through its performance, what evolution it wanted to take that the United States has made a greater contribution than the rest of the world combined to ease the suffering in India and Pakistan, but especially the the suffering generated by the actions of the end of March.

Now, then, we come to the problem of political evolution. What has the United States done in this respect ?

It is true the United States did not make any public declarations on its views of the evolution, because the United States wanted to use its influence with both Delhi and Islamabad to bring about a political settlement that would enable the refugees to return. At the request of the President, this was explained by me to the Indian Foreign Minister and to the Indian Prime Minister when I was in New Delhi in early July, and both indicated that they understood our decision in this respect and made no criticism of our decision.

They did make a criticism of the arms shipments. Secondly, we consistently used our influence that we gained in this manner to urge the Government of Pakistan in the direction of a political evolution. We urged the Government of Pakistan and they agreed that relief supplies be distributed by international agencies, in order to take away the criticism in East Pakistan that they might be used to strengthen the central authority, and the Government agreed that a timetable be established for returning Pakistan to civilian rule. That was supposed to be done by the end of December.

We urged a mutual withdrawal of troops from the border, and when India rejected this, we urged a unilateral withdrawal of Pakistan troops from the border, and that was accepted by Pakistan and never replied to by India.

We urged an amnesty for all refugees, and that was accepted.

Q. By whom ?

DR. KISSINGER. By Pakistan. There are no refugees from India in Pakistan.

We urged Pakistan to extend an amnesty to all refugees so that they could return without fear of reprisals.

We went further. We established contact with the Bangladesh people in Calcutta, and during August, September and October of this year no fewer than eight such contacts took place.

We approached President Yahya Khan three times in order to begin negotiations with the Bangladesh people in Calcutta. The Government of Pakistan accepted. We were told by our contacts in Calcutta that the Indian Government discouraged such negotiations. In other words, we attempted to promote a political settlement, and if I can sum up the difference that may have existed between us and the Government of India, it was this :

We told the Government of India on many occasions—the Secretary of State saw the Indian Ambassador 18 times ; I saw him seven times since the end of August on behalf of the President. We all said that political autonomy for East Bengal was the inevitable outcome of a political evolution, and that we favured it. The difference may have been that the Government of India wanted things so rapidly that it was no longer talking about political evolution, but about political collapse.

Without attempting to speculate on the motives of the Indian Government, the fact of the [illegible] as they present [illegible] to us was as follows ; We told the Indian Prime Minister when she was here of the Pakistan offer to withdraw their troops unilaterally from the border. There was no response.

We told the Indian Prime Minister when she was here that we would try to arrange negotiations between the Pakistan [illegible] of the Awami League, specifically approved by Mujibur, who is in prison. We told the Indian Ambassador shortly before his return to India that we were prepared even to discuss with them a political timetable [illegible] for the estabishment of political autonomy in East Bengal. [illegible] was held on November 19th. On November 22nd, military action started in East Bengal.

We told the Pakistan Foreign Secretary when he was here that it was desirable on November 15th ; that we thought it was time for Pakistan to develop a maximum program. He said he could not give us an answer until the week of November 22nd when he would return to his country. He also pointed out to us that there would be a return to civilian rule at the end of December, at which time it might be easier to bring about such matters as the release of Mujibur, whose imprisonment had occurred under military rule.

This information was transmitted, and military action, nevertheless, started during the week of November 22nd. So when we say that there was no need for military action, we do not say that India did not suffer. We do no say that we are unsympathetic to India's problems or that we do not value India.

This country, which in many respects has had a love affair with India, can only, with enormous pain, accept the fact that military action was taken in our view without adequate cause, and if we express this opinion in the United Nations, we do not do so because we want to support one particular point of view on the subcontinent, or because we want to forego our friendship with what will always be one of the great countries in the world : but because we believe that if, as some of the phrases go, the right of military attack is determined by arithmetic, if political wisdom consists of saying the attacker has 500 million

and the defender has 100 million, and, therefore, the United States must always be on the side of the numerically stronger, then we are creating a situation where, in the foreseeable future, we will have internaional anarchy, and where the period of peace, which is the greatest desire for the President to establish, will be jeopardized ; not at first for Americans, necessarily, but for peoples all over the world.

I have taken the liberty of coming in here to explain our point of view. You can see the necessity for a background basis, because there have been misconceptions of what we have done and of our motives. I have given you extemporraneously this brief sketch, and now I will be glad to answer any questions, or to go into more detail.

Q. Why was the first semi-pulic explanation of the American position one of condemning India, and why this belated explanation that you are now giving ? The perception of the world is that the United States regards India as an aggressor ; that it is anti-India, and you make a fairly persuasive case here that that is not the case. So why this late date ?

DR. KISSINGER. This is the higest praise I have ever had from Peter Lisagor. (Laughter)

We were reluctant to believe for a long time that the matter had come down to a naked recourse to force, and we were attempting for the first two weeks of the military operations to see what could be done to quiet it through personal diplomacy conducted by the Department of State.

We made two appeals to the Indian Prime Minister. We appealed also to the Pakistan President. and we appealed also to the Soviet Union.

Now , then, on Friday the situation burst into full-blown war and it was decided to put the facts before the public. Now, I cannot, of course, accept the characterization that you made of the way these facts were put forward ; that they were put forward as anti-Indian.

Q. I said the perception of the world public was that the United States was anti-Indian because of the nature of that first background briefing at the State Department on Friday.

DR. KISSINGER. We are opposed to the use of military force in this crisis, and we do not believe that it was necessary to engage in military action. We believe that what started as a tragedy in East Bengal is now becoming an attempt to dismember a sovereign state and a member of the United Nations.

So the view that was expressed on Saturday is not inconsistent with the view that is expressed today. What was done today is an explanation of the background that led to the statement on Saturday, and it might have been better if we had put the whole case forward.

Q. If I understand what you said, you said prior to the outbreak of full-scale hostilities between India and Pakistan that the Pakistani Government had assured the United States that it was going to take a number of steps, including return to civilian rule by the end of this month, to enter into negotiations with

the Bangaladesh representatives operating in Calcutta, to withdraw its troops from the borders unilaterally. Do you know at this point whether any of those commitments by the Pakistani Government still stand ? If the war can be stopped some way, are they still willing to do all those things ?

DR. KISSINGER. In fairness, let me put these into perspective these various things.

The unilateral withdrawal, that was without any qualifications. The willingness to talk to the Bangladesh people involved a disagreement between the Indians and the Bangladesh on the one side, and the Pakistanis on the other. The Indians took the view that the negotiations had to begin with Mujibur, who was in prison.

What we attempted to promote was a negotiation with Bangladesh people who were not in prison, and who were in Calcutta The Pakistanis said they would talk only to those Bangladesh people who were not charged with any particular crime in Pakistan, and I don't know whom that would have excluded.

But I think that part, of it was not the breakdown. What created the major difference between us—not us so much. because we were not a party ; we were just transmitting information—between those who wanted to get negotiations started and the Indian side. was that the Indians took the view that the negotiations had to begin with Mujibur.

Let me go off the record here for a minute.

We took the view that once negotiations started, the release of Mujibur would be an inevitable consequence after some period of time, and, therefore, we felt that the most important thing was to get the negotiations started.

This part I consider off the record. It is simply for your understanding. I think it is safe to say the Indian side wanted a maximum of rapidity, and perhaps more speed than the Pakistan political process would stand. We were urging movement at the greatest speed that the Pakistan political process could stand. We felt that one way to resolve this would be for the Indians to give us a time-table of what they would consider a reasonable time-table, and this was raised first when I was there in the summer. and received no clear reply. It was raised again with the Indian Ambassador just before he left, and it was not answered.

So we never got a concrete expression of what the difference in time was. They knew that we believed that political autonomy was the logical outcome of a negotiation. Do these offers still stand ? I dont's know, . [End off the record.]

We would be prepared, certainly from our side, if the fighting stopped and there were a withdrawal of forces. if anything, to redouble our efforts to move matters in the direction in which I have indicated.

Q. Is it a fact that two other factors that you did not deal with in your opening remarks here were also major causes in your and the President accepting India as an aggressor—that is, accusing India as an aggressor—the fact that (1) to do otherwise might lead to a collapse of the President's trip to China and the often

stated in print personal preference of the President and you for General Khan over what were considered to be the unrealistic leaders in New Delhi ?

DR. KISSINGER. With respect to the first question, we do not have the impression that the Peoples Republic of China considers agreement with us a prerequisite for a successful visit on other issues in the United Nations, and, therefore, we do not consider that the People Republic of China has a veto over our policies.

In short, our policy has been consistent. We have told the Indian Government all summer long that we want or favored political evolution leading toward autonomy; and secondly, that we were opposed to the use of military force, and we did this quite independent of what the Chinese views might be. We had no advance information of what position the Chinese would take at the United Nations, and we operated quite independently.

Secondly, speaking first about myself, the first time I visited the Indian subcontinent I was the subject, in 1962, as can easily be checked in newspaper files, to the most violent newspaper criticism in Pakistan for any allegedly Harvard-produced preference for Indians, and so much so that I even suggested that I might cancel my visit to Pakistan.

There is no personal preference on my part for Pakistan, and the views that I expressed at the beginning, of the American position that is, about the crucial importance of India as a country in the world and in the subcontinent -have always been strongly held by me, and I, therefore, enthusiastically support those as an expression of bipartisan American policy in the postwar period.

As for the President, I was not aware of his preference for Pakistan leaders over Indian leaders, and I, therefore, asked him this morning what this might be based on. He pointed out—as you know, I was not acquainted with the President before his present position - but he pointed out to me that on his trip in 1967, he was received very warmly by the Prime Minister and by the President of India; that the reports that he was snubbed at any point are without any foundation, and that in any event, the warmth of the reception that we extended to the Indian Prime Minister two weeks before the attacks on Pakistan started should make clear what enormous value we attach to Indian friendship.

While I can understand that there can be sincere differences of opinion about the wise course to take. I do not think we do ourselves any justice if we ascribe policies to the personal pique of individuals. Besides, the charge of aggression was not made in this building in the first place.

Q. Was there a failure of understanding between the President and the Prime Minister when she was here last month; a failure of understanding of what this country wanted and what she was planning to do?

Dr. KISSINGER. We explained to the Indian leaders, the President did and so did the Secretary of State, exactly what our position was. We pointed out the offers that had been made. We were not given any reply to the offers, and we were not given the slightest inkling that such a military operation was in any way imminent; indeed, in the interval between her departure and the beginning of military operations, we did three things:

One, we attempted to promote these negotiations between the government in Islamabad and Bangladesh representatives approved by Mujibur. We did not get the agreement of the government in Islamabad, at the time the war had broken out, to that procedure. I am just saying what we were trying to do.

Secondly, we urged very strenuously on the Pakistan Foreign Secretary when he was here that the greatest possible number of concessions that could be make were urgently required and we were promised an answer, as it turned out, for the week that the military attacks took place.

Thirdly, and I did not mention this before, we had the approval of the Government of Pakistan to establish contact with Mujibur through his defence lawyer. All of these facts were communicated to the Indian Government, and nevertheless, military attacks took place.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, I would like to ask you a clarifying question about something you said just a moment ago.

You said that the charge of aggression was not made in this building. Two questions about that. One,—

Dr. KISSINGER. We do not disagree with it, but it was in reference to a point that the President and I have an anti-Indian bias.

Q. Does this carry the implication that you ate putting the responsibility for that original charge of aggression on the State Department? That is my first quesion.

Dr. KISSINGER. No. There is a united governmental view on it.

Q. Secondiy, I am still trying to clarify the question in Mr. Lisagor's mind and others, Mr. Ziegler did say in Florida on Saturday that India had engaged in a massive military action and he used the word "massive" which sounds like this building to us.

Dr. KISSINGER. Sounds like a what?

Q. Like a charge of aggression from this building, o me, at least.

Dr. KISSINGER. We don't disagree with it. I was trying to explain that this was not a personal idiosyncrasy. The phrase "massive military action" that Ron Ziegler used was a quote from an official Indian statement saying that massive military operations have begun in East Pakistan and Ron was simply referring to the quote from the Indian officials' statement.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, would you clarify the situation on the negotiations between the Islamabad Government and Bangladesh? How much did they agree to do? I seem to be totally confused on what you said. Did the Government agree to negotiate with Bangladesh representatives approved by Mujibur?

Dr. KISSINGER. No. That was a point which we were still trying to get accomplished. They had said they would consider it. They had agreed to talk to Bangladesh representatives.

Q. Why, then, were you so certain that the results of these negotiations for which apparently you had no assurances would end in autonomy?

Dr. KISSINGER. Wait a minute. We had assurances for negotiations *between the Bangladesh people and Islamabad. We did not have assurances yet that Mujibur would select the negotiator.*

Q. What, then, was the basis of your belief that the result of these negotiations would in fact be autonomy for East Pakistan?

Dr. KISSINGER. I did not say that this would in fact be the case. I said that we had said we would support this, that we would use our influence in Pakistan to help bring this about and that we were willing to listen to a specific time-table.

Q. I thought you said that——

Dr. KISSINGER. I said it was our personal judgment; that could not be proved, and it was off the record, that it was likely that once negotiations started and were showing some progress that it would lead to the release of Mujibur, but we don't insist on this.

Q. I thought you said it was inevitable.

Dr. KISSINGER. I said off the record, that it was our judgment that the inevitable outcome would be political autonomy for East Pakistan and we had talked in this sense to the Government of Pakistan and they had in fact proclaimed that they were prepared to grant political autonomy for everything but foreign policy, defence, and currency, I believe.

Q. We have been very much involved in the negotiations, from what you say.

Dr. KISSINGER. Not on substance.

Q. Not on substance? Autonomy for East Pakistan, *et cetra* ?

Dr. KISSINGER. Well, the negotiations had never, in fact, started.

Q. Well, in arranging them. The question I really have is : Today there is a report that Yahya Khan has called for assistance from East Pakistan in forming a coalition government. Is this in accordance with the path we were following and our goals? Did we approve this and is it encouraging in any way?

Dr. KISSINGER. We cannot accept the position that we are responsible for every detail of this negotiation. We, in general, have encouraged the return to civilian government. I do not want to go into the details of the political moves that are now being made. We were not in the position where we were taking responsibility, as a country, for every move in this negotiation. I was simply trying to explain, one, that we did show humanitarian concern, two, that we did take action at the end of March with respect to the East Bengal situation, three, that we did try to bring about the political conditions in East Pakistan that would make it possible for refugees to return.

The details of the negotiations would have had to be between Islamabad and the Bangladesh and whether one particular government or another is the right mix is a detail into which we cannot go, particularly since I have not studied this now.

Q. May I follow that up? Were we then actually attempting to play the same role in South Asia as we have attempted to play in the Middle East, that of an honest broker? Is that what you are telling us?

Dr. KISSINGER. We were attempting to promote a political evolution which would make recourse to war unnecessary. We recognised that India had a major problem. We recognized that the conditions in East Bengal made it difficult for the refugees to return and we tried for humanitarian and other reasons and in order to preserve the peace, to bring about a humane and peaceful solution.

What we are saying now and what we said on Saturday was that the peaceful means had not been exhausted and that in the circumstances that existed on November 22 and November 29, the use of military force was not justified. That is the basis for our position and that has nothing to do with any preference for one country or another. It has to do with the impact on the peace of the world of such matters.

Q. Is it your judgment that the Indians were never interested solely in political autonomy for Bangladesh, but wanted this——

Dr. KISSINGER. I cannot speculate on this. We have certainly told them from the beginning what we were willing to do and I don't want to speculate on that.

Q. Regardless of who was to blame for the breakdown in negotiations you referred to, do you and the President feel personally that India is the sole aggressor in the current outbreak of hostilities?

Dr. KISSINGER. I can only repeat—I don't want to use emotionally-charged words—we are saying that military action was not justified. We are saying that there should be a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces, after which the political evolution which we have described should be addressed with even greater vigor than before.

Q. Henry, what explanation, if any, have we received in the United States from India as to why it did resort to military action?

Dr. KISSINGER. We have received no explanation.

Q. Henry, in the beginning you talked about using our political influence with the Pakistanis as one of the reasons why we did not do anything in public; we were working privately. Can you give us any concrete illustration of where that private political influence was successful, other than promises which were either not kept or impossible to keep because of the problem that occurred subsequently?

Dr. KISSINGER. Now, wait a minute, we are not talking about promises that we ...... kept. Let me mention a few of the ...... that had been accomplished since May, ... The fact that all of the relief supplies, the relief supplies in East Pakistan, were distributed through international agencies; the announcement of a time-table for the return to civilian rule; the replacement of the military governor who had been in charge at the time that the Pakistan Army moved in at the end of March; the replacement of that military governor in East Pakistan and the establishment of a civilian governor; the declaration of amnesty; the willingness to talk to Bangladesh representative, even if there might have been some dispute about who they were, it never even reached that point because the thing aborted before candidates for the negotiations were ever presented by the Bangladesh people or rejected by the Pakistanis. They never rejected anybody. The willingness to let us establish contact with Mujibur by talking to his defense attorney; the indication that substantial politcal autonomy would be granted to East Pakistan—all of these, I am not saying they did them only because we urged them, but it is true that they were always done after we urged them.

But I don't want to speak for the Pakistan Government and claim that everything they did was as a result of our urging, but all of these action I have mentioned occurred after we recommended them.

Q. Do you feel that Madam Gandhi betrayed us?

Dr. KISSINGER. I would not use such words.

Q. Did she give any indication that she would seek a peaceful solution and instead do something else?

Dr. KISSINGER. All I can say is we had no reason to believe that military action was that imminent and that we did not have some time to begin to work on a peaceful resolution.

Let me make it clear, we recognize that there was not an unlimited period of time, but it seemed to us that either they could have given us a timetable or one could have waited for the return to civilian rule which was only three week away, to see whether that would bring about a change in the situation by bringing to the forefront individuals less intimately connected with the events that brought about the difficulties.

Q. Henry, you said earlier that we have had contact with the Soviet Union, consultations with them on the problems there. Were they aware of our actions and the progress and the hopeful circumstances as time went along, from March up until the shooting started Friday?

Dr. KISSINGER. I think they were generally aware.

Q. Were they kept aware?

Dr. KISSINGER. Well, may be not of every last move, but I think they were aware of our general approach.

Q. What was their attitude as far as it was given to us, can you tell us?

Dr. KISSINGER. They took a formal "handsoff" attitude which may or may not have had the practical consequence of at least not discouraging what happened.

Q. What impact do you think the crisis will have on our relations with the Soviet Union now? Do you think it might have an impact on the President's trip to Moscow, for example?

Dr. KISSINGER. We believe that the basis of a peaceful evolution with the Soviet Union requires that both countries exercise great restraint in the many crisis areas around the world and that they both subordinate short-term advantages to the long-term interests of peace.

We certainly are making a great effort. We may not always succeed but we are making an effort to approach problems everywhere, including in South Asia, with this attitude. As I have pointed out in innumerable backgrounders, the attempt to achieve unilateral advantage sooner or later will lead to an escalation of tensions which must jeopardize the prospects of relaxation. We hope that the Soviet Union will use its undoubted influence to approach problems in the sub-continent in the same spirit and not to jeopardize the very hopeful evolution that has started by a short-term approach, but we are still waiting to see. We have no judgment yet.

Q. Is it a proper role for a great nation which has maintained a posture of impartiality in South Asia for about 25 years now to take a side or to appear to take a side in this present crisis?

Dr. KISSINGER. Well, we have attempted to alleviate the suffering and we have attempted to be true to our principles of giving people an opportunity to determine their political future, but we have not done it in a pressing way. We have done it in an attempt to preserve the peace with the approval of both sides. With respect to the immediate issue which is before the United Nations, we have an obligation to make clear for the sake of peace that we do not favor recourse to military forces as a member of the United Nations, and as one of the principal countries in the world.

So, you have to separate, Peter, our attitude towards the overall problem from our attitude towards the immediate problem. On the immediate problem the facts are that, one, the vote in the Security Council has been 11 to 2. There were only two countries against our position—the Soviet Union and Poland. Eleven other countries supported our position. It is not our position. It is not a quarrel between us and India. It is our attempt to make clear to the world community that we do stand for a peaceful resolution of disputes, and it would be wrong to say one side has 600 million, and whoever has the power to settle disputes by force should do it. That would lead to international anarchy.

So what was said on Saturday refers to the military actions that are no taking place, and what was said today was to put our overall attitude in its right perspective........

The Press, thank y[illegible]

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ওয়াশিংটন স্পেশাল এ্যাকশন গ্রুপের ৩, ৪ ও ৬ ডিসেম্বর' ৭১-এ অনুষ্ঠিত বৈঠকের কার্যবিবরণী।	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস্	৫-৬ জানুয়ারী, ১৯৭২

TEXT OF SECRET DOCUMENTS ON TOP-LEVEL US DISCUSSIONS OF INDIAN-PAKISTANI WAR-1971.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan.—Following are the texts of three secret documents made public today by the columnist Jack Anderson describing meetings of the national Security Council's Washington Special Action Group on the crisis between India and Pakistan:

MEMO ON DEC. 3 MEETING

Secret Sensitive.

Assistant Secretary of Defence.

WASHINGTON, DC 20301.

International Security Affairs.

Refer to: 1-29643/71 Memorandum for Record.

SUBJECT

WSAG meeting on India/Pakistan.

PARTICIPANTS

Assistant to the President for national security affairs- Henry A. Kissinger.

Under Secretary of State- John N. Irwin.

Deputy Secretary of Defence- David Packard.

Director-General Intelligence Agency- Richard M. Helms.

Deputy Administrator (AID)- Maurice J. Williams.

Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff- Adm.. Thomas H. Moorer.

Assistant Secretary of State (NEEAR)- Jesoph J. Sisco.

Assistant Secretary of Defence (ISA)- G. Warren Nutter.

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence (ISA)- Armistead I, Selden Jr.

Assistant Administrator (AID)/NESA)- Donald G. MacDonald.

TIME AND PLACE

3 December 1971, 1100 hours, Situation Room, White House.

Summary

Received conflicting reports about major actions in the west wing. CIA we are not being tough enough on India. He has just called me again. He The President orders hold on issuance of additional irrevocable letters or credit involving $99 million, and a hold on further action implementing the $72 million PL 480 credit. Covening of Security Council meeting planned contingent on discussion with Pak Ambassador this afternoon plus further clarification of actual situation in West Pakistan. Kissinger asked for clarification of secret special interpretation of March, 1959, bilateral US agreement with Pakistan.

Kissinger : I am getting hell every half-hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India. He has just called me again. He does not believe we are carrying out his wishes. He wants to tilt in favour of Pakistan. He feels everything we do comes out otherwise.

Helms : Concerning the reported action in the West Wing, there are conflicting reports from both sides and the only common ground is the Pak attacks on the Amritsar, Pathankot and Srinagar airports. The Pak say the Indian are attacking all along the border ; but the Indian officials say this is a lie. In the East wing the action is becoming larger and the Paks claim there are now seven separate fronts involved.

Kissinger : Are the Indian seizing territory ?

Helms : Yes, small bits of territory, definitely.

Sisco : It would help if you could provide a map with a shading of the areas occupied by India. What is happening in the West. Is a full-scale attack likely ?

Moorer : The present pattern is puzzling in that the Paks have only struck at three small airfields which do not house significant numbers of Indian combat aircraft.

Helms : Mrs. Gandhi's speech at 1·30 may well announce recognition of Bangladesh.

Moorer : The Pak attack is not credible. It has been made during late afternoon, which doesn't make sense. We do not seem to have sufficient facts on this yet.

Kissinger : Is it possible that the Indians attacked first and the Paks simply did what they could before dark in response ?

Moorer : This is certainly possible.

Kissinger : The President wants no more irrevocable letters of credit issued under the $ 99 million credit. He wants the $ 72 million PL-480 credit also held.

Williams : World will soon get around when we do this. Does the President understand that ?

Kissinger: That is his order, but I will check with the President again. If asked, we can say we are reviewing our whole economic programme and that the granting of fresh aid is being suspended in view of conditions on the subcontinent. The next issue is the UN.

Irwin: The Secretary is calling in the Pak Ambassador this afternoon, and the Secretary leans toward making a US move in the UN soon.

Kissinger: The President is in favour of this as soon as we have some confirmation of this large-scale new action. If the UN can't operate in this kind of situation effectively, its utility has come to an end and it is useless to think of UN guarantees in the Middle East.

Sisco: We will have a recommendation for you this afternoon, after the meeting with the Ambassador. In order to give the Ambassador time to wire home, we could tentatively plan to convene the Security Council tomorrow.

Kissinger: We have to take action. The President is blaming me, but you people are in the clear.

Sisco: That's ideal!

Kissinger: The earlier draft for Bush is too even-handed.

Sisco: To recapitulate, after we have seen the Pak Ambassador, the Secretary will report to you We will update the draft speech for Bush.

Kissinger: We can say we favour political accommodation but the real job of the Security Council is to prevent military action.

Sisco: We have never had a reply either from Kosygin or Mrs. Gandhi.

Williams: Are we to take economic steps with Pakistan also?

Kissinger: Wait until I talk with the President. He hasn't addressed this problem in connection with Pakistan yet.

Sico: If we act on the Indian side, we can say we are keeping the Pakistan situation 'under review'.

Kissinger: It's hard to tilt toward Pakistan if we have to match every Indian step with a Pakistan step If you wait until Monday, I can get a Presidential decision.

Packard: It should be easy for us to inform the banks involved to defer action inasmuch as we are so near the weekend.

Kissinger: We need a WSAG in the morning We need to think about our treaty obligations I remember a letter or memo interpreting our existing treaty with a special India tilt when I visited Pakistan in January 1962 I was briefed on a secret document or oral understanding about contingencies arising in other than the SEATO context Perhaps it was a Presidential letter This was a special interpretation of the March 1959 bilaterai agreement.

Prepared by :

(Signed initials).

James M. Noyes.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, African and South Asigan Affairs Approved :

(Illegible signature).

For G. Warren Nutter, Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs.

Distribution : Secdef, Depsecdef, CJCS, ASD (ISA), PDASD (ISA), DASD : NEASA & PPNSCA, Dep Dir : NSCC&PPNSCA, CSD files, R & C files, NESA.

ACCOUNT OF DEC. 4 MEETING

Covering Memorandum.

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

WASHINGTON, DC 20301.

Secret Sensitive.

Memorandum for :

Chief of Staff, US Army.

Chief of Staff, US Air Force.

Chief of Naval Operations.

Commandant of the Marine Corps.

SUBJECT

Washington Special Action Group meeting on Indo/Pakistan hostilities ; 4 December 1971.

1. Attached for your information is a memorandum for record concerning subject meeting.
2. In view of the sensitivity of information in the NSC system and the detailed nature of this memorandum, it is requested that access to it be limited to a strict need-to-know basis.

For the Chairman, JCS :

A. K. Knoizen

Captain, US Navy.

Executive assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

REPORT ON THE MEETING

Secret Sensitive.

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

WASHINGTON, DC 20301.

5 December 1971.

SUBJECT

Washington Special Action Group meeting on Indo-Pakistan hostilities; 4 December 1971.

1. The NSC Washington Special Action Group met in the Situation Room, the White House, at 1100, Saturday, 4 December, to consider the Indo-Pakistan situation. The meeting was charied by Dr. Kissinger.

2. Attendees

A. Principals:

Dr. Henry Kissinger

Dr. John Hannah, AID

Mr. Richard Helms, CIA

Dr G. Warrant Nutter, Defense Admiral Elmo Zumwelt, JCS

Mr. Christopher Van Hollen, State

B. Others:

Mr. James Noyes, Defence

Mr. Armistead Selden, Defence

Rear Adm. Robert Welander OJCS

Capt. Howard Kay, OJCS

Mr. Harold Saunders, NSC

Col. Richard Kennedy, NSC

Mr. Samuel Hoskanson, NSC

Mr. Sonald MacDonald, AID

Mr. John Waller, CIA

Mr. Sameul De Palma, State

Mr. David Schneider, State

3. Summary. It was decided that the US would request an immediate meeting of the Security Council. The US resolution would be introduced in a speech by Ambassador Bush as soon as possible. The USG-UN approach would be tilted toward the Paks, Economic aid for Pakistan currently in effect will not be terminated. No requirements were levied on the JSC.

4. Mr.Helms opened the meeting by indicating that the Indians were currently engaged in a no holds barred attack of East Pakistan and that they had crossed the border on all sides this morning. While Indian had attacked eight Pak airfields there were still no indications of any ground attacks in the West Although not decreeing a formal declaration of war President Yahya

has stated that 'the final war with India is upon us' to which Mrs Gandhi has responded that the Pak announcement of war constituted the ultimate folly. The Indians, however, had made it a point not to declare war. The Indian attacks have hit a major POL area in Karachi resulting in a major fire which will likely be blazing for a considerable length of time thus providing a fine target for the India air force. Mr. Helms indicated that the Soviet assessment is that there is not much chance of a great power confrontation in the current crisis.

5. Dr. Kissinger remarked that if the Indians have announced a full scale invasion this fact must be reflected in our UN statement.

6. Mr. Helms indicated that we do not know who started the current action nor do we know why the Paks hit the four small airfields yesterday.

7. Dr. Kissinger requested that by Monday the CIA prepare an account of who did what to whom and when.

8. Mr. De Palma suggested that if we refer to the India declaration in our discussion in the UN that we almost certainly will have to refer to remarks by Yahya.

9. Dr. Kissinger replied that he was under specific instructions from the President and either someone in the bureaucracy would have to prepare statement along the lines indicated or that it would be done in the White House.

10. Mr. Helms referred to the 'no holds barred' remark in the official India statement and similar remarks that were being made from the Pak side.

11. Dr. Kissinger asked whether the Indians have stated anything to the effect that they were in an all-out war.

12. Mr. Helms said that the terminology was 'no holds barred'.

13. Dr. Kissinger asked what the Paks have said. Mr. Helms said the terminology was 'final war with India'. Dr. Kissinger suggested this was not an objectionable term. It did not seem outrageous to say that they (the Paks) were trying to defend themselves.

14. Dr. Kissinger then asked what was happening in the UN to which Mr. De Palma responded that the UK, Belgium, Japan and possibly France were joining for a call for a Security Council meeting The Japanese preferred a blander formulation. We have not however reacted to the Japanese.

15. Dr. Kissinger asked to see the letter and requested that it be formulated in announcing our move in the UN to which Mr. De Palma responded affirmatively.

16. Dr. Kissinger stated that while he had no strong view on the letter our position must be clearly stated in the announcement.

17. Dr. Kissinger stated he did not care how third parties might react so long as Ambassador Bush understands what he should say.

18. Dr. Kissinger said that whoever was putting out background information relative to the current situation is provoking Presidential wrath. The President is under the 'illusion' that he is giving instructions; not that he is merely being kept apprised of affairs as they progress. Dr. Kissinger asked that this be kept in mind.

19. Mr. De Palma indicated that he did not yet know whether the Security Council would be convened in the afternoon or evening (this date). However, the first statements at the meeting would likely be those by the Indians and Paks. He suggested that Ambassador Bush should be one of the first speakers immediately following the presentation by the two contesting nations. He felt that the impact of our statement would be clearer if it were made early. Dr. Kissinger voiced no objections.

20. Mr. De Palma asked whether we wanted to get others lined up with our resolution before we introduced it. This, however, would take time. Dr. Kissinger suggested rather than follow this course, we had better submit the resolution as quickly as possible, alone if necessary. According to Dr. Kissinger the only move left for us at the present time is to make clear our position relative to our greater strategy. Everyone knows how all this will come out and everyone knows that Indian will ultimately occupy East Pakistan. We must, therefore, make clear our position, table our resolution. We want a resolution which will be introduced with a speech by Ambassador Bush. If others desire to come along with us, fine; but in any event we will table the resolution with a speech by Ambassador Bush.

21. Dr. Kissinger continued that it was important that we register our position. The exercise in the UN is likely to be an exercise in futility, inasmuch as the Soviets can be expected to veto. The UN itself will, in all probability, do little to terminate the war. He summarized the foregoing by saying that he assumed that our resolution in the UN will be introduced by a speech and there will be no delay. We will go along in general terms with reference to political accommodation in East Pakistan but we will certainly not imply or suggest any specifics, such as the release of Mujib.

22. Dr. Kissinger asked how long the Indians could delay action in the Council? Mr. De Palma said they could make long speeches of question our purpose. Mr. Van Hollen said that they would draw out as long as possible which would allow them to concentrate on the situation in East Pakistan. Mr. De Palma said that they could shilly-shally for three or four days which, Mr. Helms stated, would be long enough for them to occupy East Pakistan. Mr. De Palma stated that we could always try to force a vote. Dr. Kissinger reiterated that there was no chance in getting anything useful in the UN.

23. Mr. De Palma suggested that in all likelihood one side or the other will vote.

24. Concerning the matter of economic aid, Dr. Kissinger stated that the President had directed that cutoff was to be directed at India only. He indicated, however, that he wanted to read the announcement to the President, so that the latter would know exactly what he might be getting into. At this point Mr. Williams asked whether some mention should be made in the statement explaining why aid for Pakistan is not being cut off. Dr. Kissenger said that information would be kept for background only.

25. Mr. Williams said that the Department of Agriculture indicated that the price of vegetable oil was weakening in the United States; this cutting off this PL-480 commodity to India could have repercusions on the domestic market. He asked, therefore, whether oil could be shipped in place of wheat. Dr. Kissinger said that he will have the answer to that by the opening of business Monday.

26. Dr. Kissinger then asked for a brief rundown on the military situation. Admiral Zumwalt responded that he thought the Paks could hold the line in East Pakistan for approximately one or two weeks before the logistics problems became overriding. He expected the Soviets to cement their position in India and to push for permanent usage of the naval base at Visag. He anticipated that the Soviets' immediate short range objective would be to gain military advantage through their current relationship with India.

27. Dr. Kissinger indicated that the next meeting will convene Monday morning (Dec 6).

(Signed) H N. Kay

Captain, USN

South Asia/MAP Branch, J5

Extension 72400

MEMO ON DEC. 6 MEETING

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON, DC 20301

6 December 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD
SUBJECT

Washington Special Action Group meeting on Indo-Pakistan hostilities; 6 December 1971.

1. The NSC Washington Special Action Group met in the Situation Room, the White House, at 1100, Monday, 6 December, to consider the Indo-Pakistan situation. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Kissinger.

2. **Attendees**

A. Principals:

Dr. Henny Kissinger

Mr. David Packard, Defence

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, State

General William Westmoreland, JCS

Mr. Richard Helms, CIA

Mr. Donald MacDonald AID

B. Others:

Mr. Christopher Van Hollen, State

Mr. Samuel De Palma, State

Mr. Bruce Langigen, State

Mr. Joseph Sisco, State

Mr. Armistead Selden, Defence

Mr. James Noyes, Defence

Mr. John Waller, CIA

Mr. Samuel Hoskanson, NSC

Col. Richard Kenndey, NSC

Mr. Harold Saunders, NSC

Rear Adm. Robert Velander, OJCS

Capt. Howard Kay, OJCS

Mr Maurice Williams, AID

3. Summary. Dicussion was devoted to the massive problems facing Bangladesh as a nation Dr. Kissinger indicated that the problem should be studied now. The subject of possible military aid to Pakistan is also to be examined, but on a very close hold basis. The matter of Indian redeployment from East to West was considered as was the legality of the current sea 'blockade' by India.

4. Mr. Helms opened the meeting by briefing the current situation. He stated that the Indians had recognized Bangladesh and the Paks had broken diplomatic ties with India. Major fighting continued in the East but India is engaged in a holding action in the West. Mr. Helms felt that the Indians will attempt to force a decision in East within the next 10 days. The India have almost total air superiority now in the East where they can employ approximately a hundred of their aircraft against Pak ground forces and logistic areas. The Indians, however, have not yet broken through on the ground in East Pakistan Major thrust of the Indian effort in East Pakistan is in the north-west corner of the province. The airfield at Dacca is all but closed. The Indians are registering only minor gains in the Jessore area, but they claim to have taken Kamalpur. In the West, Indian activity is essentially limited to air attacks The Paks appear to be on the offensive on the ground and have launched air strikes in Punjab. Overall, the Paks claim 61 Indian aircraft destroyed; the Indians claim 47 Pak planes. In naval action one Pak destroyer has been sunk by the Indians and another claimed sunked (sic). The Indian also claim the sinking of one Pak submarine in eastern waters. Moscow is increasingly vocal in its support of India and is not supporting any UN moves to halt the fighting. The Chinese press made its strongest attack on the Indian this morning.

5. Dr. Kissinger then asked for a military assessment, questioning how long the Paks might be able to hold out in the East. General Westmoreland responded that it might be as much as three weeks.

6. Dr. Kissinger asked what is to be done with Bangladesh. Mr. Helms stated that for all practical purposes it is now an independent country, recognized by India.

7. Ambassador Johnson suggested that the Pak armed forces now in East Pakistan could be held hostage. General Westmoreland reinforced this by nothing there was no means of evacuating West Pak forces from the East wing, particularly in view of Indian naval superiority.

8. Dr. Kissinger stated that the next state of play will involve determining our attitude toward the state of Bangladesh.

9. Mr. Williams referred to the one and a half million Urdu speaking (Bihari) people in East Pakistan who could also be held hostage.

10. Dr. Kissinger asked if there had already been some massacre of these people. Mr. Williams said that he certainly thinks there will be. Dr. Kissinger asked if we could do anything, to which Mr. Williams stated that perhaps an international humanitarian effort could be launched on their behalf. Dr. Kissinger asked whether we should be calling attention to the plight of these people now. Mr. Williams said that most of these people were, in fact, centered around the rail centres; that they are urban dwellers and that some efforts on their behalf might well be started through the UN. Dr. Kissinger suggested that this be done quickly in order to prevent a bloodbath. Mr. Sisco stated while the UN cannot do anything on the ground at this time, public attention could be focussed on this situation through the General Assembly.

11 Mr. Williams referred to the 300,000 Bengalis in West Pakistan, and that they too were in some jeopardy. Mr. Sisco said that this humanitarian issue could be a very attractive one for the General Assembly and that we would begin to focus on Assembly action.

Mr. MacDonald cited as a possible precedent the mass movement of population from North Vietnam in 1954.

12. Returning to the military picture, Mr Williams stated that he felt that the primary trust of the Indian Army would be to interdict Chittagong and cut off any supply capability still existing for the Paks in the East. He said that he felt that the major thrust of the Indian Army in the East would be to destroy the Pak regular forces. He felt that a major job would be to restore order within the East inasmuch as it will be face with a massacre as great as any we have faced in the 20th century.

13. General Westmoreland suggested that the Indians would probably need three or four divisions to continue to work with the Mukti Bahani; the remainder could be pulled out to assist the Indian forces in the West.

14. Mr. Sisco opinion that the Indians would pull out most of their troops once the Pak forces are disarmed, inasmuch as the Indians will be working with a very friendly population; thus, they will turn the military efforts over to the Mukti Bahini as quickly as possible. He felt that the might take as much as a month to move all or most of the Indian forces from the East to the West.

15. In response to a question, General Westmoreland stated that Indian transportation capabilities were limited from West to East, and that it would probably take at least a week to move one infantry division. It might take as much as a month to move all or most of the Indian forces the East to the West.

16. Mr. Sisco said that the long term presence of Indian forces in Bangladesh would have to be addressed. Mr. Van Hollen remarked that should the Indian Army remain more than two or three weeks after the situation in East Pakistan is wrapped up they would, in fact, become a Hindu Army of occupation in the eyes of the Bengalis.

17. Mr. Van Hollen raised the problem of the return of the refugees from India. In as much as Bangladesh is predominantly Moslem, the return of 10 million refugees, most of whom are Hindus, would present another critical problem.

18. General Westmoreland suggested that the Indian position in the West was not unadvantageous. He briefly discussed the order of battle in West Pakistan and suggested that the Indians were in relatively good shape. He said that the expected the major Pak effort to be toward Kashmir and the Punjab. The Indians, he, felt, will be striking toward Hyderarabad so as to cut the main LOC to Karachi. He did not think that the Indians necessarily plan to drive all the way to Karachi. He also suggested that the current Indian move in that direction could very well be diversionary in order to force the Paks to pull reserves back from the Kashmir area.

19. Mr. Packard asked about the POL supply situation, for Pakistan. Mr. Helms said that at the present time it looked very bad. The overland LOC's from Iran, for example, were very tenuous.

20. Mr. Williams suggested that the reason for the Indian thrust to the south was essentially political. Inasmuch as the Indians do not want to fight on the border they will have to give ground in Kashmir. In order to ward off parliamentary criticism, Mrs. Gandhi may be going for some Pak real estate in the south.

21. Dr. Kissinger then asked about UN initiatives. Mr. Sisco said that we are now reviewing the situation with Ambassador Bush. Two Security Council resolutions have been voted by the Soviets. However, there is a ground-swell building in New York for an emergency session by the General Assembly to be convened under the provisions of the 'threat to peace' mechanism. The crisis could be moved into the Assembly through a simple majority vote.

22. Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Sisco agreed that any resolution introduced into the General Assembly must retain two key elements ; Ceasefire and withdrawal of military forces. Dr. Kissinger agreed that our UN delegation has handled the situation extremely well to date. Mr. Sisco said that although it is very likely that the crisis will be introduced in the General Assembly, we must remember that there are 136 countries represented therein and we can expect all sorts of pressure to be generated. Mr. De Palma suggested that when the resolution is introduced in the Assembly there will be a new twist, i.e., the Indians will be no longer terribly interested in political accommodation. By that time that issue will have ceased to be a problem.

23. Mr. De Palma said that a Council meeting was scheduled for 3.00 today and at that time we could try to get the Council to let go of the issue in order to transfer it to the Assembly, it being quite obvious that we are not going to get a cease-fire through the Security Council.

24. Dr. Kissinger asked if we could expect the General Assembly to get the issue by the end of the day, to which Mr. De Palma replied that hopefully this was the case.

25 Dr. Kissinger said that we will go with essentially the same speech in the General Assembly as was made in the Security Council, but he would like something put in about refugees and the text of our resolution.

26. Dr. Kissinger also directed that henceforth we show a certain coolness to the Indian Ambassador is not to be treated at too high a level.

27. Dr. Kissinger then asked about a legal position concerning the current Indian naval 'blockade'. Mr. Sisco stated that we have ; protested both incidents in which American ships have been involved. However, no formal proclamation apparently has been made in terms of a declaration of a war, that it is essentially still an undeclared war, with the Indians claiming power to exercise their rights of belligerency. State would, however, prepare a paper on the legal aspects of the issue. Ambassador Johnson said that so far as he was concerned the Indians had no legal position to assert a blockade.

28. Dr Kissinger asked that a draft protest be drawn up If we considered it illegal, we will make a formal diplomatic protest Mr. Sisco said that he would prepare such a protest.

29. Dr. Kissinger then asked whether we have the right to authorise Jordan or Saudi Arabia to transfer military equipment to Pakistan. Mr. Van Hollen stated the United States cannot permit a third country to transfer arms which we have provided them when we, ourselves, do not authorize sale direct to the ultimate recipient, such as Pakistan. As of last January we made a legislative decision not to sell to Pakistan. Mr. Sisco said that the Jordanians would be weakening their own position by such a transfer and would probably be grateful if we could get them off the hook. Mr. Sisco went on to say that as the Paks increasingly feel the heat we will be getting emergency requests from them.

30. Dr Kissinger said that the President may want to honour those requests. The matter has not been brought to Presidential attention but it is quite obvious that the President is not inclined to let the Paks be defeated. Mr. Packard then said that we should look at what could be done. Mr. Sisco agreed but said it should be done very quitely. Dr. Kissinger indicated he would like a paper by tomorrow (7 Dec).

31 Mr. Sisco suggested that what we are really interested in are what supplies and equipment could be made available. and the modes of delivery of this equipment. He stated that from a political point of view our efforts would have to be directed at keeping the Indians from 'extinguishing' West Pakistan.

32. Dr. Kissinger turned to the matter of aid and requested that henceforth letters of credit not be made irrevocable. Mr. Williams stated that we have suspended general economic aid, not formally committed to India which reduces the level to $ 10 million. He suggested that what we have done for Pakistan as the Indians are now mobilizing all development and for use in the same category does not become contentions inasmuch as the Indians are now mobilizing all development aid for use in the war effort, whereas remaining aid

for East Pakistan is essentially earmarked for fertilizer and humanitarian relief. A case can be made technically, politically and legally that there is a difference between the aid given India and that given to Pakistan.

33. Dr. Kissinger said to make sure that when taking about cut off of aid for India to emphasize what is cut off and not on what is being continued.

34. Dr. Kissinger then asked about evacuation. Mr. Sisco said that the Dacca evacuation had been aborted.

35. Dr. Kissinger inquired about a possible famine in East Pakistan. Mr. William said that we will not have a massive problem at this time, but by next spring this will quite likely be the case. Dr. Kissinger asked whether we will be appealed to bail out Bangladesh. Mr. Williams said that the problem would not be terribly great if we could continue to funnel 140 tons of food a month through Chittagong, but at this time nothing is moving. He further suggested that Bangladesh will need all kinds of help in the future, to which Ambassador Johnson added that Bangladesh will be an 'international basket case'. Dr. Kissinger said, however, it will not necessarily be our basket case. Mr. Williams said there is going to be need of massive assistance and resettling of refugees, transfers of population and feeding the population. Dr. Kissinger suggested that we ought to start studying this problem right now.

36. Mr. William suggested that the Indians had consistently requested refugee aid in cash. The Indians in turn will provide the food and support for the refugees. This has provided India with a reservoir of foreign currency. Dr. Kissinger also asked that this problem be looked at by tomorrow to determine whether we could provide commodities in lieu of cash. We do not want to cut off humanitarian aid. We would like to provide material rather than cash.

37, The meeting was then adjourned.

(Signed) H. N. Kay
Captain, USN
South Asia/MAP Branch, J5
Extension 72400

—The New York Times—
Thursday, 6 January, 1972.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ওয়াশিংটন স্পেশাল এ্যাকশন গ্রুপের ৮ ডিসেম্বর '৭১-এ অনুষ্ঠিত বৈঠকের কার্যবিবরণী।	নিউইয়র্ক হেরাল্ড ট্রিবিউন ; উদ্ধৃতি : রবার্ট জ্যাকসন লিখিত "সাউথ এশিয়ান ক্রাইসিস"।	১৫ জানুয়ারী, ১৯৭২

MEMO ON 8 DECEMBER MEETING

Secret Sensitive

The Joint Staff

The Joint Chiefs of Staff

Washington, D. C. 20301

8 December, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

Subject : Washington Special Action Group meeting on Indo-Pakistan hostilities; 8 December 1971.

1. The N.S.C. Washington Special Action Group met in the Situation Room, the White House, at 11-00, Wednesday 8 December to consider the Indo-Pakistan situation. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Kissinger.

2. Attendees.

A. Principals : Dr. Henry Kissinger, Mr. Richard Helms, C. I. A., Gen. John Ryan, J.C.S., Mr. Donald MacDonald, A.I.D., Mr. David Packard, Defense, Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, State.

B. Others : Mr. Maurice Williams, A.I.D., Mr. John Waller, C.I.A., Col. Richard Kennedy, N.S.C., Mr. Samuel Hoskanson, N.S.C., Mr. Harold Saunders, N.S.C,. Mr. Armistead Selden, Defense, Mr. James Noyes, Defense, Mr. Christopher Van Hollen, State, Mr. Samuel De Palma, State, Mr. Bruce Lanigen, State, Mr. David Schneider, State, Mr. Joseph Sisco, State, Rear Adm. Robert Welander, O.J.C.S., Capt. Howard Kay, O.J.C.S.

3, Summary: Dr. Kissinger suggested that India might be attempting, through calculated destruction of Pak armoured and air forces, to render Pakistan impotent. He requested that the Jordanian interest in assisting Pakistan not be turned off, but rather kept in a holding pattern. He asked that Pak capabilities in Kashmir be assessed.

4. Mr. Helms opened the meeting by briefing the current situation. In the East, the Indians have broken the line at Comilla. Only major river crossings prevent them from investing Dacca. The Indians are advancing rapidly throughout East Pakistan. All major Pak L.O.C's in the East are

now vulnerable. In the West, the Paks are now claiming Poonch, inside the Indian border. However, the Paks are admitting fairly heavy casualties in the fighting. Tank battles are apparently taking place in the Sind/Rajasthan area. Mrs. Gandhi has indicated that before hedding a U.N. call for cease-fire, she intends to straighten out the southern border of Azad Kashmir. It is reported that, prior to terminating present hostilities, Mrs. Gandhi intends to attempt to eliminate Pakistan's armoor and air force capabilities. Thus for only India and Bhutan have recognized Bangladesh. It is believed that the Soviets have held off recognition primarily so as not to rupture relations with the Paks. Soviet action on the matter of recognition, however, may be forthcoming in the near future.

5. Mr Sisco inquired how long the Paks might be expected to hold out in East Pakistan, to which Mr. Helms replied 48 to 72 hours. The time to reach the ultimate climax is probably a function of the difficulties encountered in river crossings.

6. Assessing the situation in the West, General Ryan indicated that he did not see the Indians pushing too hard at this time, rather they seem content with a holding action.

7. Dr. Kissinger asked how long it would taked to shift Indian forces from East to West. General Ryan said it might take a reasonably long time to move all the forces, but that the airborne brigade could be moved quickly, probably within a matter of five or six days.

8. Dr. Kissinger inquired about refugee aid. After a discussion with Mr. Williams it was determined that only a very small number of U.S. dollars earmarked for refugee relief was actually entering the Indian economy. Contrary to the sense of the last meeting, the Indians have actually lost foreign exchange in the process of carrying for refugees. In any event, the entire relief effort is currently suspended in both India and Pakistan.

9. Dr. Kissinger then emphasized that the President has made it clear that no further foreign exchange, PL-480 commodities, or development loans could be assigned to India without approval of the White House. Mr. Williams stated there was no problem of anything sliding through.

10. Dr. Kissinger inquired what the next turn of the screw might be Mr. Williams said that the only other possible option was taking a position concerning aid material currently under contract. This however would be a very messy problem inasmuch as we would be dealing with irrevocable letters of credit. Mr. Williams further stated that we would have to take possession of material that was being consigned to the Indians be U.S. contractors and thus would be compelled to pay U.S. suppliers, resulting in claims against the U.S.G.

11.. Mr Packard said that all of this could be done, but agreed that it would be a very laborious and difficult problem. He further elaborated that all the items involved would have to be located, the United States would have to take ownership, settle with supliers, locate warehousing, etc. Nevertheless if such was desired it could be done. Mr. Williams said that in a very limited way this type of action had been taken against some Mid-East countries, but that it had taken years to settle the claims.

12. Dr. Kissinger asked how India was handling next year's development loan program, to which Mr. Williams responded that nothing was under negotiation at the present time.

13. Dr. kissinger inquired about next year's [A.I.D.] budget. Mr. Williams stated that what goes into the buget did not represent a commitment Dr. Kissinger stated that current orders are not to put anything into the budget for A.I.D. to India. It was not to be leaked that A.I.D. had put money in the bucget for India, only to have the 'wicked White House take it out.

14. Dr. Kissinger suggested that the key issue if the Indians turn on West pakistan is Azad Kashmir. If the Indians smash the pak air force and the armoured forces we would have a deliberate Indian attempt to force the disintegration of pakistan. The elimination of the Pak armoured and air forces would make the paks defenseless. It would turn West Pakistan into a client state. The possibility elicits a number of questions. Can we allow a U. S. ally to go down completely while we participate in a blockade ? Can we allow the Indians to scare us of, believing that if U.S. supplies are needed they will not be provided ?

15. Mr. Sisco stated that if the situation were to evolve as Dr. kissinger had indicated then, of course, there was sirious risk to the ability of West Pakistan. Mr. Sisco doubted, however, that the Indians had this as their objective. He indicated that foreign Minister Singh told Ambassador Keating that India had no intention of taking any Pak territory. Mr. Sisco said it must also be kept in mind that Kashmir is really disputed territory.

16. Mr. Helms then stated that earlier he had omited mentioning that Madame Gandhi, when referring to China, expressed the hope that there would be no Chinese intervention in the West. She said that the Soviets had cautioned her that the Chinese might rattle the sword in Ladakh but that the Soviets have promised to take appropriate counter-action if this should occur. Mr Helms indicated that there was no Chinese built-up at this time but, nevertheless, even without a build-up they could 'make motions and rattle the sword'.

17. Turning then to the question of military support of pakistan, Dr. Kissinger referred to an expression of interest by King Hussein relative to the provision of F 104s to Pakistan, and asked how we could get Jordan into a holding pattern to allow the President time to consider the issue Dr. Kissinger also asked whether we should attempt to convey to the Indians and the press that a major attack on West Pakistan would be considered in a very serious light by this country.

18. Mr Packard explained that we could not authorize the Jordanians to do anything that the U. S. G. could not do. If the U. S. G. could not give the 104's to Pakistan, we could not allow Jordan to do so. If third country had material that the U. S. G. did not have, that was one thing, but we could not allow Jordan to transfer the 104's unless we make a finding that the paks, themselves, were eligible to purchase them from us directly.

19. Dr. Kissinger suggested that If we had not cut the sale of arms to Pakistan the current problem would not exist. Mr. Packard agreed.

20. Dr. Kissinger suggested that perhaps we never really analysed what the real danger was when we were turning off the arms to Pakistan.

21. Mr. Packard suggested that another consideration in the Jordan issue is that if Jordan delivers this equipment we would be expected to replace it. Ambassador Johnson stated we do not have any more M.A.P. left.

22. Dr. Kissinger states that what we may be witnessing is a situation wherein a country equipped and supported by the Soviets may be turning half of Pakistan in an impotent state and the other half into a vassel. We must consider what other countries may be thinking of our action.

23. Mr. Helms asked about our CENTO relationships with Pakistan. Ambassador Johnson stated we had no leagal obligations towards pakistan in the CENTO context. Dr. Kissinger agreed but added that neither did we have legal obligations toward India in 1962 when we formulated the air defense agreement. We must consider what would be the impact of the current situation in the larger complex of world affairs.

24. Dr. Kissinger said that we must look at the problem in terms of Security Council guarantees in the Mid-East and impact on other areas. We must look at the military supply situation. One could make a case, he argued, that we have done everything two weeks too late in the current situation.

25. Mr. Packard stated that perhaps the only satisfactory outcome would be for us to stand fast, with the expectation that the West Paks could hold their own.

26. Ambassador Johnson said that we must examine the possible effects that additional supplies for Pakistan might have. It could be that eight F 104's might not make any defference once the real war in the West starts. they could be considered only as a token. If in fact, we were to move in West Pakistan we would be in a new ball game.

27. Ambassador Johnson said that one possibility would be our reply to Foreign Minister Singh, in which we could acknowleoge the Indian pledge that they do not have territorial designs. He also stated we must also consider the fact that the Paks may themselves be trying to take Kashmir.

28. After discuss'n various possible commitments to both Pakistan and India, Mr. Pakard stated that the overriding consideration is the practical problem of either doing something effective or doing nothing. If you don't win, don't get involved. If we were to attempt something it would have to be with a certainty that it would affect the outcome. Let's not get in if we know we are going to lose. Find some way to stay out.

29. Mr. Williams suggested that we might now focus efforts for a cease-fire in West Pakistan. Ambassador Johnson stated this might, however, stop the Paks from moving into Kashmir.

30. Dr. Kissinger asked for an assessment of the Pak capabilities and prospects in Kashmir. He asked C.I.A. to prepare an assessment of the international implications of Mrs. Gandhi's current moves. He indicated

that we should develop an initial stand on the military supply question. He reiterated that he desired to keep Hussein in a 'holding pattern' relative to the letter's expression of support for Pakistan and that he should not be turned off. The U.S.G. should indicate to Hussein that we do not consider trivial his feelings in this matter.

31. Turning to the question of the blockade, Ambassador Johnson said that both India and Pakistan have taken blockade action, even though the Pak blockade is essentially a paper blockade. Dr Kissinger said that we should also protest to the Paks. Ambassador Johnson indicated we do not have a legal case to protest the blockade. The belligerent nations have a right to blockade when a state of war exists. We may think it unwise and we may question how it is carried out. We have, in fact, normally expressed our concern. On the other hand we have no problem in protesting the incident of the S.S. *Buckeye State*.

32. Dr. Kissinger said that we are not trying to be even-handed. There can be no doubt what the President wants. The President does not want to be even-handed. The President believes that India is the attacker. We are trying to get across the idea that India has jeopardized relations with the United States. Dr. Kissinger said that we cannot afford to ease India's state of mind. 'The Lady' is cold-blooded and tough and will not turn into a Soviet satellite merely because of pique. We should not ease her mind. He invited anyone who objected to this approach to take his case to the President. Ambassador Keating, he suggested, is offering enough reassurance on his own.

33. Addressing briefly the questiion of communal strife in East Pakistan, Dr. Kissinger asked whether anyone would be in a position to know that massacres were occurring at the time when they took place. Mr. Helms indicated that we might not know immediately, but we certainly would know after a massacre occurred.

34. The meeting was adjourned at 12:10.

/S/H. N. KAY

H. N. KAY

Captain, U.S.N.

South Asia/M.A.P. Branch, J5

Extension 72400

Source: *New york Herald Tribune*, Paris edition, 15 January 1972.

Note :

Terms used in the Text

A.I.D. Agency for International Development.

A.S.D. (I.S.A.) Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs.

Azad Kashmir, free Kashmir name of the Pakistani-heald parts of Kashmir.

CENTO Central Treaty Organization.

C.I.A. Central Inteligence Agency.

C.J.C.S. Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

D.A.S.D.,N.E.A.S.A. & P.P.N.S.C.A. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Near Eastern, African and South Asian Affairs: Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Policy plans and National Security Council Affairs.

Dep. Dir., N.S.C.C. & P.P.N.S.C.A. Deputy Director, Policy Plans and National Security Council Affairs.

Depsecdef Deputy Secretary of Defense.

F-104 *Starfighter* jet aircraft.

I.S.A. International Security Affairs of Defense Department.

J.C S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

L.O.C. Line(s) of communication.

M.A.P. Military Assistance Program.

N.F.A. Near Eastern Affairs, Section of State Department.

N .E.S.A. Near East and South Asia.

N.S.C. National Security Council.

O.J.C.S. Office of Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Paks Pakistanis.

PL 480 Public Law 480, governing surplus sent abroad as aid.

P.D.A.S.D. (I.S.A.) Principal Deputy Assistant of Defense, International Security Affairs.

P.O.L. Petroleum, oil, and lubricants.

P.L. Public Law.

R & C Files Records and Control Files.

Secdef Secretary of Defense.

S.S. *Buckekeye State* American vessel strafed in a Pakistani port.

U.S.G. United States Government.

W.S.A.G. Washington Special Action Group, arm of National Security Council.

(পরিশিষ্ট-ক)

পাক-মার্কিন পারস্পরিক প্রতিরক্ষা চুক্তি।

সূত্র : শ্লেসিংগার সম্পাদিত
'দি ডাইনামিক্স অব্
ওয়ার্ল্ড পাওয়ার'
(পৃষ্ঠা ১৩৬-১৪০)

MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement between the United States and Pakistan. *

The Government of United States of America and the Government of Pakistan.

Desiring to foster international peace and security within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations through measures which will further the ability of nations dedicated to the purposes and principles of the Charter to participate effectively in arrangements for individual and collective self defense in support of those purposes and principles ;

Reaffirming their determination to give their full co-operation to the efforts to provide the United Nations with armed forces as contemplated by the Charter and to participate in United Nations collective defense arrangement and measures and to obtain agreement on universal regulation and reduction of agreement on universal regulation and reduction of armaments under a adequate guarantee against violation or evasion ;

Taking into consideration the support which the Government of the United States has brought to these principles by enacting the mutual defense assistance Act of 1949 as amended, and mutual security Act of 1951, as amended ; Desiring to set forth the conditions which will govern the furnishing of such assistance ;

Have agreed ;

'Article I'

1. The Government of United States will make available to the Government of Pakistan such equipment, materials services or other assistance as the Government of United States may authorize in accordance with such terms and conditions as may be agreed. The furnishing and use of such assistance shall be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Such assistance as may be made avilable by the Government of the United States pursuant to this agreement will be furnished under the provisions and subjects to all the terms, conditions and termination provisions of the Mutual Defense Assistace Act of

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*American Foreign Policy, 1950-1955 :
Basic Documents, PP. 2194-98.

1949 and the Mutual Security Act of 1951, acts amendatory or supplementary thereto, appropriation acts thereunder, or any other applicable legislative provisions.

The two Governments will from time to time, negotiate detailed arrangements necessary to carry out the provisions of this paragraph.

2. The Government of Pakistan will use this assistance exclusively to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self defense, or to permit it to participate in the defense of the area, or in United Nations collective Security arrangements and measures and Pakistan will not undertake any act of aggression against any other nation. The Government of Pakistan will not, without the prior agreement of the Government of the United States devote such assistance to purposes other than those for which it was furnished.

3. Agreements will be entered into under which equipment and materials furnished pursuant to this agreement and no longer required or used exclusively for the purposes for which originally made available will be offered for return to the Government of the United States.

4. The Government of Pakistan will not transfer to any person not an officer or agent of that Government, or to any other nation title to or possession of any equipment, materials, property, information, or services received under this agreement, without the prior consent of the Government of the United States.

5. The Government of Pakistan will take such security measures as may be agreed in each case between the two Governments in order to prevent the disclosure or compromise of classified military articles, services or information furnished pursuant to this Agreement.

6. Each Government will take appropriate measures consistent with security to keep the public informed of operations under this Agreement.

7. The two Governments will establish procedures whereby the Government of Pakistan will so deposit, segregate or assure title to all funds allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government of the United States so that such funds shall not, except as may otherwise be mutually agreed, be subject to garnishment, attachment, seizure or other legal process by any person, farm, agency, corporation, organization or Government.

' Article II '

The two Government will, upon request of either of them, negotiate appropriate arrangements between them relating to the exchange of patent rights and technical information for defence which will expedite such exchanges and at the same time protect private interests and maintain necessary security safeguards.

'Article-III'

1. The Government of Pakistan will make available to the Government of United States rupees for the use of the latter Government for its administrative and operating expenditures in connection with carrying out the purposes of these agreement. The two Government will forthwith initiate discussions with a view to determining the amount of such rupees and agreeing upon arrangements for the furnishing of such funds.

2. The Government of Pakistan will except as may otherwise be mutually agreed, grant duty free treatment on importation or exportation and exemption from internal taxation upon products, properly, materials or equipment imported into its territory in connection with this agreement or any similar agreement between the Government of United States and the Government of any other country receiving military assistance.

3. Tax relief will be accorded to all expenditures in Pakistan by or on behalf of, the Government of the United States for the common defence effort, including expenditure for any foreign aid programe of the United States, The Government of Pakistan will establish procedures satisfactory to both Governments so that such expenditures will be net of Texes.

'Article-IV'

1. The Government of Pakistan will received personnel of the Government of the United States who will discharge in its territory the responsibilities of the Government of the United States under this agreement and who will be accorded facilities and authority to observe the progress of the assistance furnished pursuant to this agreement, Such personnel who are United States nationals, including personnel temporarily assigned, will in their relations with the Government of Pakistan, operate as part of the Embassy of the United States of America under the direction and control of the chief of the diplomatic Mission and will have the same privileges and immunities as are accorded other personnel with corresponding rank of the Embassy of the United States who are united States nationals. Upon appropriate notification by the Government of the United States the Government of Pakistan will grant full diplomatic, to the senior military member assigned under this article and the senior Army, Navy and Air Force Officers and their respective immediate deputies.

2. The Government of Pakistan will grant exemption form import and export duties on personal property imported for the personal use of such personnel or of their families and will take reasonable administrative measures to facilitate and expedite the importation and exportation of the personal property of such personnel and their families.

'Article-V'

1. The Government of Pakistan will:

(a) Join in promoting international understanding and goodwill and maintaining world peace;

(b) Take such action as may be mutually agreed upon to eliminate causes of international tension ;

(c) Make consistent with its political and economic stability, the full contribution permitted by its manpower, resources, facilities and general economic conditions to the development and maintenance of its own defensive strength and the defensive strength of the free world ;

(d) Take all reasonable measures which may be needed to develop its defence capacities ; and

(e) Take appropriate steps to insure the effective utilisation of the economic and military assistance provided by the United States.

2. (a) The Government of Pakistan will, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, furnish to the Government of the United States or to such other Government as the parties hereto may in each case agree upon, such equipment, materials, services or other assistance as may be agreed upon in order to increase their capacity for individual and collective self defence and to facilitate their effective participation in the United Nations system for collective Security.

(b) In conformity with the principle of mutual aid, the Government of Pakistan will facilitate the producti n and transfer to the Government of the United States, for such period of time, in such quantities and upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon, or raw and semi processed materials required by the United States as a result of dificiencies or potential deficiencies in its own resources, and which may be available in Pakistan. Arrangements for such transfer shall give due regard to reasonable requirements of Pakistan for domestic use and commercial export.

' Article-VI '

In the interest of their mutual security the Governments of Pakistan will co-operate with the Government of the United States in taking measures designed to control trade with nations which threaten the maintenance of world peace.

" Article-VII "

1. This agreement shall enter into force on the date of signature and will continue in force until one year after the receipt by either party of written notice of the intention of the other party to terminate it, except that the provisions of Article-I, paragraph 2 and 4, and arrangements entered into under Article-I, paragraph 3, 5 and 7, and under Article II, shall remain in force unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments.

2. The two Governments will, upon the request of either of them, consult regarding any matter relating to the application or amendment of this agreement.

3. This agreement shall be registered with the secretariat of the United Nations.

Done in two copies at Karachi the 19th day of May one thousand nine hundred and fiifty four.

Note :

THE DYNAMICS OF WORLD POWER :

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN

POLICY 1945—1973.

VOL.-IV

Page-736—740.

Edited by A. M. Schlesinger, 1973, New York, Chelsea House Publishers.

২৭৬

পরিশিষ্ট-খ

STATEMENT BY U. N. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG ON ARMS SHIPMENTS TO INDIA AND PAKISTAN. *

(Extract)

September 17, 1965.

*　　　　*　　　　*

The United States enjoys and hopes to continue to enjoy friendly relations with both India and Pakistan I should like to emphasize that we have suspended arms shipments to both countries, since we want, in support of the Security Council's resolutions calling for a cease-fire, to help bring about an end to this conflict and not to escalate it. It is the sence of the Security Council's resolutions that there be a prompt end and not an intensification of hostilities.

We deplore the use of arms supplied by us in this conflict in contravention of solemn agreements.

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* American Foreign Policy : Current Decoments 1965, PP, 804-05.

Page : 753

যুক্তরাষ্ট্র

কংগ্রেসের দলিলপত্র

সিনেট ও প্রতিনিধি পরিষদ

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে শোকাবহ ঘটনা ঘটছে : সিনেটর হ্যারিস-এর মন্তব্য ও পররাষ্ট্র সচিব উইলিয়াম পি, রজার্স-এর লিখিত চিঠি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

APRIL 1, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 4387

APPALLING TRAGEDY IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, an appalling tragedy is taking place in East Pakistan about which the world remains ignorant because West Pakistani authorities have cynically expelled foreign journalists. It would appear that only in this way may their soldiers kill in peace.

The New York Times, March 31, cites "unimpeachable independent sources" in New Delhi who claim that the Pakistani soldiers have been dragging political leaders in East Pakistan into the streets where they are summarily shot. There are reports, unconfirmed that execution squads led by informers are now systematically tracking down and killing East Pakistani intellectual leaders so that the people of that region will forever remain without a voice.

These outrages reportedly are being committed in the name "of God and a united Pakistan."

Some reports may be sensationalized accounts of isolated crimes. Because of the Pakistani Government's policy of excluding the press, we do not know. But the unwillingness of the Pakistani authorities to admit foreign newsmen must cause us to conclude that at least some of the reports are true.

The world must end its silence. At this point only the Indian Government has gone on record in condemnation of current events in Pakistan. But Indian protests can only be marginal in effectiveness and subject to misinterpretation in purpose because of the long hatred between the two countries. It is sad to report that because of the vast human destruction brought about by our involvement in Vietnam, the United States is also not in a position to take a moral lead.

We do not however, have to remain inactive. We should pointedly announce that we are halting all military and economic aid to Pakistan for the time being. Meanwhile, we can urge others, particularly countries in Asia, to take the moral lead in such forums as the United Nations.

I urge other Senators to join me in asking the administration to give the situation in Pakistan the highest priority. We cannot sit with our hands folded as a generation of leaders in East Pakistan may be on the way to final destruction....

U. S. SENATE,

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS.
Washington, D. C., April 1, 1971.

HON WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am alarmed as I am sure you must be about reports of mass executions and indiscriminate slaughter of civilians in East Pakistan.

The New York Times March 31 cites "unimpeachable independent sources" in New Delhi who claim that Pakistani soldiers have been dragging political leaders in East Pakistan into the streets where they are summarily shot. There are reports, unconfirmed that execution squads led by informers are systematically tracking down and killing East Pakistani intellectual leaders so that the people of that region will forever remain without a voice.

Because of the Pakistani Government's policy of excluding foreign newsmen from East Pakistan, it is impossible for Members of Congrees and the world at large to know with certainty what is happening. But it would seem that if the Pakistani authorities had a better story to tell the world, they would admit foreign journalists who could tell it.

Until it is clear from public accounts that reports of summary executions and indiscriminate warfare against civilians in East Pakistan are inaccurate, I wish to urge that our Government immediately end all military and economic assistance to Pakistan. I do not believe we should allow it to be said that American funds and arms contributed to the destruction of a generation of East Pakistani leaders.

Because of the world's reaction to our involvement in Vietnam, it is not practicable in my opinion for the United States to take the moral lead in condemning Pakistani actions in world forums like the United Nations. But I do believe that we should encourage others to speak out, particularly Asian countries, and agree to support them.

I would appreciate at the earliest opportunity your assessment of the United States policy towards Pakistan in light of current events there.

Sincerely yours,

FRED R. HARRIS,
U. S. Senate.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে সিনেটর কেনেডী।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

COMMENTS BY SENATOR KENNEDY ON SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, reports from East Pakistan tell of a heavy toll being paid by the civilian population as a result of the current conflict. It is a story of indiscriminate killing, the execution of dissident Political leaders and students, and thousands of civilians suffering and dying every hour of the day. It is a story of dislocation and loss of home. It is a story of little food and water. And coming in the aftermath of tragedy by natural disaster, the current violence and near total disruption of government services in East Pakistan is compounding an already difficult situation. It threatens near famine for millions—and the spread of epidemics and disease.

I do not speak today to blame or condemn, or to offer any magic solution for meeting the political and humanitarian problems in East Pakistan. But as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, I do wish to express a deep personal concern over the plight of the people in East Pakistan, which seems to be just another link in a chain of warravaged populations stretching around the world in recent years.

Inevitably, the situation of civilians in East Pakistan is taking second place to the political issues at stake—and to the interests of those who have much to lose, or to gain, by the outcome of the battle. But the people of Dacca, of Chittagong, and of the villages and towns throughout the area also have interests. For many, apparently it is mere survival. The situation in East Pakistan should be particularly distressing to Americans ; for it is our military hardware—our guns and tanks and aircraft—which is contributing much to the suffering. And this is being done, apparently, in violation of negotiated agreements on the use of American military aid to the central Pakistan Government.

Mr. President, I fully appreciate the immense difficulties in the East Pakistan issue. It is a complex matter for diplomats and humanitarians alike. But should not our Government condemn the killing? Should we not be more concerned about the fate of millions of civilias who are caught in the crunch of this conflict? Should we not offer our good services to stop the violence—or at least encourage and support others in such an effort?

It is to be hoped that our Government will give some evidence to reflect a growing concern among many American over recent developments in East Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের প্রশ্নে আমেরিকার করণীয় সম্পর্কে কংগ্রেস সদস্য হলপার্নে-এর বক্তব্য।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	৭ই এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

H 2624 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD HOUSE

APRIL 7, 1971

THE NEED TO CLARIFY THE PAKISTANI QUESTION

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that everyone who has been reading the newspapers and listening or watching media presentations of the civil war now raging in Pakistan has been left with a feeling that we are not getting the whole story about that conflict. All that we seem to get is that thousands of people are being killed in a conflict that does not make a lot of sense... ......

It is becoming very clear to me that the United States cannot afford to become involved in this conflict. It would be easy to say that the present government of Pakistan has been our and we will stand by that government as it attempts to put down the insurgents from East Pakistan. Such a policy, I believe, would be a tragic mistake.

We should stop all U. S. military commitments and assistance to Pakistan and we should carefully assess other nonmilitary assistance to ensure that it does not result in giving West Pakistan a more favourable status in the present conflict. For example, we should explore the possibility of providing our promised wheat shipments for the Pakistani flood victims through CARE supervision rather than the Pakistani Government.

Above all, our's should be a policy of noninvolvement in the present conflict in Pakistan. Such a policy, I believe, will improve our relations with a number of Asian and Middle Eastern nations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন সামরিক সাহায্য কর্মসূচীর পুনঃ পর্যালোচনার দাবী : সিনেটর মণ্ডেল-এর বিবৃতি ও চিঠি।	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 8—Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) commenting on the civil strife in East Pakistan, called today for a re-examination of the United States' "entire military aid program."

"We may well discover that most of our military aid is not only a waste of the taxpayer's money, but does more harm than good," Mondale said in a statement released from his office. "The events in East Pakistan are one more compelling reason why the Congress must reexamine our *entire* military aid program."

In a related action, Mondale and Senators Muskie, Brooke and Hatfield sent a letter to Secretery of state William P. Rogers expressing their concern, over the recent bloodshed in East Pakistan and asking him to detail "the extent, magnitude and timing" of all U. S. aid to Pakistan.

Here is the text of Mondale's statement, followed by the letter to Rogers :

"Like so many civil wars, the conflict in East Pakistan is a complex tragedy."

If we are not to repeat; costly mistakes of the past, the United states must refrain from any judgments or intervention with regard to the two sides in this strife. For that reason, I strongly support the stated policy of the Administration that the United States will not interfere in the political or military aspects of the quarrel.

But non-interference must be more than deplomatic rhetoric. There is something very wrong when guns, tanks, and planes supplied by the United States are used against the very people they are supposed to protect. There is something very wrong with a military aid policy which lends itself to this travesty in so many countries around the world.

It is one thing for the state Department to declare our neutrality. But if you are a Bengali, a Greek or a Brazilian being fire at by an American weapon or strafed by an American jet, the united states has already very mucn intervened in your life.

We should ask why this happened in Pakistan. But frankly, there is little our Government can do now to prevent American weapons from being used as they now are being used in that country.

We can take steps, however, to prevent the future use of American-supplied weapons in such situations.

We should look again at the whole range of our military aid programs. We should ask whether they are really serving the interests of U. S. security are they instead merely being used by one faction or another in internal disputes which do not affect our security.

We may well discover that most of our military aid is not only a waste of the taxpayer's money, but does more harm than good. The events in East Pakistan are one more compelling reason why the congress must re-examin our *entire* military aid program.

Finally, it is inexcusable that the united states has been so long in expressing its concern to the Government of Pakistan over the hideous loss of civilian life in the East.

A nation founded on the basis of decent humanitarian principles should express such concern as a matter of course. But when weapons supplied by that nation are being used to kill and main—by *either side* in an internal conflict—then that nation has an inescapable responsibility to speak out.

When bureaucratic inertia or political equivocation silence basic humanitarian concern, we lose what could be best and most honest about America's foreign policy."

* * *

"Dear Mr. Secretary,

We are deeply disturbed over the recent bloodshed in East Pakistan. Journalists and other eyewitnesses report much indiscriminate Killing of unarmed civilians.

In the interest of genuine non-interference by the united states in these political and military developments, it seems to us very important that any American involvement or responsibility in the civil strife in Pakistan—even the most indirect—be clarified and detailed as througfly as possible. We would therefore appreciate your response to the following questions :

1. What is the extent, magnitude and timing of our military aid commitments to Pakistan in the current and upcoming fiscal years, including grants and sales, both lethal and nonlethal spares, and regular military shipments ? *Have American arms been used against unarmed civilians in the current Pakistani civil strife*? What would be our response if the Govrnment of Pakistan asked us for additional military assistance?

2. What is the extent, magnitude and timing of our bilateral economic aid to Pakistan (exclusive of shipments under PL. 480 and cyclone reconstruction aid) in the current and upcoming fiscal years ? Wht is the magnitude of our aid to Pakistan through multilateral organizations? Has this aid, directly or indirectly, been used in support of military actions by either side in the Pakistani civil strife? Could it be so used?

3. What is the extent, magnitude and timing of our economic aid to Pakistan under each title of PL. 480 in the current and upcoming fiscal years? Again, do we have any evidence that this aid is being used, or

could be used, directly or indirectly in support of military actions in the Pakistani civil strife ?

4. With regard to our commitment of relief for cyclone victims in East Pakistan, can we expect that this relief will continue to reach those in need under the current circumstances?. Is it practical to make this cyclone aid available directly to the victims through a recognised international agency, such as the Red Cross or Care?

These questions, of course, reflect our concern for the most scrupulous observance of our state policy of non-interference in this conflict. We have no intention of prejudging the issues between East and West Pakistan.

We look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

/S/

Edward W. Brook
Mark O. Hatfield.

Walter F. Mondale
Edmund S. Muskie.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের প্রশ্নে সিনেটর বাকি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE, APRIL 14, 1971, S 4790

EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I have been reading with growing concern and apprehension the daily press reports on the tragic events now taking place in East Pakistan. This is the second major loss of life in recent months in that unhappy region. While the picture is not absolutely clear. I believe that there is enough information on the dimensions of the tragedy to make it clear that concerned Americans should speak out.

The relation between our economic aid and the recent political and military developments in Pakistan is a matter of concern to me. Last week in this connection, I joined the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Brooke), and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Hatfield) in sending a letter to the Secretary of State. In that letter we requested a clarification of the extent of American involvement, direct and indirect, in the civil strife and bloodshed in Pakistan. We are now awaiting a reply.

I also support the resolution regarding U. S. military assistance to Pakistan proposed by the distinguished senior Senator from new Jersey (Mr. Case).

The U. S. Government has been the principal supplier of arms to Pakistan since the middle of the 1950's. There are reports that American-supplied planes, tanks, weapons, and other materials are being used by the central government forces in both the cities and the country side of East Pakistan.

Mr. President, the time has arrived for America unequivocally and immediately to cancel any plan which would supply weapons of destruction to the Government of Pakistan under these circumstances—weapons which can only further exacerbate the tensions and bloodshed. There should be an immediate suspension of all military assistance to the Pakistani Government. The "one-time exception" to our 1965 embargo on the sale of lethal and items to India and Pakistan, agreed to in October 1970. proposed the supply of armoored personnel carriers. Starfire jets, and B.57 bombers. These deliveries should not be carried out.

We have a responsibility to do all we can to reduce tensions and conflict in the world. As we seek to disengage ourselves from the conflicts of Indochina, can we allow our military support to be used to magnify tensions in South Asia ?

I say we should not. I urge support of the Case resolution and I am proud to join in cosponsoring it.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে সামরিক সাহায্য বন্ধের জন্য সিনেটর মণ্ডেল ও সিনেটর কেস-এর প্রস্তাব-২১ ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE, 15 APRIL, 1971, S 4919

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 21—SUBMISSION OF A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION CALLING FOR SUSPENSION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, Senator Mondale and I are today introducing a concurrent resolution that cals; ior the suspension of military sales and military aid to Pakistan until sbe conflict in East Pakistan is resolved. Joining us as cosponsors are Senators Bayh, Mcgovern, Muskie, and Sanbe.

We strongly regret the tragedy of the present conflict in East Pakistan, and we support the stated policy of the administration not to interfere in the politicial or military aspects of the quarrel. But we feel that the United States must be neutral in deed as well as word.

We are deeply disturbed by the prospect of American arms or other military material being used in the strife, and we feel this is inconsistent with our policy of noninvolvement. There is obviously little the United States can do to prevent American weapons already in the hands of the Pakistanis from being used, but we can make perfectly clear that no more military supplies will be forthcoming.

The United States is currently selling Pakistan replacement parts for lethal and nonlethal military equipment. This includes ammunition. Moreover, in October 1970 the administration announced a "one shot" sale of military equipment to the Pakistani Government which involved armoured personnel carriers, modified patrol aircraft, fighter planes—F-104's—and bombers—B-57's. None of this equipment has yet been delivered, but our offer to sell it has not been rescinded although we reportedly are not presently talking to the Pakistanis about delivery.

The only military assistance currently being granted to Pakistan is a training program for Pakistani officers in the United States.........

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res 21), which reads as follows, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. Con. Res. 21

Whereas the Congress of the United States deeply regrets the conflict that has occurred in East Pakistan ; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States opposes the use of American military material to increase the lexel of violence in East Pakistan.

Be it resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That—

(1) All American military assistance to Pakistan should be suspended until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved :

(2) All licenses for military sales to Pakistan should be suspended until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর প্রক্সমায়ার-এর বিবৃতি।	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.) said in a statement Saturday night that "the bloody civil war in East Pakistan is just one more reason why we should remove the 'secret stamp' from the amount of foreign military aid we send to Pakistan, India and other countries."

Proxmire is Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on foreign operations which has Jurisdiction over military aid request. Proxmire said :

"In Pakistan, American arms and ammunition are now being used to stamp out the Bengali secessionist movement. Instead of using the aid to defend themselves against a Russian or Chinese threat, the Pakistanis are using it against their own people. In the past, the Indian and Pakistanis have used our military aid to beat each other over the head.

"For years, the amounts of military aid we send to India, Pakistan, and Nepal in Asia, and to Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia in the Near East have been classified secret on a permanent basis. Amounts sent to them since 1950 have never officially been made public. In addition, the secret stamp is also used for the amounts we propose to send to other countries each year and is not lifted until a year after the funds are budgeted.

"As Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, I Intend to do everything I can to end this practice when no overriding issue of American security is involved.

"This is a mischievous practice for which there is no justification.

The Pakistani War is just the most recent example why the practice is wrong historically and is wrong today. Much of the arms, equipment, and ammunition sent abroad is used for internecine warfare and not to defend against a Communist threat.

"But the arms are paid for by the American taxpayer. He has a right to know who gets what. It is a proper issue for public debate and public decision. If we get the information out in the open, the American people may decide we shouldn't be doing it at all. At the least, our disastrous experience in Vietnam proves that these decisions should not be made behind closed doors.

"The arguments used to justify the secret stamps are not only specious but, in my view, make peace harder to achieve. It is claimed that if the facts were published, it might 'embarrass' a foreign country. It is said the embarrassment would arise if one country got more than another or if Congress cut the amounts proposed for one country more than it cut the funds for its traditional rival.

"Such arguments cannot stand public examination. Similar arguments were used or years to keep Senators' and Congressmen's payrolls secret. But now that they have been made public, the Congress is better off for having done it.

"If Publishing the figures proposed for military aid to Africa, the Near East, Latin America, and other nations is embarrassing to them, et them turn it down. That would not only save the American taxpayers billions of dollars but would probably lead to a mcre peaceful world as well.

"We make our own military budget public in voluminous detail. There is no reason to routinely classify the amounts we send to other countries !"

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কংগ্রেস সদস্য মিঃ শিউয়ের-এর বিবৃতি ও প্রস্তাব।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	২১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

APRIL 21, 1971—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Extensions of Remarks* **E 3321**

THE CIVIL WAR IN PAKISTAN

In The House of Representatives

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of East Pakistan are now engaged in a bitter, bloody struggle for those human rights that all men are entitled to by birth. Their desire for a representative government and freedom from the shackles of a colonial-like existence with the ruling West have resulted in wide scale oppression and suffering at the hands of a military regime that is perpetrating a senseless massacre of defenseless citizens, unparalleled in recent history.

The nature of this conflict is civil war, and no doubt we should allow the Pakistani people to resolve their own political questions. However, we can, indeed, we should provide active leadership in all efforts designed to lessen the plight of the sick, and the suffering, and the dying of East Pakistan, not because of any political preference or considerations, but because it is the right, the proper, and the humanitarian course for this Nation to follow.

On April 2 of this year, a plane carrying food and medical supplies,- under the aegis of the International Red Cross, sought entry to East Pakistan on a mission of unquestionably nonpartison good will. The West Pakistan Government denied entry to this Red Cross mission. In discussions with Mr. S. N. Qutb, press attache for the Pakistani Embassy in Washington. I have learned that the West Pakistani Government considered those Red Cross supplies delivered in the aftermath of Pakistan's recent cyclone disaster to be sufficient to cover their current needs. They also felt that they did not have at this time the administrative capacity to handle increased Red Cross aid or that of individual nations.

When dealing with questions of human survival, answers such as these are clearly unacceptable. I cannot help being reminded of the thousands of Biafran men, women, and children who died of disease and starvation as the United States and much of the world sat and watched the Nigerian Government isolate these people from essential foods and medicines.

We cannot profess to be a humanitarian people and allow the horror of Biafra to repeat itself in East Pakistan.

It is with this in mind that I today introduce a resolution that would call upon the President of the United States to :

First, urge the West Pakistan Government out of concern and respect or the lives of all men, to allow the International Red Cross, or any such organization or Government concerned with welfare and not politics, to immediately ship food and medical supplies to those people of East Pakistan who require such assistance ;

Second, offer to provide the food and medicines required for any such relief effort as a gesture of international goodwill.

It is my hope that my colleagues in this House would support such a resolution and also that a way might soon be found to end this latest struggle between a people striving for justice, and a government unwilling to respond to their pleas.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ থেকে ডঃ জন ই, রোড কর্তৃক সিনেটর উইলিয়াম বি, স্যাক্সবীকে লিখিত চিঠি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

S 5810 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE April 29,1971

RECENT EVENTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, I recently received a letter from a physician who worked in East Pakistan under USAID. He gives a good account of the recent events in East Pakistan. As you know, I objected last year to the sale of $15,000,000 worth of military equipment to Pakistan because I feared the tragic consequences of this action. I have just co-sponsored Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 which urges the suspension of our military assistance to Pakistan until the conflict is resolved.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the letter from Dr. John E. Rohde because I feel that Senators should have the benefit of his insight.

HUDSON, OHIO. *April 17, 1971.*

Hon. WILLIAM B. SAXBE.
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SAXBE: Two days ago my wife and I were evacuated from Dacca, East Pakistan where I have been posted for the past three years as a physician under USAID. I am certain that you are aware of the political events preceding the army crackdown on March 25th. As a result of complete censorship and the expulsion of journalists, banning of the major political party in Pakistan, and repressed information about the military campaign against the civilians of East Pakistan, it must have been difficult to obtain a clear picture of events since that date. From the outset of the army action, the American Consul General and his staff in Dacca, have continued to send detailed factual accounts enumerating first hand reports of the situation. These reports have been carefully collected and verified before transmission to the State Department. Publicly the State Department claims they do not have enough facts; but I have seen the factual reports sent daily from Dacca. The American Consul In Karachi stated to me that they only recently began to receive the accounts about the situation in East Pakistan, when the Consulate in Dacca has been transmitting information from the very start of the action.

Although Connul Blood's reports contain a more detailed account of the current situation. I wish to bring to your attention the observations. I have made in the past weeks in Dacca. My wife and I watched from our roof the night of March 25th as tanks rolled out of the Cantonment illuminated by the flares and the red glow of fires as the city was shelled by artillery, and mortars were fired into crowded shums and bazars. After two days of loud explosions and the continual chatter

of machine guns, we took advantage of a Break in the curfew to drive through the city. Driving past streams of refugees, we saw burned out shacks of families living by the railroad tracks coming from Gulshan to Mohakhali crossing. A Bengali friend living close by had watched the army set fire to the bovica, and as the families ran out, he saw them shot down "like dogs' He accepted our offer to take him and his family of twelve into our home. In the old city we walked through the remains of Nayer Bazaar, where Moslem and Hindu wood cutters had worked, now only a tengle of iron, and sheet and smouldering ruins. The Hindu shopkeepers and craftsmen still alive in the bombed ruins of Shankari Bazaar, begged me to help them only hours after the army had moved in with the intention to kill all inhabitants One man had been shot in the abdomen and killed only one half-hour before we arrived Others were lying in the streets rotting. The day before we were evacuated. I saw Moslem names in Urdu, on the remains of houses in Shankari Bazaar, previously a totally Hindu area. On the 29th we stood at Ramna Kali Bari, an ancient Hindu village of about two hundred fifty people in the Center of Dacca Ramna Race Course, and witnessed the stacks of machine-gunned, burning remains of men, women and children butchered in the early morning hours of March 29th I photographed the scene hours later.

Sadarghat, Shakaripatti, Rayer Bazaar, Nayer Bazaar, Pailpara and Thatari Bazaar are a few of the places where the homes of the thousands are razed to the grounds.

At the university area on the 29th, we walked through Jagannath Hall and Iqbal Hall, two of the student dormitories at Dacca University shelled by army tanks. All inmates were slaughtered. We saw the breach in the wall where the tank broke through, the tank tracks and the mass grave in front of the hall. A man who was forced to drag the bodies outside, counted one hundred three of the Hindu students buried there. Outside were the massive holes in the walls of the dormitory, while inside were the smoking remains of the rooms -and the heavily blood-stained floors. We also saw evidence of tank attack at Iqbal Hall where bodies were still unburied.

The two ensuing weeks have documented the planned killing of much of the intellectual community, including the majority of professors of Dacca University. These include: Professor G. L. Dev, Head of the Philosophy Department; Professor Moniruzzaman, Head of the Department of Statistic; Professor Jotirmoy Guhathakurta, Head of the English Department; Dr. Naqvi and Dr. Ali, Head of the Department of History; Professor Innasali, Head of the Physics Department and Professor Dr. M. N. Huda, Head of the Economics Department, former Governor and Finance Minister were shot in their quarters, injured and left for dead. Many families of these professors were shot as well. Full documentation of the people is difficult due to the army's thorough search leaving Dacca. Complete censorship was facilitated when three prominent mass circulation dailies were burned: The People, The Ittefaq and the Sangbad.

Military action continued after the attack of the first two days. We listened as the early morning of April first was wracked for two hours by artillery pounding Jinjira, a town across the Buriganga from Dacca, that had swollen in size with an estimated one hundred thousands civilians fleeing terrorized Dacca. Radio Pakistan continued to broadcast that life in Dacca had returned to normal but we witnessed a nearly a deserted city.

In Gulshan, one of the suburban area of Dacca, where we lived, we witnessed the disarming of the East Pakistan Rifles, stationed in the Children's Park across the street, the army looting the food supplies from the market nearby, and finally the execution of several EPR as they were forced by Punjabi soldiers onto a truck to be "taken away". The mass execution of several thousands of Bengali policemen and East Pakistan Rifles is already documented. We also witnessed from a neighbour's house, army personnel fire three shots across Gulshan Lake at several little boys who were swimming. Nearly every night there was sporadic gun-fire near our home adding to the fear of twenty-six refugees staying with us. During the day Pakistan planes flew overhead to their bombing missions.

It would be possible for me to chronicle many specific atrocities, but we have left close friends behind whose lives might be more endangered. It is clear that the law of the juggle prevails in East Pakistan where the mass killing of unarmed civilians, the systematic elimination of the intelligentsia, and the annihilation of the Hindu population is in progress.

The reports of Consul Blood, available to you as a Congressmen, contains a more detailed and complete account of the situation. In addition, he has submitted concrete-proposals for constructive moves our government can make. While in no way suggesting that we interfere with Pakistan's internal affairs he asserts, and we support him, that the Uuited States must not continue to condone the military action with official silence. We also urge you to read the Dacca official community's open cable to the State Department. It is for unlimited distribution and states the facts about the situation in East Pakistan.

By not making a statement, the State Department appears to support the clearly immoral action of the West Pakistani army, navy, and air force against the Bengali people.

We were evacuated by Pakistan's Commercial airline. We were loaded on planes that had just disembarked full loads of Pakistani troops and military supplies. American AID dollars are providing support of military action. In Teheran, due to local support of Pakistan, I was unable to wire you the information I am writing.

Fully recognizing the inability of our government to oppose actively or intervene in this desperate oppression of the Bengalies. I urge you to seek and support a condemnation by Congress and the President of the United States of the in-human treatment being accorded the seventy-five million people of East Pakistan.

No political consideration can outweigh the importance of a humanitarian stand, reiterating the American belief in the value of individual lives and a democratic process of government. The action of President Yahya banning the democratically elected majority party, who had ninety-eight percent of the East Wings electorate backing them, ought to arouse a country which prides itself on the democratic process.

We urge you to speak out actively against the tragic massacre of civilians in East Pakistan.

Sincerely yours,

JON E. ROHDE, M.D.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে দুর্ভিক্ষের হুমকি মোকাবিলার জন্য সিনেটর কেনেডীর আহ্বান।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৩ মে, ১৯৭১

May 3, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 6089

CONCERN OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on April 1, I spoke in the Chamber to express my deep concern over developments in East Pakistan.

Suppressed reports to ours Government were telling of a heavy toll being paid by the civilian population as a result of the violence. It was a story of indiscriminate killing, the execution of students and dissident political elements, and the suffering of tens of thousands of innocent civilians. It was a story of families dislocated and homes lost. It was a story of little food and water. And coming in the aftermath of tragedy by natural disaster, the outbreak of violence and the near total disruption of government services were compounding an already difficult situation. Conditions were threatening famine for millions—and the spread of epidemic and disease.

Over the last month I have communicated my concern in this matter to officials in the Department of State and elsewhere, in an effort to encourage and support reasonable initiatives by our Government and the international community to help meet the urgent political and humanitarian problems of East Pakistan.

Regrettably, the record will show that little has been done. And so the plight of the people in East Pakistan is rapidly deteriorating into a nightmare of more suffering and death for millions.

Although reports suggest that violence has subsided considerably, reports also indicate that feelings are tense between the people and the army of the central government. The great bulk of the population is alienated as a result of the army's violent repression—which, as events in Dacca last week underscore, continues sporadically.

Moreover, reports also indicate that the army effectively controls little ground—and that except for Dacca, and Jessore, and the area immediately surrounding these cities, government services and administration are practically nonexistent. The transportation and distribution of available food stocks and medical supplies is at a standstill—even in the area ravaged by last fall's natural disaster, where conservative estimates say a million persons are solely dependent for on effective relief survival operations. The tragedy of the Bengali people in East Pakistan has now spilled over into India, which so far has found it necessary to give asylum to well over a million refugees.

Mr. President, hundreds of thousands of people in East Pakistan—perhaps millions of people—are slowly reaching the point of starvation and death.

We are conditioned in the world we have created, to accept such suffering and injustice—especially in our time when violent conflict and oppression are active in so many areas. But the newer world we seek will not evolve if we ignore these challenges to leadership, and take comfortable refuge in the mundane patterns and attitudes of the past.

In the case of East Pakistan—in the effort to help her people caught in the passion of conflict—I cannot believe that our Government and the international community stand paralyzed in face of great tragedy. The situation can no longer be ignored. At stake are human lives—innocent lives—Pakistani lives—thousands, even millions of lives—whose destruction will burden the conscience of all mankind, unless something more is done to save them.

It is easy to deplore the repression and political disorganization in East Pakistan. It is easy to deplore the deteriorating conditions of the people. It is easy to proclaim a policy of concern. It is easy to advocate meaningful steps to ameliorate the conflict and bring relief to the people.

But such rhetoric is no alternative to action. And I strongly feel that whatever our own Government has done on the humanitarian needs in East Pakistan, has fallen short of what should have been done—and, like so much of our moral and humanitarian leadership in recent years, has been done without a sense of urgency, creativity, and deep compassion for those in dire need.

And so today, as an American concerned about the dignity and preservation of the ultimate resource on our planet, I appeal for immediate action by the United Nations, which so far has chosen silence over leadership. I appeal to the leaders of Pakistan, to the leaders of other countries, and to our own Government, to support a mercy mission and airlift into areas in need. And, hopefully, the appeal of the Indian Government for assistance to meet refugee needs within her borders, will receive a sympathetic response by all concerned.

Let us leave no stone unturned in accomplishing this objective. But let us do so with meaningful action to meet immediate needs, and with the urgency a serious crisis of people demands.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে সংঘটিত নৃশংসতা : কংগ্রেস সদস্য ওয়াল্ডি-এর বক্তব্য ও ক্যালিফোর্নিয়া বিশ্ব-বিদ্যালয় শিক্ষক ও ছাত্রদের প্রতিবাদ।	কংগ্রেসের কার্যবিবরণী	৫ মে, ১৯৭১

BRUTAL SUPPRESSION IN EAST PAKISTAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I have been shocked and saddened by recent newspaper reports which describe the treatment of the people of East Pakistan by the Pakistan Army since the recent uprising.

I have received a petition from members of the faculty, staff, and student body of the University of California at Berkeley, protesting this treatment and suggesting a course of action for our Government.

I believe this petition is worthy of the attention of this body.

The petition and signatures follow :

A Petition of Protest Regarding the Treatment of the People of East Pakistan

We, the undersigned members of the faculty, staff. and students associated with South and South-east Asia Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, wish to protest strongly against the massacres which have been carried out against the people of East Bengal by the Pakistan Army since March 25, 1971. Not content with simply reasserting its authority over the region, the regime of Yahya Khan has embarked on a policy of systematically murdering all Bengali military officers, students, and intellectuals and civil servants who might have provided some leadership for Bengal in the future. They appear in particular to have singled out for destruction all the Bengali professors and heads of departments at Dacca and other East Bengali universities. This policy can only have at its result the reduction of East Pakistan to a wasteland inhabited by a cowed and subjugated people. Such a policy, horrible enough when applied to a small village or remote tribal area, is unspeakably evil when directed to sustaining the rule of a distant military regime over a vast unarmed populace which only three months before had overwhelmingly voiced its desire for a measure of richly deserved regional autonomy.

We therefore urge the Government of the United States to join the Governments of India and the Soviet Union in publicly expressing its outrage at the course of events in East Pakistan ; and to carry into effect itself the following measures :

(1) to halt at once all military aid to Pakistan, whether of ammunition, spare parts, or equipment; and to maintain this embargo until a government responsive to the will of the people of East Pakistan has been restored to that province ;

(2) to suspend economic aid to Pakistan at least until such time as news-reporters and scholars are permitted free entry into the major cities of East Bengal to verify for themselves the truth or falsehood of the stories put out by the Government of Pakistan about the events of March and April 1971 ; and

(3) when economic aid is resumed, to direct the overwhelming bulk of such assistance to the relief and rehabilitation of the distressed people of East Bengal. The channelling of emergency relief should take first priority, followed by a wide range of programs aimed at encouraging the growth of a self-rellant progressive Bengli economy.

SINGATURES OF A PETITION OF PROTEST REGARDING THE TREATMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST PAKISTAN

James N. Anderson, Professor of Anthropology.

Gerald D. Berreman, Professor of Anthropology.

J. Das Gupta, Professor of political Science.

Joseph Fischer, Indonesian Social Science Project.

William Geoghegan, Professor of Anthropology.

Ellen M. Gumperz, Lecturer in Social Sciences Integrated.

John J. Gumperz, Professor of Anthropology.

Alice S. Ilchman, Lecturer in Education.

Warren Ilchman, Professor of Political Science.

James Matisoff, Professor of Linguistics.

Thomas R. Metcalf, Professor of History

Leonard Nathan, Chairman, Department of Rhetoric.

Bruce Pray, Professor of South Asian Languages.

Gordon C. Roadarmel, professor of South Asian Languages and Literature.

Leo Rose. Professor of Political Science.

James Schubert, Professor of South Asian Languages.

J. Frits Staal, Professor of Philosophy and South Asian Languages and Literature.

Peter Ananda. Librarian.

Dora Austin-Doughty, Staff.

Susan Bradford, Student.

Hannah S. Branstetter, Staff.

Kenneth Bryant, Student.

Lee Ann Bryant, Student.

John V. Cepelak, Student.

Betsy M. Cobb, Student.

Dorothea Gielow, Student.

Yvonne Kinns, Staff.

Kenneth Logan, Librarian.

Michael Metelits, Student.

William Rosoff, Student.

Lenneth Shivers, Student.

Craig Stark, Student.

Livia Stein, Student.

S. George Vincentnathan, Student.

Mary Patricia Williams, Student.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনা সম্পর্কে সিনেটর পীল-এর মন্তব্য।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

S 6350 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE May 6, 1971

TRAGIC EVENTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. PELL. Mr. President. I have been following closely for the past several weeks the news accounts of the tragic events in East Pakistan. In addition, I have received personal eye-witness reports of those events from constituents. From all of these accounts there seems little doubt that what has occurred is nothing short of a horrifying slaughter.

The world is too small, Mr. President. to dismiss human slaughter on this scale as merely the internal affairs of another country—affairs with which we should not concern ourselves. And yet our Government, in effect, has maintained silence in the face of these events. Whatever the diplomatic reasoning may be, the silence of the administration now is being interpreted to mean that our Government and our people have little regard for the lives of the thousands of the residents of East Pakistan.

I hope the administration will soon find the words and actions to express to all of the world the deep concern that Americans feel.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের বিপর্যয়কর পরিস্থিতি : সিনেটর মণ্ডেল-এর বিবৃতি ও পররাষ্ট্র সচিব রজার্সকে প্রেরিত টেলিগ্রাম।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

May 6, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 6383

DISASTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. MONDAL. Mr. President, the people of East Pakistan—already ravaged by cyclone and civil war—are now threatened by a new disaster of incredible magnitude.

Only the most urgent action by the United States and other governments can save millions from dying of starvation.

The evidence of gathering tragedy was summarized in a letter printed by the New York Times, May 2.

Over 35 million Bengalis depend on imported food to maintain a precarious balance between life and death.

Food imports have been interrupted since February. Internal distribution has stopped.

History has given us the clearest warning of tragedy. In 1943, when the food shortage in the area was one-third what it is now, a similar break-down of food shipments meant the death of over a million people.

Famine will not wait on publicity or bureaucratic inertia. A massive relief effort must be mounted now to revive the distribution system and reach the needy before meager food reserves are gone.

By the time we see the pictures of starving children, it will be too late to save them.

Yet, in the face of this horror, the U. S. Government has stood by in unconscionable negligence.

We have made a vague, general offer of help, but failed to press the Government of Pakistan in any way to undertake the necessary relief effort.

We were silent when International Red Cross observers—whose impartial humanitarian mission is recognized by world community—were recently denied entry into East Pakistan.

The Department of State's "Pakistan Working Group", created when the civil war broke out, has been disbanded now that the fighting has subsided. Apparently the danger of millions starving was not deemed an occasion for a "special effort" by this Government.

But something can be done.

The consortium of Governments giving economic aid to Pakistan are now in the process of meeting. They are being asked for considerable financial aid to bail Pakistan out of an acute foreign exchange crisis.

Joined by a bipartisan group of Senators, I yesterday wired Secretary Rogers to make clear that the United States will not meet that request, and will ask other donors to refuse likewise, unless, first, the Pakistan authorities undertake an emergency relief effort equal to the crisis in East Pakistan, and second, representatives of the International Red Cross are granted prompt entry to East Pakistan to plan a co-ordinated international food distribution and medical relief effort with Pakistani authorities.

I would hope the Secretary would also make clear the readiness of the U. S. Government to make available a generous share of emergency food aid and vehicles for distribution, including helicopters and transport aircraft to be loaned to Pakistani relief authorities or the International Red Cross.

Unbelievably, we seem on the verge of another Biafra—another combination of rationalized inaction and moral insensitivity which could cost millions of lives.

If America's claim to moral and humane values means anything, if the Government of Pakistan deserves to be recognized as the responsible authority in East Pakistan, the only course for both governments is the strongest humanitarian action now—before we watch the burial of another generation of babies.

I ask unanimously that a telegram to Secretary Rogers be printed in the RECORD.

MAY 4, 1971.

Hon. WILLIAM P, ROGERS.

U. S. Secretary of State, U. S. Interests Section, care of Spanish Embassy, Cairo United Arab Republic.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY : Tens of millions face starvation in East Pakistan without emergency efforts to restore full supply and distribution of food imports.

We urge you to instruct U. S. Rep. at Pakistan Consortium Talks to refuse further foreign exchange assistance, and ask other donors to refuse likewise, unless Government of Pakistan (1) mounts immediate emergency relief effort in east commensurate with potential need, and (2) grants ICRC observers entry to East to plan co-ordinated international food distribution and medical relief efforts with Pakistani authorities.

We recognize these are extraordinary actions but feel they are compelled by horrible prospects of millions starving in East Pakistan while governments have means to prevent it.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale, Clifford P. Case, Fred R. Harris, Thoms F. Eagleton, George McGovern, William Proxmire, Harold E. Hughes. Hubert H. Humphrey. Birch Bayh, and Edmund S. Muskie.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কংগ্রেস সদস্য ম্যাকেভিট-কে লিখিত স্যামেল পরিবারের চিঠি।	কংগ্রেস-এর কার্যবিবরণী	১২ মে, ১৯৭১

May, 12 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Extensions of Remarks* 4245

A LETTER WRITTEN BY AN AMERICAN FAMILY EVACUATED FROM EAST PAKISTAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 11, 1971

Mr. MCKEVITT. Mr. Speaker, among the Americans who were evacuated from East Pakistan were Mr. and Mrs Edward Sammel, of Denver. The Sammels and their five children arrived in Dacca, East Pakistan, last November where Mr Sammel was with the U.S. AID Mission.

I would like to share with the House a letter written by Mrs. Sammel which was published in the Denver Post on April 18 :

To The Denver Post :

You've no doubt heard the news that Americans were evacuated from East Pakistan......and we were among them.

Most of us have a deep concern and sympathy for the people of East Pakistan—the Bengalis—and for Bangladesh—their country.

We are also concerned that the United States hasn't issued a statement condemning the slaughter of unarmed civilians and the suppression of a democratically elected majority.

We have been witness to what amounts to genocide. The West Pakistan army used tanks, heavy artillery and machine guns on unarmed civilians killed 1,600 police while sleeping in their barracks (thus eliminating the only source of armed resistance), demolished the student dormitories at Dacca University and excavated a mass grave for the thousands of students ; they've systematically eliminated the intelligentsia of the country, wiped out entire villages—I could go on and on. It's hard to believe it happened.

The only way I can draw an analogy is to ask you to imagine that after the last election—after Nixon was elected—Johnson postponed the inauguration, went out for "talks" with Nixon in California, then during the next three weeks moved almost the entire army out there. Then in a lightning move arrested Nixon, outlawed the Republican party and eliminated the Republican party leaders. Then went on a killing and burning spree.

I'm spending my first days in Tehran in a frenzy of letter writing, asking people to write, wire or phone President Nixon and congressmen asking that the United States issue a statement.

Russia has, and although this seems hypocritical, they at least acknowledged it was happening. The United States has not, Perhaps our reluctence stems from our embarrassment at My Lai and Lieutenant Calley.....

MRS. EDWARD "PAT" SAMMEL.

TEHRAN, IRAN.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রতিনিধি পরিষদে ই, গালাঘের-এর বক্তৃতা ও উদ্ধৃতি।	কংগ্রেস কার্যবিবরণী	১৩ মে, ১৯৭১

E 4354 CONGRESSIONAL, RECORD —*Extensions cf Remarks* *May 13, 1971*

VULTURES TOO FULL TO FLY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 12, 1971

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to comment briefly on the situation in East Pakistan. or Bangladesh as the Bengalis and their supporters prefer it to be called. On May 11, my Foreign Affairs' Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs held a hearing on this matter. We were scheduled to meet May 13 to hear the witnesses from the Department of State and the Agency for International Development in executive session and professor Robert Dorfman of Harvard University in open session. Unfortunately, that day of hearing must now be postponed and it will be rescheduled as soon as possible.

Whatever the politics involved in this region. I firmly believe that one of the great human tragedies of modern times may be in the process of being created. As additional background material for the continuing debate over the American role and the role of the world community in mounting a humanitarian assistance program. I would like to call my colleagues attention to the testimony of Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY before my subcommittee yesterday, a position paper of the Ripon Society dated April 3, and a news dispatch from the Washington Star of May 12.

The phrase in the news dispatch about "vultures too full to fly" may be regarded as vulgar by many people unfamiliar with the history and the potential for tragedy in his region. However, it does graphically reflect the position of many who are intimately familiar with past events and with informed future predictions.

[From the Washington Evening Star. May 12, 1971]

VULTURES TOO FULL TO FLY—EAST PAKISTANI

CALAMITY DEFIES BELIEF

(By Mort Rosenblum)

DACCA, EAST PAKISTAN.—Vultures too full to fly perch along the Ganges River in grim contentment. They have fed on perhaps more than a half million bodies since March.

Civil war flamed through Pakistan's eastern wing on March 25, pushing the bankrupt nation to the edge of ruin. The killing and devastation defy belief.

From a well at Natore, fetid geses bubble up around bones and rotting flesh.

A tiny child gazes at a break in the lavender carpet of water hyacinths in a nearby pond where his parents bodies were dumped.

TOLL COULD BE MILLION

No one knows how many Bengali families the army machine gunned or how many migrant settlers Bengali sucessionists slashed to death. But estimates of the total dead start at six figures and range to over a million.

In the port city of Chittagong, a bloodsplattered doll lies in a heap of clothing and excrement in a jute mill recreation club where Bengalis butchered 180 women and children.

Along the road to the mill, entire blocks of Bengali homes and shops were blasted and burned to the ground by the revenging Pakistani army.

Reporters were banned from East Pakistan from March 26, when 40 newsmen were bundled out and stripped of their notes and film, until the government escorted in a party of six on a conducted tour may 6—11.

From visible evidence and eye-witnesses questioned out of official earshot the following account emerged :

Throughout March, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Bengali dominated Awami League harassed the military government with a non-cooperation campaign demanding autonomy and more benefits from West Pakistan.

Bengalis killed some West Pakistanis in flurries of chauvinism.

Mujib's party had won a majority in the National Assembly elections and he was Pakistan's major politcal figure. But negotiations in Dacca with President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan broke dean and Yahya flow back to West Pakistan March 25. That night the army roared out of its barracks, and East Pakistan was aflame.

PROFESSORS EXECUTED

Soldiers assaulted two dormitories at Dacca University where radical Bangali students made their headquarters. They used recoilless rifles, then automatic weapons and bayonets.

They broke into selected professors' and students' quarters They executed some 14 faculty members, at least one by mistake. Altogether, more than 200 students were killed.

Army units shelled and set fire to two newspaper offices, then set upon the Bengali population in general. More than a dozen markets were set afire, and at least 25 blocks were devastated in Dacca.

Hindu Bengali jewellery shops in the Shakari path quarter were blown apart. Two Hindu villages inside the Dacca race course were attacked with almost holy war fury by the Moslem troops.

Accounts, projected from body counts at mass graves indicate above 10,000 persons were shot to death or burned to death the first few nights in Dacca.

Official spokesmen contended that the army went into action to stop a rebellion planned for 3 o'clock the next morning. They insisted that the army killed no one but those who fired at the soldiers.

But other officers said the rebellion plot was only an assumption.

Eye-witnesses said at least hundreds of the victims were women and thousands were unarmed civilians gunned down indiscriminately.

"I took firm action to prevent heavy casualties later," said the martial law governor, Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan.

Dacca was brought under army control quickly, but word of the army action flashed through the province of 58,000 square miles and 75 million inhabitants, one of the world's most densely populated areas.

Thousands of Bengalis in the army, police, militia and border forces revolted. Under the banner of Bangladesh, the independent Bengali state, the deserters and armed volunteers fought back, seizing wide areas of the provinces before the 11,000 West Pakistani regulars could occupy them.

Bengali civilians and "liberation troops" began a mass slaughter of Mohajirs—Indian migrants from the 1947 partition—and West Pakistanis.

They raced through market places and settlements, stabbing, shooting and burning, sometimes stopping to rape and loot.

The army shelled towns and fired at anything that moved. The army action was far more brutal than anything seen in the Nigerian civil war.

Europeans likened the damage to that of the hardest hit theaters of World War II.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে সামরিক সাহায্য স্থগিতকরণ প্রশ্নে সিনেট পররাষ্ট্র সম্পর্ক কমিটির রিপোর্ট।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১৩ মে, ১৯৭১

SUSPENSION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN

MAY 13, 1971.

Mr. MANSFIELD (for Mr. FULBRIGHT), from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. Con. Res. 21]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res 21) calling for the suspension of military assistance to Pakistan, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with amendments and recommends that the concurrent resolution as amended do pass.

PURPOSE

The purpose of S. Con. Res. 21, as amended, is to express the sense of the Congress that all American military assistance and licenses for military sales to Pakistan should be suspended until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved and the distribution of relief supplies in that area is undertaken.

BACKGROUND

As a result of long standing differences between political factions in West and East Pakistan, the Pakistan army took control of Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan on March 25, 1971. Although all foreign news correspondents were expelled from East Pakistan, reports received from various sources indicated that the Pakistan army was engaged in indiscriminate killing of civilians with military equipment furnished by the United States. Publicly, at the outset at least, State Department spokesmen said they were unable to confirm that U.S. military equipment was being used to kill East Pakistanis. It was not until........ 1971, almost a month after the Pakistan army took control in East Pakistan that a letter was received from the Department ...... in response to a Committee inquiry stating that reports had been received indicating that ...... M-24 tanks and F-85 aircraft have been observed in use in East Pakistan in recent weeks." This was the first official communication on the subject which was received by the Committee on Foreign Relations. The correspondence referred to is reprinted in the appendix to this report.

U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

With very few exceptions, the types and amounts of military assistance which the United States has furnished to the Government of Pakistan are classified. Nevertheless, it can be said that prior to the war between India and Pakistan in 1965, American grant military aid to Pakistan, including military training for thousands of Pakistanis, amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars. As a result of the India-Pakistan conflict, in September 1965 the United States placed an embargo on further shipments of military equipment to both countries. Since that time, however, although the Communist Chinese have been the main source of arms supplies for Pakistan, the United States has also furnished certain military equipment to the Pakistanis. For example, in the letter dated April 23, referred to above, it is stated.

Since we terminated MAP grant assistance and suspended military sales to Pakistan and India in 1965, we have supplied no lethal end-items to Pakistan. After resuming a limited military sales program to both countries in 1966-67, we have sold to Pakistan, predominantly for cash, only non-lethal equipment and spare parts and ammunition for arms previously supplied by us. Non lethal items have included trainer and transport aircraft; transport equipment such as trucks and jeeps and communications, medical and engineering equipment. Ammunition in various calibres for weapons supplied prior to the embargo in 1965 has comprised less than 15 percent of the total sales program since 1966. We have continued to sell spare parts and ammunition in order to keep previouly supplied U. S. equipment operational, in the belief that to allow this equipment to become inoperative would compel Pakistan to purchase more expensive and modern replacements, diverting resources from economic development to defense and fueling an arms race in the Subcontinent.

The April 23 letter also states that in October 1970 the Administration announced a "one-time exception to our military supply policy to sell Pakistan a limited quantity of arms." As Senator Case pointed out when he introduced S Con. Res. 21, the equipment involved consists of armored personnel carriers, modified patrol aircraft, fighter planes (F-104's) and bombers (B-57's). None of these items have been delivered and nothing is in the pipeline. It should be noted, however, that although U. S. officials have suspended discussions on these sales, the officer to sell the equipment has not been resinded

INACCESSABLITY OF INFORMATION

Wafaturately because the State Department refused to furnish Certained devlopments the Commitee has had to rely on unofficial sources for information relating to developments in East Pakistan. In this connection, the Committee received a letter (dated April 9, 1971) written by Mr. Jon E. Rhode, an employee of the United States Public Health Service, which states in Part as follows :

পাকিস্তান সরকারী দলিল পত্র অধ্যায়ে দ্রষ্টব্য।

***As a result of complete press censorship and expulsion of journalists, banning of the major political party in Pakistan, and repressed information about the military campaign against the civilians of East Pakistan, it probably

has been difficult for you to obtain a clear picture of events since that date. From the outset of the army action, the American Consul General, Mr. Archer Blood, and his staff in Dacca have continued to send detailed factual accounts enumerating first hand reports of the situation. These reports have been carefully collected and verified before transmission to the State Department.

* * * * * * * *

The reports of the American Consul, Mr. Blood (available to Senators and Congressmen), contain a more detailed and complete account of the situation. In addition, he has submitted concrete proposals for constructive moves our government can make. While in no way suggesting that we interfere with Pakistan's internal affairs, Mr. Blood asserts, and we support him, that the U. S. must not continue to condone the military action with official silence. We also urge you read the Dacca official community's open cable to the State Department. It is for unlimited distribution and states the facts about the situation in East Pakistan. By not making a statement, the State Department supports the clearly immoral action of the West Pakistani army, navy and air force against the Bengali people.

In view of the foregoing, and contrary to the assumption of the correspondent, Mr. Rhode, that Senators and Congressmen had these reports, the Committee asked the Department of State to furnish it with reports it had received from its posts in West and East Pakistan, as well as the "open cable" sent by the official community of Dacca. The Department replied that it was unable to accede to the request "without departing from established practice." (The exchange of correspondence is appended to this report.) This refusal is contrary to past practice. There have been a number of occasions when classified reports and messages have been shown to Committee members in the past, especially when it has served the interests of the Department of State to do so.

In the Committee's view, if it does not have access to the type of information requested, it has no basis upon which to exercise independent judgment and therefore is not in a position to carry out its constitutional foreign policy responsibilities. This practice of the State Department in denying information has serious implications, not only for the Senate as a whole, but for the people the Members of that body were elected to represent. Accordingly, the Committee cannot acquire in this practice of denying infomnation to the Committee. In the absence of increased, cooperation in the future, the Committee will find it necessary to develop to appropriate measures to rectify the situation.

COMMITTEE ACTION

S. Con. Res. 21 was introduced by Senator Case (for himself, and Senators Bayh, McGovern. Mondale, Muskie and Saxbe), on April 15, 1971, and was referred to the Department of State for comment on April 21. Subsequently, the following Senators co-sponsored the resolution: Senators Brooke, Church, Eagleton, Hartke, Hatfield, Hughes, Javits, Kennedy, Pearson, Pell, Proxmire, Ribicoff, and Stevenson.

The resolution was discussed briefly during an executive session held on April 30, when Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Christopher Van Hollen and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense James Noye tesified on the situation in Pakistan. At that time, Mr. Van Hollen informed the Committee that the Executive Branch had not formulated a position on the resolution. The Committee met in executive session on May 6, and by a voice vote ordered S. Con. Res. 21 reported favorably to the Senate with amendments. Comments on the resolution were received from the Department of State Shortly before the Committee acted.

Distribution of Relief Supplies

The Committee added an amendment to S. Con. Res. 21 which is designed to encourage the Administration to take such measures as may be appropriate to expedite the distribution of relief supplies in East Pakistan. According to the Department of State, adequate food supplies are available. However, unles facilities and other channels of distribution are cleared, there is a potential danger that a serious food shortage could develop and result in a famine.

Executive Branch Position

The department of State is opposed to the enactment of S. Con. Res. 21. In a letter dated May 6, 1971, the Department points out that "Much has alredy been done * * * that parallels the basic concern expressed in the concurrent resolution." In addition, the Department states that it would appear desireable to continue to supply military items to Pakistan in order to "maintain a constructive bilateral political dialogue and to help ensure that Pakistan is not compelled to rely increasingly on other sources of supply." The State Department letter is incorporated in the appendix to this report.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 2 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, military assistance is authorized to be furnished to foreign countries for the purpose of strengthening the security of the United States and promoting world peace (Sec. 503). In addition Section (a) (1) (C) of the Act provides that "no defence articles shall be furnished to any country on a grant basis unless it shall be agreed that it will not * use or permit the use of such articles for purposes other than those for which furnished." Moreover, sub-section (d) of Section 505 provides as follows.

> (d) Any country which hereafter uses defense articles or defense services furnished such country under this Act, the mutual Securtiy Act of 1954, as amended, or any predecessor foreign assistance Act, in substantial violation of the provisions of this chapter or any agreements entered into pursuant to any of such Acts shall be immediately ineligible for further assistance.

One of the justifications for furnishing military assistance to Pakistan is to enable that country to combat the external threat of Communist aggression and to prevent internal Communist infiltration and subversion.

By no stretch of the imagination, however, was it intended that such assistance would be used for the purpose of suppressing freely elected representatives of the people and killing innocent civilians. In the words of Senator Mondale.

There is something very wrong when guns, tanks, and planes supplied by the United States are used against the very people they are supposed to protect.

In the Committee's view, the manner in which U. S. military equipment was used in East Pakistan is in "substantial violation" of Chapter 2 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and it recommends that the Senate approvod S. Con. Res. 21 without delay.

APPENDIX

April, 6, 971.

Hon. William P. Rogers,
Secretary of State,
Washigton, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: In view of disturbing reports from East Pakistan of seeming military excesses. I would appreciate receiving urgently a full account of the extent to which United States supplied Military grant assistance has been used in Pakistan.

I have particularly in mind the provisions of Chapter II, Part II, of the Foreign Assistance Act which define the purposes for which military assistance is granted to a country and the accountability of recipients for the use of such equipment.

In addition, I would like to know the current status of discussion with Pakistan concerning the proposed sale of military equipment to Pakistan by the United States. I would be helpful, if, in your reply you could also include the states of any current shipments of U. S. military parts, supplies or equipment, lethal or otherwise, to Pakistan.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Fulbright, *Chairman.*

April 23, 1971.

Hon. William P. Rogers,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr Secretary: In preparation fcr an executive hearing which the Committee on Foreign Relations expects to schedule next week, it is requested that the Department of State furnish the committee with those reports (including cables and telegrams) which it has received from Posts in West and East Pakistan regarding the current crisis in that country. In addition, I am informed that the official community of Dacca sent an open cable to the State Department earlier this month. It would be appreciated if this cable could also be made available to the committee.

I would be grateful if you could comply with these requests at the earliest practicable date.

Sincerly yours

J. W. Fulbright, *Chairman.*

Barrington, RI., April 15, 1971.

Senator J. W. Fulbright,
Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations,
U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Fulbright: As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relation of the Senate, I know you must be deeply concerned about the civil war that has been raging in East Pakistan since March 25th. My husband and I have recently returned to the United States after a five-week visit with my son who has been living in Dacca for the past three years. Although we left before the outbreak of hostilities, we were fully aware of the strained political relations that had developed following the elections of last December. We have just received a letter from my son, Jon, who was evacuated to Tehran, Iran along with many other Americans on April 7th. He has asked me to forward the attached letter to you as well as to other members of the Foreign Relations Committee. The letter speaks for itself, but I would like to quote one paragraph (page three) with which my husband and I are in complete agreement.

"Fully recognizing the inability of our Government to oppose actively or to intervene in this desperate oppression of the of the Bengalis, urge you to seek and support a condemnation by congress and the President of the United States of the inhuman treatment being accorded the 75 million people of East Pakistan. The silence of our government is being widely regarded as tacit approval of the action being taken by the Pakistan Military."

Sincerly yours,

Edgar F. Rohde.

AMERICAN EMBASSY

APO New York, N. Y., April 9, 1971.

Two days ago my wife and I were evacuated from Dacca, East Pakistan where I have been posted for the past three years under a U. S. AID program. I am certain that you are aware of the political events preceding the army crackdown on March 25th. As a result of complete press censorship and expulsion of journalists banning of the major political party in Pakistan, and repressed information about the military campaign against the civilians of East Pakistan, it probably has been difficult for you to obtain a clear picture of events since that date. From the outset of the army action the American Consul General Mr. Archer Blood, and his staff in Dacca have continued to send detailed factual accounts emumerating first hand reports of the situation. These reports have been carefully collected and verified before transmission to the State Department. Publicity the State Department claims they do not have enough facts : but I have seen the facts sent at length daily from Dhaka. The American Consul in Karachi also stated to me that only recently had he begun to receive the accounts about the situation in East Pakistan, when the Consulate in Dacca has been transmitting information from the start of the action.

Although Consul Blood's reports contain a more detailed account of the current situation, I wish to bring to your attention the observations I have made in the past weeks in Dacca. My wife and I watched from our roof the night of March 25th as tanks rolled out of the Cantonment illuminated by the flares and the red glow of fires as the city was shelled by artillery, and mortars were fired into overcrowded slums and bazaars. After two days of loud explosions and the ceaseless chatter of machine guns, we took advantage of a break in the curfew to drive through the city. Driving past streams of refugees, we saw burned out shacks of the families living by the rail-road tracks. A Bengali friend living close by had watched the army set fire to the hovels, and as the families ran out, he saw them shot "like dogs". He accepted our offer to take him and his family of 12 into our home. In the Old City of Dhaka, we walked through the remains of Nayer Bazaar. Where Moslem and Hindu woodcutters and worked, now only a tangle of iron sheet and smouldering ruins. The Hindu shopkeepers and craftsmen still alive in the bombed ruins of Shankari Bazaar begged me to help them only hours after the army had moved in to kill all the inhabitants. On the 29th of March at Ramna Kali Bari, an ancient Hindu village of 200—300 people in the center of the Dacca Ramna Race Course, we saw the stacks of machine-gunned, burning remains of man, women and children butchered in the early morning hours of the day. I photographed the scene hours later, although the following day three Britis citizens suspected of photographing a church were set against a wall after grilling by an Army officer and were saved from execution by the timely arrival of the British Consul.

At the Dacca University area on the 29th, we walked through Jagannath Hall and Iqbal Hall, two of the student dormitories, which had been shelled by army tanks and all residents were slaughtered. We saw the breach in the wall where the tank broke through, the mass grave in front

of the hall where one man who was forced by the army to help drag the bodies outside, counted 103 of the Hindu students buried there. We saw the massive holes in the walls of the dormitory, the smoking remains of the rooms, and the heavily blood stained floors.

The two ensuing weeks have documented the planned killing of much of the intellectual community, including a majority of the professors at Dacca University and many families of these professors were shoot as well Full documentation of the names of people killed is difficult due to the army's thorough search of people leaving Dacca. Complete censorship was facilitated when three prominent mass circulation daily newspapers were burned : *The people*, *The ittefaq*, and *the Sangbad.* While Radio Pakistan continued to broadcast that life had returned to normal, we witnessed the daily movement of thousands of civilians fleeing the terrorized city.

In Gulshan, one of the suburbs of Dacca where we lived, we witnessed the disarming of the East Pakistan Rifles stationed in the Children's Park across the street, the army looting the food supplies from the market nearby, and finally the execution of several EPR as they were forced by Punjabi soldiers onto a truck to be "taken away." The mass execution of several thousands of Bengali policemen and the EPR is already documented. We also witnessed from a neighbour's house, army personnel fire three shots accross Gulshan Lake at several little boys who were swimming. Almost every night there was sporadic gunfire near our home, adding to the fear of the 26 refugees staying with us

I would be possible for me to chronicle many specific atrocities, but we have left close friends behind whose lives might be more endangered. It is clear that the law of the jungle prevails in East Pakistan where the mass killing of unarmed civilians, the systematic elimination of the intelligentia, and the annihilation of the Hindu population is in progress.

The reports of the American Consul, Mr. Blood (available to Senators and Congressmen), contain a more detailed and complete account of the situation. In addition, he has submitted concrete proposals for constructive moves our government can make. While in no way suggesting that we interfere with Pakistants internal affairs. Mr. Blood asserts, and we support him, that the U.S. must not continue to condone the military action with official silence. We also urge you to read the Dacca official community's open cable to the State Department. It is for unlimited distribution and states the facts about the situation in East Pakistan. By not making a statement, the State Department supports the clearly immoral action of the West Pakistani army, navy and air force against the Bengali people.

Fully recogniging the inability of our government to oppose actively or to intervene in this oppression of the Bengalis. I urge you to seek and support a condemnation by Congress and the President of the United States of the inhuman treatment being accorded the 75 million people of East Pakistan. The silence of our government is being widely regarded as tacit approval of the action being taken by the Pakistan military. No political consideration can outweigh the importance of a humanitarian stand

reiterating the American brief in the value of individual lives and a democratic process of government. The action of President Yahya banning the democratically elected majority party who had 98% of the East Wing's electorate backing them, ought to arouse a response from a country who prides itself on the democratic process.

We urge you to speak out actively against the tragic massacre of civilians and take the humanitarian stand which must override any consideration of power politics.

JON E. ROHDE.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্র সাহায্য বন্ধের ব্যাপারে প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের প্রস্তাব-৩০৩	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	১৭ মে, ১৯৭১

92D CONGRESS 1st Session

H. CON. RES. 303

In The House of Representatives

May 17, 1971

Mr. Gross submitted the following concurrent resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the Congress of the United States deeply regrets the conflict that has occurred in East Pakistan ; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States opposes the use of American military material in East Pakistan : Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That—

(1) All American military and economic assistance to Pakistan should be suspended until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved and the distribution of relief supplies is undertaken.

(2) All licenses for military and other sales to Pakistan should be suspended until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved and the distribution of relief supplies is undertaken.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্র বন্ধের জন্য প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের প্রস্তাব-৩০৪	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	১৭ মে, ১৯৭১

92D CONGRESS 1st Session

H. CON. RES. 304

In The House of Representatives

May 17, 1971

Mr. Halpern (for himself, Mrs. Abzug, Mr. Badillo, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Burke of Massachusetts, Mr. Burton, Mr. Coughlin, Mr. Dellums Mr. Drinan, Mr. Gude, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Koch, Mr. Mikva, Mr. Mitcheill, Mr. Morse, Mr. Moss, Mr. Rangel, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Rosenthal, and Mr. Ryan) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the Congress of the United States deeply regrets the conflict that has occurred in East Pakistan; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States opposes the use of American military material in East Pakistan: Now, therefore, be it

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্র প্রেরণ অবশ্যই বন্ধ করতে হবে : সিনেটর চার্চ-এর বক্তৃতা।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১৮ মে, ১৯৭১

S 7128 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE May 18,1971

WE MUST STOP SENDING ARMS TO PAKISTAN

BLOODBATH IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. CHURCH, Mr. President, I speak today in supp ort of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21. What has taken place in East Pakistan since the night of March 25, 1971, when a bloodletting of untold proportions began, is hard to comprehend. We know that the Pakistan army, equipped mostly with American arms and led by U. S. trained officers, let loose a massive burst of violence on fellow Muslims. After the first week of the civil strife, the normally calm French newspaper, Le Monde, headlined events in Pakistan as "The Week of the Bloodbath." The Chicago Sun-times, afterrunning a series of eye-witness descriptions, labeled the affair. "The Pakistan Pogrom." And Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, the present martial law administrator of East Pakistan, admitted on May 6 that there had been "quite a lot of massacre" during the current conflict.

On-the-spot accounts reaching Washington on a continuing basis from Americans, Europeans, and subcontinentals have confirmed the charge that killings have been widespread and sadistic. Such an account came from Peggy Durdin in the New York Times. After an extensive stay in East Pakistan, she wrote on May 2 of the wholesale slaughter that had taken place in Dacca and other urban centres following the breadkdown of talks between Pakistan President Yahya Khan and Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the duly elected leader of the Awami League. This Bengali political party had just won an overwhelming mandate : One hundred and sixty-seven out of a possible 100 seats assigned to East Pakistan in the 313-seat National Assembly, on a Platfrom advocating greater political autonomy for the East, Mrs. Durdin observed that—

The freedom the Bengalis were determined to achieve and the concealona he vested interests of the West and Pakistan's military dictator-president were prepared to give finally culminated in one of the bloodiest slaughters of modern times, as Pakistan's armed forces moved with total ruthlessness to reassert Islamabad's authority.

As more and more facts are collected and analyzed, there is evidence to suggest not only that mass killings took place, but also that Bengali leadership groups may have been selected out by the central government for annihilation. Thousands of Bengali civilians—professors, elected leaders, businessmen, lawyers, engineers, politicians, civil servants, doctors, workers, students, farmers, women, children—together with many of the men who made up the East Pakistan Rifles and the Pakistan Border Security. Forces, plus local policemen, are said to have been exterminated. Reports T. J. S. George in the Far Eastern Economic Review :

Should East Pakistan be handed over to local political parties tomorrow, there simply will not be many leaders or intellectuals of the Awami League brand to take over responsibility. In one murderous week the army wrought a vacuum which it will take a generation or more to fill ....

U.S. INVOLVEMENT

Mr CHURCH. Mr President, what has been America's involvement in these startling events? When did it begin? How should it be altered?

For its savage crackdown on the Bengalis the Pakistan Army used imported guns, automatic weapons, mortars, artillery, trucks, armored personnel carriers, tanks, airplanes, and ammunition. The Officers in charge were men trained in the United States or Great Britain. Most of the ordnance and supplies came from the United States, acquired over the years through our lavish grants of military assistance and subsidized arms sale programs. The Bengalis, on the other hand, have literally used bows and arrows, knives, rocks, homemade bombs, and captured hand weapons to resist.

Starting in 1954, When Secretary of State John Foster Dulles negotiated a large arms agreement with Pakistan the U S Government developed a special relationship with the ruling feudal oligrachy of West Pakistan—the generals, the handful of landowning families who control 80 per cent of the wealth and the civil servant. We furnished immense quantities of arms, and more than $4 billion worth of economic and food assistance, the bulk of which was channeled into West Pakistan.

The military largesse, costing the United States nearly $2 billion in arms, was perenially justified to Congress and the American people as a shield to protect the Pakistanis —and the United States— against Communist aggression. Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO, in turn, the United States built a communications and air base complex at Peshewar to gather intelligence data from Central Asia, Far from containing the Russian bear or the Chinese dragon, however Pakistan has used its American-furnished military equipment firust against Indian in 1969 and now against the won people, Indeed, in 1969, Pakistan unabashedly closed down our electronic listening post at Peshawar in order to placate Russian and Chinese feelings. By all standards, then, our military assistance policy has proved a failure—but it has been kept alive by the persistence of our arms bureaucracy and the insistance of the Pakistan junta.

In Octover, 1970, the United States lifted its embargo on lethal arms to Pakistan that had been imposed after the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. When this policy turnabout was announced, I warned in the Senate, as I had in the early 1960's, against fueling the Pakinstan-Indian rivalry, that trouble and violence would be the end-product. "It could be," I said on October 14 of last year, "only a matter of time before recent history repeats itself and the United States is burned again." This has happened, but in another, unforeseen way.

When a policy goes sour but is not changed the results are sordid. New public information reveals this about the Pakistan case. In April, 1967, the United States altered its arms embargo to ease military transactions. We

permitted commercial sales of what could be termed "nonlethal end-items" and this was interpreted here and internationally as communications and transportation equipment. Now it has come to light that our sales to Pakistan were averaging 310 million per year and of that amount, the State Department confessed a month ago, £2.5 million went for ammunition. Our arms surveyors reasoned that ammunition, though lethal, was not an "end-item."

After hedging for more than a month, the State Department acknowledged on May 5, 1971, that the Pakistan Government was using U. S. supplied tanks and jet fighters in imposing military rule upon the majority of its population which lives in East Pakistan. In a recent letter that I have received from Dacca, an American observer writes that the success of the Pakistan Army to date in occupying key towns "is heavily related to the use of C- 130's to move" men and material. Before he and other foreign correspondents were expelled at gunpoint from East Pakistan. Selig S. Harrison of the Washington Post noted the disturbing fact that ;

The universal attitude expressed in Dacca by representative Bengalis from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman down to the street vendor is that the United States has willingly or otherwise made it possible for West Pakistan to ride roughshod over the East through its military assistance to the Punjabi-dominated army and an economic aid approach reflecting the bias of the largely West Pakistani bureaucracy.

In regard to our military involvement, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch concluded that "the United States must share the guilt in this atrocity." In sum, our military ties with Pakistan has implemented and made possible the carnage.....

CHANGING U. S. POLICY

Mr. CHURCH : Mr. President, how can we change the present course ?

The lessons learned here are obvious, or should be. First, we should admit that to take a truly "neutral position" in the civil conflict, we must stop favoring West Pakistan over the east with military weapons and economic aid. This process can begin by all cutting our arms arrangement as the Case-Mondale resolution proposes. We should stop pretending that Pakistan must be treated as an "ally" because of its SEATO and CENTO membership ; Pakistan's participation over the last 10 years has been no more than ritualistic. The fact of the matter is that, diplomatically, Pakistan has clasped hands with Peking. The Chinese currently are providing Islamabad with millions of dollars of arms. Including AK - 47 automatic rifles and Mig -17 aircraft, and have promised $20 million in grant aid.

Second, we should reject the Pakistani military government's contention that the slaughter of elected leaders and repression of the majority of its population in the east is not a proper matter of concern for the international community. Close to 3 million refugees are now in India. As the killing or threat of violence continues, there will be more. Victims of the fighting still in East Pakistan plus refugees need care ; the food crisis worsens ; disease and epidemics spread, even across borders into India. International action is essential in rehabilitating and reconstructing the devastated area of Bengal, one of the most densely populated regions of the world.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY : Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees has spoken on this subject.....

Mr. CHURCH : Then , too, the Pakistan Government, in constantly blaming India for its troubles, has internationalized the issue, thus aggravating the danger of spreading the war. A New York Times editorial on April 21 stated this danger well :

There is ample evidence to justify a strong plea by the world community for an immediate end to the bloodshed and for the admission of international relief agencies into East Pakistan.

The Pakistani Government itself has made this conflict an International issue by attempting to place the blame for Bengali resistance on neighbouring India. If deeprooted—and now profoundly aggravated—Bengali grievances are allowed to fester, mounting tensions between India and Pakistan could explode into a war that might quickly involve one or more of the major powers. The United Nations Security Council and its member states have not only the right but the responsibility to do all that is in their power to try to forestall such a development.

A particularly heavy burden of responsibility falls on the United States Government since Washington's arms provide the principal muscle of West Pakistan's military power and American economic aid will become increasingly cructed for the Pakistan Governments survival. Washington has the leverage to support democratic and peaceful development in Pakistan. Continued bilad backing for the military regime in Islamabad can only lead to disaster for this country's substantial interests on the Indian subcontinent.

Third, our military assistance program has exacerbated trouble some situations before. The pages of recent history are full of the well-known role American arms have played in fueling existing tensions between Greece and Turkey, Jourdan and Israel, Honduras and El Salvador, Iran and Iraq, India and Pakistan, Franch and Algeria, Portugal and its African colonies, to mentions a few. "Guns provided others." editorialized the Baltimore Sun, "will in all probability be discharged, but not necessarily discharged against the target of your prescriptions." This is the reiason Congress needs to alter drastically the export of American arms in the future. Certainly the Pakistan example is a flagrant case in point. I plan to offer such legislation later this year, in the hope that the United States will end its addiction to arsonel diplomacy, and stop pressing armaments on other nations through grants.

For, now, however, adoption of the pending resolution is a place to start.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রতিনিধি পরিষদ পররাষ্ট্র উপকমিটি কর্তৃক গৃহীত শুনানি : রবার্ট ডর্কম্যান -এর বিবৃতি।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদ পররাষ্ট্র উপকমিটির রিপোর্ট।	২৫ মে, ১৯৭১

CRISIS IN EAST PAKISTAN

TUESDAY, MAY 25,1971

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

SUBÇOMMITTEE ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS.

The subcommittee met at 3:20 p.m., in room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon, Cornelius E. Gallagher (Chairman of the sub-committee) presiding.

STATEMENT OF REPORT OF ROBBERT DORFMAN, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Mr. DORFMAN. Thank you for giving me an opportunity to come here. My remarks will concern a somewhat different matter from what I gather you have been hearing in the previous testimony, but there is a close and tragic connection.

Senator Kennedy and the others have already called your attention to the terrible problems of feeding and carring for the millions of refugees, both in Pakistan and in West Bengal. I have nothing to add to that, except my personal sympathy and concern. But the disaress of those millions of persons is just one aspect of the civil war that's now going on, and I want to devote my few minutes to America's role and attitude in that war.

Let me qualify myself. My name is Robert Dorfman. I am professor of economics at Harvard, a member of the Council of the American Economic Association, former President of the Institute of Management Sceinces, and so forth. I have published a number of books, and I have all the usual academic credentials. I have been concerned professionally with the economics of the less developed countries, including Pakistan, for the last dozen years. My interest began in 1960 when I had the honour of serving as a member of a panel appointed by President Kennedy to advice the Government of Pakistan about the serious problems in the Indus Basin. I flatter myself that this Presidential panel made a substantial contribution to reversing the down-ward course of agriculture in that region. We proposed a sensible plan for increasing the yields of irrigated agriculture, while arresting the ominos progress of envirmental decay, building on much excellent work

that the Pakistanis had already done. That plan, together with the introduction of high-yield Mexican wheat a few years later and with some essential economic reforms, laid the foundation for the so-called green revolution, which brought to communities where there had been only despair.

Subsequent to that work I retained my interest in Pakistan in various capacities, serving as a consultant for the Agency for International Development, the Development Advisory Service of Harvard University and most recently the Word Bank.

In order to dispel any suspicion that I am baised in the current conflict between East and West Pakistan. I should mention that virtually a my entire association with that country has been concentrated on the problems and development of West Pakistan. When I have occasion to criticize the policies that foster the economics of West Pakistan to the neglect of the problems of the East, I am criticizing mysel among others. I was a party, a small party, to those policies My attitude was typical of many others.

As an economist, I can speak to really only about the economic aspects of the curren crisis. But the economic aspects are peculiary important, as is indicated by the face that there of the six points in the program of the Awami League, which won a 10 to 1 majority in the recent elections in East Pakistan—half of their program as I said, is devoted to economic and fiscal reforms. The current crisis, then, is largely economic in its genoesis, economic in its objectives, and its resolution too will depend largely on economic factors I should like to address my remarks first to the economic circumstances that lie behind the uprising and then to the economic factors that will determine its outcome These latter factors are of a special concern to this subcommittee because unfortunately, they imply that the attitude and actions of the United States will have a significant and perhaps decisive effect on the struggle. So our country has an inescapable though unwelcome responsibility in the matter,. I believe also that our national interests are involved.

There are a few crucial facts I am anxious to put before you, mostly relating to the proverty of East Pakistan and to the problem of income disparity between Eask and West Pakistan. The proverty of East Pakistan is so appaling that may sound facetious. From an economic point of view East Pakistan is simply a mistake. There are more than 70 million people trying to wrest a living from about 22 million acres and very little else by way of natural resourses. That works out to about an acre and a half per farm family, which is approximately one half of 1 per cent of the average size of an American farm. On top of that they have the cyclones, the floods, and the droughts.

Last year's cyclone which killed at least 300,000 people and devastated hundreds of thousands of acres was only an especially bad instance of a periodic catastrophe. The floods are not as lethal, but are more crippling economically. In each annual monsoon, approximately one-third of the land area of East Pakistan is inundated and its crops lost or severely damaged. Between the monsoons, in much of the land there is not enough rain to grow crops without irrigation, for which facilities are lacking. Farm yields and incomes are as low as this recital of difficulties would lead you to expect, and this is particularly grim in a country where about 60 per cent of all income is derived from farming. The result is a *per capita* income of not much more than $45 a year which is a figure so far below our experience that it is meaningless.

West Pakistan is poor also. *Per capita* income there is about $ 75 a year, but low as that is, it is at least 60 per cent higher than *per capita* income in the east. This great gap between the levels of income in the two parts of the country —or better, the degrees of poverty—is one of the main, long-standing economic problems of Pakistan as well as the principal underlying cause of the current crisis. The stated official policy of Pakistan has been to annihilate this gap and to achieve income equality, but absolutely no progress has been made in executing this policy. On the contrary, the discrepancy has been growing. Over the last decade, total national income in West Pakistan rose by about 6 per cent per year while in East Pakistan income increased by only 4 per cent a year, most of which was eaten up by population growth.

One of the most bitterly contended issues in Pakistan is whether the official policy of eliminating the income disparity has been implemented sincerly. No one contests that the policy has been completely frustrated. There are instances and shreds of evidence on both sides of the debate and I cannot resolve it in the few moments available to me. The best indication, in my view, is the allocation of investment between East and West Pakistan, because public investment is directly controlled by the Government while private invesment is indirectly controlled by the systems of industrial licensing and foreign exchange allocation. Public investment in East Pakistan has never been as great as in West Pakistan, though 55 per cent of the people live in the East. In the past half-dozen years public investment in East Pakistan has climbed from about half of what it is in West Pakistan to approximately 90 per cent of the amount in the the West. Private investment is even more disproportionate; it is about three times as great in West Pakistan as in East Pakistan. So all together more than 60 per cent of investment occurs in West Pakistan where only 45 per cent of the people live.

This distribution of investment appeals to me as a strong indication that the day-to-day activities and programes of the Government have not implemented the announced policy of closing the income gap There are other indications too, as well as some contrary ones. At any rate, the East Pakistanis find the results disheartening and are convinced that the great preponderance of Government programs favour the West and at their expense, almost as if they were an ecomomic colony. I have to say that I per- sonally agree with them.

It should be mentioned in extenuation of the foregoing data that the bulk of promising investment opportunities, both public and private, are located in West Pakistan. The United States and other donor nations have tended to allocate their funds in accordance with the normally sound principle of supporting the projects which promised to contribute most to economic development. So West Pakistan received a disproportionate share of foreign aid. We rarely asked whose economic development the projects contributed to. But that is a critical question in a bifurcated country such as Pakistan since projects in one part of the country make virtually no contribution to the advancement of the other part. By following this normally sound principle, we have contributed to the economic deprivation of East Pakistan. We can see now that that policy was a grievous mistake and bears some of the responsibility for the current crisis—so much for history.

I mentioned in my opening paragraph that we cannot avoid heavy responsibility for the course and outcome of the current struggle. In principle, of course,

this is an internal Pakistani affair and the United States ought to try to avoid intervening, however we may feel about the rights and wrongs. The problem is that we are so heavily involved already in the economy of Pakistan that whatever we do in our efforts to maintain neutrality will affect the balance of forces to a significant degree. To make this clear, I have to digress from economics for a moment to summarize the current state of military affairs.

The pitched battles are now over for a while, and West Pakistan's tanks, planes, artillery and disciplined soldiers have won all of them. The troops now occupy Dacca, Chittagong and all the principal cities and towns, and all they now have to do is subjuguate the rest of the countryside where most of the people live. But we know that can be quite a task. It requires them to maintain an expeditionary force of upwards of 50,000 troopps at the end of a supply line 3, 000 miles long and they are already a poor country in deep financial difficulties. In the past year, their foreign exchange reserves have been drawn down from over $ 300 million to less than $ 170 million. Their annual foreign trade deficit, even without the expenses and disruptions of warfare, is $ over 500 million, so that their current reserves are less than a third of their annual requirements or scarcely an adequate working balance. In fact , at the moment it appears that Pakistan is desperately seeking a moratorium on its debt installments that fall due this month. This means that if the war is to go on for more than a few months and essential imports are to be procured, outsiders are going to have to provide the resources, and the United States is the principal traditional source of external funds for Pakistan. By and large, American grants and loans have amounted to about $ 250 million a year, not counting our contributions to IDA and UNDP. This covers about half of Pakistan's adverse balance of trade. Therefore, the continued flow of American grant and loans is the most important immediate objective in West Pakistans strategy, more important by far than any military operation.

So part of America's dilemma in this tragic moment is how to follow a neutral course, when continuing the flow of aid dispersements will provide indispensable support to the suppressive efforts of the Government of Pakistan, while discontinuing the flow will interrupt a traditional relationship on which the Government of Pakistan has come to rely . Since either policy is consequential we are involved inexorably no matter how earnestly we wish we could stand apart. Besides, our own national interests are engaged.

East Pakistan is in the comer of the Indian-subcontinent and what goes on there is of vital concern to Pakistan, India, mainland China, and Burma at least. It affects political alinements and the balance of power throughout South Asia. Our national interest in South Asia is principally to maintain peace and tranquility. I don't say that out of high-minded or of humanitarian motives. A protracted struggle in East Pakistan will engage the attentions of both India and Pakistan, will weaken both of them, will inflame their animosities to a dangerous degree, and will divert their energies from the peaceful solution of their political and economic problems. It will in short, endanger the stability of the whole subcontinent with consequences that cannot be foretold.

Second, the longer the struggle goes on the more likely it is that it will take a sinister as well as a tragic turn. At the moment, the movement toward autonomy in East Pakistan is led by a Western-educated, Western-oriented

middle-class. It is confined to a sectional struggle with only slight ideological overtones. But experience teaches that it is very hard for moderates with democratic aspirations to keep control of an inflammatory, hate-breeding struggle. In such struggles, the leadership tends to gravitate into the hands of extremist factions who feel no constraint against exploiting the hatreds that the struggle enganders. Such factions are already present in East Pakistan, notably certain elements of the National Awami Party and the "Naxalites", an illegal West Bengali party with Maoist connections. The danger that these elements will take control of the rebellion if it continues unresolved for very long is much more than 50-50. You can picture for yourself the implications of a Moaist-led rebellion in East Pakistan.

So America's overwhelming concern must be to restore peace in East Pakistan as promptly as possible. We cannot intervene nor should we even want to. But we have already seen that we are in a position in which we cannot avoid influencing the course of events. We should use our influence to work toward a compromise rather than military suppression We can do this by refusing to finance the military operations.

I do not believe that neutrality obliges us to make our funds and resources available for prosecuting an internal war, funds and resources that can be used properly only for fostering economic development and defending the country against external aggressors. We ought to make it perfectly clear that our policy is that no American funds should be diverted from development purposes to military purposes. To this end we should attach effective safeguards to all future American disbursements in order to assure that they will not be used directly or indirectly to further the war effort. In addition, of course, we should discontinue military assistance forthwith. Of course we should nonetheless stand ready to provide food and medical relief to East Pakistan, where the disruption is virtually certain to cause a famine of serious proportions. Such relief also should be safeguarded against diversion to military purposes.

Those are the objectives that I strongly recommend that we pursue. I have not thought through the ways and means for attaining them. They probably entail a virtual cessation of commodity and program aid to Pakistan and a substantial restriction of project aid. The crucial difficulty is that almost any commidities or funds that we might provide to Pakistan for development purposes can be used to meet requirements for military support that otherwise would have to be met by foreign exchange purchases. So, in effect, giving development aid in such forms is an indirect way to finance the war effort. Any substantial reduction in development support would have unfortunate consequences, but continued development aid would be largely fruitless anyhow until a political settlement is reached and attention can once more be concentrated on economic development.

I believe that if this policy is followed the Government of Pakistan will be under irresistable pressure to seek a political settlement, and one that will assure to East pakistan genuine equity in the pursuit of democracy and economic development. It would contribute to the stability of the entire continent, and be in everyone's interest.

I want to thank you for the opportunity to express my views

Mr. GALLAGHER. Thank you very much, Dr. Dorfman, for a splendid statement, and for coming here today.

What kind of a political settlement do you visualize would be acceptable to the Government and to the people in East Pakistan?

Mr. DORFMAN. I think that both contending parties will have to do very unwelcome things from their point of view, but I should think that the East Bengali could be persuaded to remain legally part of a united Pakistan, provided that they are given the substance of the demands of six points of the Awami League, and that the West Pakistani troops are withdrawn.

I think in West Pakistan the strains of continuing the conflict will be so severe that they could reconcile themselves to almost any settlement that leaves the East part of the country. The think they have to avoid is separation.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Do you feel that it is in the interest of both wings of Pakistan to have a political settlement and remain a viable nation?

Mr. DORFMAN. I don't know how long a political settlement would stick. The hatreds that have grown up are substantial The countries, of course, were widely separated geographically, culturally, ethnically, even by language previously, so that people have long been predicting that the union would fall apart sooner or later. How violently, I suppose no one anticipated . But I think under the circumstances, rather than have a fight to the finish now, they should try for a compromise and try to make it work

Mr. GALLAGHER. Do you see any possibility of it working, in view of your long experience?

Mr. DORFMAN. Yes I do, though it will require more good will on both sides than they have displayed so far. There is no conflict of interest. If the West were able to allow the East to follow an economic policy that was not in the West's favour but in the East's and if the other nations repented, as I am sure we do, of their excessive obsession with West Pakistan, I am sure they could stay together.

Mr. GALLAGHER. I note in your statement that "nevertheless we should stand ready to provide food and medical relief to East Pakistan." How do you feel the distribution should be made?

Mr. DORFMAN. In East Pakistan at present?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I mean should the Government of the United States make that distribution bilaterally into East Pakistan?

Mr. DORFMAN. I think we should not. Supervisory administration by the U.N. or the International Red Cross would be needed.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Wouldn't that be the only real effective way of doing it?

Mr. DORFMAN. That way, plus an informal recognition that relief supplies sent to the nearby regions of India are likely to leak across the border also. It is quite a long and open border.

Mr. GALLAHER. How would distribution be made, if we did it in that way?

Mr. DORFMAN. Very little information—

Mr. GALLAGHER. Is not one of the real problems now that the channels of distribution are disrupted?

Mr. DORFMAN. I believe the autonomous regime does have something like a government structure in large areas of the India border regions.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Do you think it would be feasible for the United States to deal with East Pakistan?

Mr. DORFMAN. Not officially.

Mr. GALLAGHER. But if we deal directly with them, would we not be doing the opposite of what you feel should happen in a political accommodation between both?

Mr. DORFMAN. I would not deal directly with them, no.

Mr. GALLAGHER. If there were a real separation, do you feel, with its limitations of resources that it would be economically possible for East Pakistan or Bangladesh to survived economically?

Mr. DORFMAN. I am engaged in studies of the economic future of East Pakistan right now. You must understand that their affiliation with West Pakistan has not helped make them a viable country in the past. On the contrary, they have been probably contributing capital to West Pakistan. So they would be better off than they are now. Whether they are viable or not is another matter.

In my testimony, I said they are a mistake, and in a sc ı e they are. How that country can support so many people is very hard to conceive. But separation in the form of either an autonomous economy or a legal separation would do no harm.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Bingham?

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You have actually covered most of the questions I had in mind. But I do have one other question.

You mentioned that if the unity is to continue, a political settlement had to be arrived at between East and West Pakistan; that West Pakistan should discontinue an economic policy in East pakistan that works in favour of West Pakistan and not in the interest of East Pakistan. Would you develop that a little further? What are the specific things that illustrate this point?

Mr. DORFMAN. One of the specific types of measure I mentioned in my prepared statement is the allocation of both public and private investment in Pakistan, which up to the present has been controlled in West Pakistan by the central government. That certainly should be decentralized so that a reasonable allocation of foreign resourses is made to East Pakistan and the administration is done by the Government of East Pakistan, either independently or as a component of the whole Pakistani Government.

The licensing procedures now are centralized 1,000 air miles and at the moment 3,000 air miles from East Pakistan. The structure of tariffs and subsidies which, again, , is part of the central government program, has been very heavily slanted in the direction of protecting local manufacturing, nearly all of which is concentrated in West Pakistan, and has required he East Pakistanis, in effect, to purchase from West Pakistan rather than from the outside world , a policy that we encountered in our own history before the War of Independence, when we had similar ties with the manufacturing in Great Britain, and with many of the same results, both economic and as to our feelings.

East Pakistan should probably be permitted to import what it needs from the outside world under the most favourable terms, whether it comes from West Pakistan or from Hong Kong or elsewhere. That would relieve them of a substantial burden.

There are a number of other detailed economic policies. The result seems to be something that is very hard to pin down exactly, because the West Pakistani Government is discreet enough not to publish all the figures you want. But it does appear that about $90 million a year has been transferred from the dreadfully poor East Pakistanis to the not-so-poor West Pakistanis as a result of these policies, a substantial drain.

Mr. BINGHAM. That certainly is a very striking statement. Without that element, I am not totally impressed with the statement by itself, that public investment has been disproportionate in West Pakistan over East Pakistan because that might have come from West Pakistan resources. If the investment comes from West Pakistan resources, then you can't criticize it too much if it is allocated in that proportion.

But if it comes from the transfer of capital resources, that is a very different matter. What is the nature of those .transfers? What resources are there in East Pakistan that are capable of being transferred? Is it tax moneys?

Mr. DORFMAN. Partly taxes, partly profits on this kind of trade that we have mentioned. Those are the two main machineries. And partly also some repatriation of profit from industries that are located in East Pakistan and owned in West Pakistan.

It is a very peculiar situation that most of the foreign exchange that Pakistan as a whole earns comes either from jute in raw form or jute in manufactured from. Both of those originate in East Pakistan rather than in West Pakistan, so that the poorer part of the country is also the larger foreign exchange earner. It is this transer of funds that has put the jute earnings at the disposal of West Pakistan.

Mr. BINGHAM. These factors, then, would tend to explain why the Government of Pakistan is so determined to hold on to East Pakistan; is that right?

Mr. DORFMAN. Partly, yes. And partly also, I think, it is the natural obligation of all governments not to see part of their provinces taken away. You know what Churchill said, and every responsible government leader feels the same way, not wanting to see the country dismembered.

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you.

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ভারতে বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থী : কেনেডীর বক্তৃতা ও চিঠি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২ জুন, ১৯৭১

June 2, 1971 S. 8001

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

PAKISTANI REFUGEES IN INDIA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the number of East Pakistan refugees in India is now over 4,000.000 --and the influx continues upward to 100,000 per day. Same 3,000,000 of these refugees are concentrated in the area of Calcutta in the State of West Bengal. The rest are found in other Indian areas bordering East Pakistan, with most of them in the west of Tripura—whose normal population of some 1,500,000, has been increased by at least one-third.

Some of the refugees are being welcomed into the homes of relatives. But the bulk of them are found in makeshift camps near the border, in public buildings such as schools, or in open fields. Reports indicate that some 70 per cent of the refugees are women and small children. Conditions among the refugees are grim. Their need for food, shelter, clothing, and medical care is great. And the prospect of their repatriation is not in sight.

The estimated cost of caring for these refugees varies with the source and the standards used.

The Indian Government puts the cost of feeding 4,000,000 refugees for 3 months at some $40,000,000 to $45,000,000- or some $78,000,000 to $92,000,000 for 6 months. This estimate is based on a daily diet of over 2,000 calories per refugee.

The world Food Program puts the cost at some $32,000,000 to $36,000,000 for 3 months—or $65,000,000 to $ 72,000,000 for 6 months. This estimate is based on a daily diet of over 1,600 calories per refugee.

Our own Government, using a daily diet of 1,600 calories per refugee, is estimating it will cost some $30 million to feed 4 million refugees for 3 months—and some $60 million for 6months. The State Department informs me that our own Government is prepared to carry up to 50 per cent of this estimated cost. To date, however, only $2.5 million has been allocated. In this connection, U.S. voluntary agencies—including CARE, Catholic Relief Services, and Church World Services/Lutheran World. Federation—are currently feeding some 280,500 refugees under aid authorization. Subject to the availability of food, however, these agencies have a capacity to feed some 1.5 million persons.

On April 23, the Government of India appealed to the United Nations for international humanitarian assistance. Today, nearly 6 weeks later, international relief operations are not underway—and, regrettably, in response to inquiries neither the United Nations nor our own Government is willing to say when these

operations will begin. Meanwhile, the Indian Government is doing what it can to meet the humanitarian needs of the refugess with the limited resources available and with the help of the private voluntary agencies.

Mr. President, it is clearer everyday that a massive human tragedy is developing, as a result of unrest and conflict in East Pakistan. How much longer will the world stand idle while the region plunges toward the brink of disaster? How much longer will the United Nations study the problem, when humanitarian needs are so clearly evident?

How much longer will our Government point with satisfaction to the meager efforts it is making and to an international relief program that so far remains on paper? How much longer will we temporize in responding to India's appeals for relief supplies, such as tents, and for logistical support, such as C-130's and helicopters—when massive stocks are available from U.S. sources throughout Southeast Asia?

And how much longer will the Government of Pakistan claim that conditions are "normal" in East Pakistan, when each day sees tens of thousands of its citizens fleeing across the border into India?

The alarming situation, Mr. President, has prompted me to write Secretary of States Rogres, to urge again that our Government view the plight of the people in East Pakistan and the refugees in India with deep compassion - and that, with a strong sense of urgency, we join with others in responding immediately to the requirements of peace and relief throughout the entire area I ask unanimous consent that the text of this letter, dated May 27, be made a part of my remarks at this point in the Record.

May 27, 1971

HON WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR, SECRETARY : Congressional and public concern continues over the situation in East Pakistan and the heavy flow or refugees into India. As you know, I share this concern, and since the early days of the tragedly I have strongly advocated and supported efforts by our government and others to ameliorate political tensions in the area and to initiate emergency relief operations under internaional auspices, preferably the United Nations.

The record indicates that little substantive progress has been made. The situation continues to deteriorate. Nearly all reports, including those to our government, tell of growing human need, sporadic military conflict, lack of government services, and deepening divisions between the central government and the people of East Pakistan. Political tensions between the governments of India and Pakistan escalate daily, and threatens the peace and stability of the area, and Great Power confrontation The flow of refugees into India reportedly continues at a rate approaching 100,000 persons a day The cumulative total already exceeds 3,500,000. India's appeal on April 23 for international humanitarian assistance has received only a token response, as individual governments and the United Nations stand immobilized in the face of great tragedy.

Steps are urgently needed on at least four fronts.

First, stronger efforts must be made by individual governments and the United Nations to encourage and facilitate political accommodations between the central Pakistan government and political forces within East Pakistan, so as to stop the low of refugees into India and facilitate the return of those who have already led the civil conflict.

Secondly, our government must place higher priority on urgently needed emer-ency relief operations within East Pakistan, as a condition for any normalization of general American economic assistance to the central government. In this onnection, our government should immediately respond to Pakistan's stated eed for food and medical supplies and water transport for the distribution of elief commodities by Pakistani authorities and international personnel.

Thirdly, immediate initiatives by our government and others must be taken rough appropriate diplomatic channels to ameliorate the escalating tensions etween Pakistan and India--tensions which threaten the peace and stability f the region and needless Great Power confrontation in South Asia.

And fourthly, our government must not stand idle because of the United lations continuing immobilization in responding substantially to India's appeal r international assistance on April 23rd. As of today, no United Nations relief peration is being implemented in India. Until this is done, our government ould respons to India's appeal on a bilateral basis. India has stated its quirements to meet human need, and our allocation of funds to an immobilized ternational organization, only aggrevates the immediate crisis of people conforn-ig the Indian government.

I am extremely hopeful that our government will view the plight of the people East Pakistan and the refugees in India with deep compassion, and, with a strong nse of urgency, will join with others in responding immediately to the require-ents of peace and relief throughout the entire area.

Sincerely,
EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Refugees.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শরণার্থী শিবির পরিদর্শনান্তে ই. গ্যালাঘের -এর বিবৃতি।	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি : প্রতিনিধি পরিষদ পররাষ্ট্র কমিটি	৯ জুন, ১৯৭১

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

June 9, 1971

FROM : CONGRESSMAN CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER (C. N. J.)
Chairman, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs
Committee on Foreign Affairs, U. S. House of Representatives

"ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN MUST REMAIN SUSPENDED," Gallagher SAYS ON HIS RETURN FROM EAST PAKISTAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN INDIA

"Any aid to the Government of Pakistan at this time would be subsidizing slaughter and spreading pestilence," Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher Chairman of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee said today. He had just returned from a tour of the East Pakistani refugee camps in India, which now contain 5 million people driven from their homes by the crisis in East Pakistan. Gallagher had held two days of hearings during May on the crisis and had spent two days touring the camps early in June.

"Two simple facts speak for themselves : (1) The sheer number of refugees is irrefutable evidence of the brutal policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan to crush the people who won the election; and (2) the increase of Hindu refugees within the last weeks discloses the undertaking of a 'holy war,' "Chairman Gallagher said "We must never forget that the leaders and supporters of the Awami League successfully worked within the system by gaining an absolute majority in the election for a Constitutional Assembly for both wings of Pakistan in the December election. Therefore, they should not now be regarded as secessionists or rebels, in the usual sense of those terms."

In a speech prepared for delivery on the Floor of the House, Gallagher told his colleagues of exemples of "indescribable horror—children with their arms ripped off" and told of the findings based on hundreds of personal interviews he had held with a cross section of the refugees. "They all told a common story: the attempted destruction of the intellectual life of the Bengali community by the killing of professors and students by the Army. This, in my judgment, gives credence to the charge of genocide. In addition, the majority of the refugees now pouring by the thousands into India are Hindus, who have been the innocent victims of a calculated reign of terror by the Army to inspire and inflame communal tensions."

"Based on my personal experiences in India and the evidence presented to my subcommittee, I believe American policy must not in any way subsidize the actions of the Government of Pakistan in East Pakistan. Our policy must now be to

insist on international relief efforts, closely supervised and rigidly inspected. Prior American aid—nearly $5 billion—has contributed to the unspeakable agonies in East Pakistan and any resumption of our aid to the Military Government would only subsidize slaughter and spread pestilence.

Gallagher said that the cholera epidemic, now sweeping through the camps and threatening Calcutta and India citizens, came from East Pakistan along with the refugees. He explained that hundreds of bodies of people killed in the communal violence and by the Army of Pakistan have fouled much of the drinking water inside East Pakistan. "India is now unwillingly a partner in this tragedy and the world community must assume some obligation to assist India in meeting this influx of refugees," Gallagher said.

"The argument has been advanced that we must continue our ordinary policies at this time because the crisis is an 'internal matter of Pakistan.' This overlooks the international implications of the refugees and it is a fact that internal Pakistan is divided. The boundaries of East and West Pakistan are not only physically some 1100 miles apart but their intellectual and cultural lives are worlds apart. Testimony before my Subcommittee revealed the economic exploitation and the unequal distribution of American aid. Now, we see American boats supplied last winter to ease the suffering during the hurricane and flood are presently being used to carry troops on murderous raids throughout the countryside."

Gallagher also pointed out that while the Army may be in control of large population centers—described in report from East Pakistan as being virtual "ghost towns"—the countryside of East Pakistan is ideal territory for insurgency. "Giving aid in any form now to the Military Government of Pakistan, thus assisting in its thwarting of the will of the majority in East Pakistan, would undoubtedly cause communist inspired groups to gain adherants. From what I have learned of the leadership of the Awami League, they are moderate, and they scored electoral success on a program of a fair share of economic resources and political power between the two wings of Pakistan. The military Government of Pakistan showed during its inadequate attempts to alleviate suffering caused by the flood and hurricane, and proved conclusively by its bloody policy of destruction after March 25, 1971, that they should not be permitted control over relief supplies. To allow American aid to be utilized by the intransigent Military Government would merely exacerbate passions and probably assure the end of any opportunity for people friendly to the West to exercise their electoral mandate."

Gallagher said that we must funnel our assistance through the United Nations and the World Bank. In addition, he called on a massive influx of money and supplies for India to meet the problems in the refugee camps, particularly in light of the cholera epidemic.

"Even in the best of times, life in the region of India surrounding East Pakistan is difficult. The coming of the monsoons, the five million refugees which is expanding every day, and the outbreak of the deraded cholera makes this not only the worst of times for that trouble-prone area; it may well make it the worst possible time for peace in the whole subcontinent. American policy must be neutrality in deed as well as world," "Chairman Gallagher concluded.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর চার্চ-এর বক্তৃতা ও বৈদেশিক সাহায্য বিধি সংক্রান্ত বিলে স্যাক্সবী চার্চ সংশোধনী ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১০ জুন, ১৯৭১

S 8836 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *June* 10, 1971.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971—AMENDMENT

Amendment No. 150.

Mr. SAXBE (for himself and Mr. CHURCH) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, joints to S. 1657, a bill to consolidate and to revise the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as amended, and other legislation relating to international security assistance and for other purposes, which was ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

AID TO PAKISTAN SUSPENDED

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague from Ohio (Mr. SAXBE) and myself submit today an amendment to the International Security bill, S. 1657, which would suspend U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan until food and medical relief, supervised by an international agency such as the United Nations, is instituted on the regular basis throughout East Bengal and the majority of Pakistani refugees now in India are repatriated.

The people of East Pakistan, larger in number than the whole population of West Pakistan, have been hard-hit by two calamities in less than a year—the cyclone-tidal wave disaster and a savage civil war in which an estimated half million have been killed, and millions more driven from their homes. Food, medical supplies, clothing, and other essential are desperately needed. A full-scale international relief operation is mandatory.

There are now close to 5 million Bengali refugees in neighbouring India, with approximately 40,000 more arriving each day. They economic and social disruption resulting from such a massive influx of people imposes an unbearable burden upon India itself. More dangerous to the outside world, however, is the serious threat the refugees pose to peace between India and Pakistan.

The creation of another refugee problem along the Indian border, like that which plagues the Middle East, would be alarming in its implications for the future.

Under these circumstances, the United States must apply such leverage as it can to alleviate this human tragedy through the implementation of essential international relief and the speedy repatriation of refugees. Such is the purpose of our amendment.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 10, 1971

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. SAXBE (for himself and Mr. CHURCH) to S. 1657, a bill to consolidate and revise the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and other legislation relating to international security assistance, and for other purposes, *viz.*: At the end of the bill add the following new section :

Sec. All military and economic assistance, and all sales of military equipment and weapons, whether for cash, credit, or any other means, to Pakistan, authorized or appropriated pursuant to this or any other Act, and all licenses for military sales, shall be immediately suspended and no commitments or expenditures, including the provision of debt relief, shall be undertaken or made, until distribution of food and other relief measures, supervised by international agencies, take place on a regular bais throughout East Pakistan and the majority of refugees in India are repatriated to East Pakistan : *Provided, however*. That these provisions shall not prohibit expenditures of previously appropriated funds pursuant to binding written agreements between the Government of Pakistan and the Agency for International Development in force on or prior to June 8, 1971.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তান সংকটের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে প্রতিনিধি পরিষদে ই, গালাঘের-এর বক্তৃতা ।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদেন কার্যবিবরণী	১০ জুন, ১৯৭১

JUNE 11, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Extensions of Remarks* E 5749

AN AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE PAKISTAN CRISIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 10, 1971

Hon'ble Cornelius E. Gallagher.—Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss the situation in East Pakistan generally and to report specifically on my recent trip to view the refugee camps in India.

Let me say that the situation is the worst I have seen abroad during my 12 years of service on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. My Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs held 2 days of hearings into the situation during May and I must confess that I had felt the reports of genocide, brutality, and unparalleled human misery were overstated.

I can now report to my colleagues that, if anything, these reports were understated. I do not believe I could be called a "bleeding heart" or a "professional dogooder," and I share the reluctance of many of my fellow House Members to embrace eagerly every cause which promises "instant celebrity" for its leaders and "instant humanitarianism", for its adherents. I have learned to distrust sweeping generalizations and to discount inflated rhetoric.

The crisis in East Pakistan, as disastrous and as horrifying as it is, is not a matter solely for the Government of the United States to solve. But neither is it solely an internal matter of Pakistan. It now threatens the peace of the Indian Subcontinent, provides a rich and fertile breeding ground for communist inspired movements, challenges whatever is good in human nature, and poses a dreadful moral choice for mankind.

However, a simplistic search for heroes and villains in creating the torrent of tragedy sweeping over the 75 million inhabitants of East Pakistan is doomed to failure. Much of my speech today will be critical of the actions undertaken by the army of Pakistan after its initial actions on the evening of March 25, 1971. But it is true that supporters of the Awami League promoted work stoppages earlier it cannot be denied that Bengalis themselves butchered members of other populations within East Pakistan : and the world community has not enabled itself by its response.

While I hesitate to repeat what I regard in other contexts as a mind-numbering cliche, in a very real sense we are all guilty of promoting the climate of unconcern and in acquiescing in policies which, given the crystal clarity of the vision of hindsight, led inexorably to the truly appalling situation now confronting East Pakistan, West Pakistan, and India. And the United Nations, the United States, and virtually every other nation in the world is either an active or reluctant partner.

Background

Let me try to briefly sketch the political background. East and West Pakistan are divided by some 1,100 miles of Indian territory and we now know that they are socially, intellectually, and spiritually worlds apart. The Awami Legue in East Pakistan was the clear winner in the elections held last December for a National Constituent Assembly to write the constitution which would provide for non-military rule. The Awami League captured 167 seats of the 169 contested in East Pakistan and this gave them an absolute majority of the seats contested in both wings. Candidates of the Awami League won at least 80 per cent of the popular vote in East Pakistan in an election which was run by the Military Government of Pakistan.

We must never forget that the leaders and supporters of the Awami League successfully worked within the system by gaining an absolute majority in both wings of Pakistan. Therefore, they should not now be regarded as secessionists or rebels in the usual sense of those terms.

Indeed, because of the victory of the Awami Legue, the leader of the league and a man who President Yahya once said was the next Premier of all of Pakistan, could have established a govenment immediately after the election in December. It is a fact he did not: it is a fact that he depended on the word of President Yahya to effect an orderly transfer of power; and it is a fact that he never spoke of secession, only of democratic autonomy within a loose federation of all of Pakistan. Perhaps the world will never know the exact reasons for the breakdown in the talks in which the Awami League placed such faith, but the facts just cited show that the leaders did not insist upon "Bangladesh" until after the army took its action.

Testimony before the Asian and Pacific Affairs by Dr. Robert Dorfman of Harvard University is very revealing about the economic background. He points out the disparities in resource allotment and in economic development between the two wings and he testifies, in a very graceful manner, to the widely shared but tragically short-sighted attitude that West Pakistan provided the most promising opportunities for investment, including American aid. East Pakistan came to regard itself as a colony of West Pakistan, further exacerbating tensions.

Actions of Unprecedented violence

Spokesmen for the Central Government of Pakistan claim that the army sweep of March 25 was necessary to restore law and order and that it was a quick, clean, almost surgical incision. They claim that all that remains now is for the East to again return to its normal place in a united Pakistan.

Two simple facts speak powerfully against that argument First, the sheer number of refugees is irrefutable evidence of the brutal policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan to crush the people who won the election; and second, the sharp increase in Hindu refugees in the past weeks shows the undertaking of a "Holy War". There are now some 5 million refugees in India with thousands more crossing the border each day. Based on interviews I conducted with a cross-section of the refugees. I now believe that a calculated attempt to crush the intellectual life of the Bengali community occurred because of mass killings of professors, students and everyone of any distinction by the Army. This, in my judgment, gives credence to the charge of genocide.

In addition, the sudden emergence of a majority of Hindu refugees has resulted from a calculated reign of terror by the army to inspire and inflame communal tensions. These tensions naturally existed, because the 10 million Hindus in East Pakistan were a small minority and it would be foolish to contend that Bengalis took no action themselves against non-Bengalis in the region. However, I believe that the long stored passions were ignited by the thwarting of the will of the people and as terrible as the stores of Bengali violence may be, they cannot be used to justify any action of the central government.

An Internal Matter of Mankind

The argument has been advanced that the world community cannot and should not take action to alleviate the suffering, because it is an internal matter of Pakistan.

At the risk of repetitiveness, let me again refer to the refugees. The latest reports from Indian sources, the only sources who can really speak with any authority, the figure has now reached at least 5 million. It cannot be argued that a policy which generates sufficient terror to cause 5 million people to flee into a neighbouring country is strictly an internal matter. It is semantic nonsense to call a policy internal only which continues to create refugees at the figure of some 100,000 a day. It cannotibe argued that the incredible strain this situation puts on India is not the legitimate concern of the world.

Quite obviously, Mr. Speaker, the situation in East Pakistan is not an internal matter of Pakistan.

In addition, let me quote the testimony of Senator Edward Kennedy before the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee on May 11. We had asked Senator Kennedy to appear, because of the outstanding work being done by his Subcommittee on Refugees of the[Senate Committee on the judiciary in describing the impact of policy on people and in disclosing the humanitarian demands of people living in areas where wars have been conducted. The Senator testified:

In the name of neutrality, some in our government say we must not be involved in East Pakistan today. But we are involved. Our weapons have been involved in the violence. Our aid has contributed to West Pakistan's development for more than a decade. And today our government, at the highest level, is involved in discussions for even more aid. So we are involved

Since the Senator's statement the conflict has spilled over the borders of East Pakistan into India by the 5 million refugees now there. Testimony before my Subcommittee revealed that American aid had assisted in the economic exploitation of the West by the East. Our aid—some $ 5 billion--has contributed to the unspeakable agonies now occurring in the region.

For example, American boats supplied last winter to bring relief supplies to the victims of the hurricane and flood, are presently being used to carry troops on murderous raids throughout the countryside.

I contend that these and many other facts demolish the concept that it is solely an internal matter of Pakistan. Rather, it has now become an internal matter for mankind, and the world community must not retreat behind queasy legalisms.

All American Aid to the Military Government must stop

Mr. Speaker, in light of the dimensions of the tragedy, it may appear heartless and cruel to insist on no more American aid to the military government. Many informed and concerned people are fully aware of the unspeakable agonies in East Pakistan and their natural response is to continue and expand economic aid to the central government. It is, after all, still the legal government of sovereign nation and while it is understandable to castigate that favorite whipping boy by calling for a continued and absolute suspension of military aid, economic aid and even food assistance is not seen in the same light.

But the war being waged in the East is costing the central government some $ 2 million a day. They do not have adequate foreign reserves even in the best of times and, therefore, economic aid from America or from the World Bank is essential for the continuation of the slaughter. General Yahya has been making some conciliatory statements recently and I understand he is inviting the United Nations to assist. However, we must be neutral in deed as well as in word and we cannot finance or subsidize the action of the military in East Pakistan. American aid, according to Professor Dorfman's informed testimony before my subcommittee, is a prerequisite for any continuation of military activity. It must, therefore, stop and remain stopped until independent outside observers confirm a change in policy by the central government. This has, as yet, not occurred.

Cholera epidemic spreading

The cholera epidemic now sweeping through the Indian refugee camps came to India along with the refugees. The bodies of thousands of people killed in the violence were thrown into rivers and thus fouled much of the drinking water and created cholera.

And now that dreaded disease is spreading even to the native Indian population living near the refugee camps. Quite understandably, but very horribly. Indian natives are becoming fearful of the refugees. I refer to a report in the Washington Star of June 8, 1971. It says, in part :

"India's West Bengal State is short of police because so many are guarding the rivers to keep the bodies of cholera victims from being thrown in."

The Star report from Krishnanagar, India, continues with these omnious paragraphs :

Rumours spread daily that Pakistani agents from across the border 20 miles away are emptying bottles of cholera germs into local water supplies to make the epidemic spread faster.

A crowd of 500 persons beat a Moslem to death yesterday at the Krishnanagar railway station after a report that he had emptied a small bottle into a roadside well.

Mr. Speaker, I doubt if those rumours are true, but the point is that they exist and are undoubtedly believed on the scene. It is, however, an undeniable fact that cholera is increasing and so we must not only help to combat the disease, but we must do all we can to pacify the source of the disease and allow the refugees to return to their homes.

This, of course, cannot be done unilaterally by the United States, but it is further evidence against the resumption of any form of American aid to the Government of Pakistan. Rather than diminishing, the numbers of refugees are increasing, offering a powerful counter-argument to claims that the situation in East Pakistan is returning to normal.

Further, it must be recognized that the size of the cholera epidemic inside East Pakistan must be immense. I believe we are only seeing the tip of the iceberg when we see the cholera in India.

The worst may be yet to come

But East Pakistan simply must return to some stability or else the worst is yet to come. I speak of the distinct possibility of famine, a famine unimagined in modern times. Should the flow of refugees continue, it will be extremely expensive for the world community to feed them. For not only must food be provided, but also housing, jobs, sanitary facilities, and some basic amenities.

However, if food could be gotten to the people inside East Pakistan, relief efforts would not be as expensive. That is, unfortunately, a very real consideration and, in my judgment, is yet another reason for mounting an extensive effort controlled by international agencies.

The specter of famine and the death of as many as 30 million people from starvation hangs heavy over the region and virtually compels the prompt resumption of normal life in East Pakistan.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, we must consider what the political climate inside East Pakistan would be if the normal flow of life does not return. Obviously, the army is now in control of the population centres—described in reports from East Pakistan as being virtual "ghost towns"—but the countryside is ideal territory for insurgency. Any sort of aid in any form now to the military government of Pakistan would be seen as assisting it in its thwarting of the will of the majority in East Pakistan. This would undoubtedly cause Communist inspired groups already existing in East Pakistan to gain adherents.

From what I have learned of the leadership of the Awami League, it is moderate, and they scored electoral success on a program of gaining a fair share of economic resources and political power. They made democracy work.

The military government of Pakistan showed during its inadequate attempts to alleviate suffering caused by the flood and cyclone, and proved conclusively by its bloody policy of destruction after March 25, 1971, that it is not to be trusted with control over relief supplies.

To allow American aid to be utilized by the still intransigent military government would merely exacerbate passions and probably assure the end of any opportunity for people who cherish democracy and who are friendly to the free countries of the world to exercise their electoral mandate.

Indian response has been magnificent

Mr. Speaker, the response of the Indian Government to the crisis created by the actions of the Government of Pakistan has been magnificent. They have demonstrated almost unbelievable restraint in view of the provocative effects

of the army's brutal sweep and they have shown inspiring compassion to the refugees. If it can ever be said that any government is truly moral and humanitarian, the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has earned that distinction in the weeks since the first refugee crossed her border.

But India obviously cannot continue to accept 100,000 refugees each day. The regions of India surrounding East Pakistan, particularly West Bengal, are not richly endowed with resources or with wealth. The indigenous Indians have little to call their own and, while they have shared what little they have with some of the refugees, it cannot be expected that any human being would not begin to resent massive waves of foreigners. Coupled with the fact that there are no jobs for the refugees, we also now understand that cholera is being brought in by those forced to flee East Pakistan. I have learned that for the past several days there has been a 5-mile-long line of refugees waiting to cross the border.

Of course, the United States is correct to radically increase its aid to these refugees but even the recently announced $ 15 million will only feed these people for 3 or 4 days. To avoid a wholly understandable reaction by India to these incredible facts, the situation must return to normal inside East Pakistan as soon as possible.

What is really happening inside East Pakistan

Mr. Speaker. I have tried to indicate what must be occurring inside East Pakistan today. One hread ran through the hundreds of interviews I held with all types of refugees—rich, poor, educated, ignorant, healhy, mutilated. The common story was something like this :

The "peace committee" came, they poured petrol on our homes, and when we ran out they robbed us of our valuables and, if we resisted further, we were shot by the Punjabi soldiers.

What is the "Peace Committee"? Apparently, these are bands of local hoodlums which are sent by the army as an advance guard to burn and loot. The Government of Pakistan has said it was necessary to take action against "miscreants," yet it seems that the army is encouraging the worst elements in each community to be shock troops.

Arguing further against the stated resumption of normal life in East Pakistan is the fact that the new wave of refugees is almost entirely Hindus. Here again we find it difficult to avoid using the term "genocide," for once the army established what it has told the world is "law and order" it then selected the Hindus for extinction or for expulsion.

When one speaks of the eventual normalization of East Pakistan, I trust we do not intend to be deluded by the facade of a "Quisling" government. A government established must truly represent the people of the region and must be responsive to their wishes. The Awami League is now outlawed, and one can only urge the Government of Pakistan to allow that duly elected party to take its electorally mandated control.

Frankly, Mr. Speaker, it does not appear within the range of rational hope that a reversal of the bloody policies of the past months will occur. As a brief example of the cast of mind of the army, consider Martial Law 148—the text of which appeared in the pro-government newspaper, Pakistan Observer, of April 27. A brief excerpt follows :

MLO 148. Death Penalty for damage to Government Property.

1. Any person or groups of persons causing damage, tampering with or interfering with working of the roads, railways, canals, aerodromes, telegraph, telephone, wireless installations or with any government property will be liable to legal action under MLR-1414, which prescribes the maximum punishment of death.

2. Inhabitants of the surrounding area of all or any such affected place or places will render themselves liable to punitive action collectively....

Mr. Speaker, such collective responsibility for actions against the government troops is all too reminiscent of similar tragedies in Europe. It is hard not to say that the Government of Pakistan has tried to create a desert so they can call it peace.

Is it any wonder that he control over the distribution of food in East Pakistan must also be severely questioned and in my judgment, must be done exclusively by international agencies? The calculated reign of terror destroyed the civil government inside East Pakistan and it is unlikely that the army could, or would, distribute food on an equitable basis. Indeed, there is considerable coubt in my mind wheher he terrorized populace inside East Pakistan would accept food if it were offered by the army. After the devastating flood and cyclone last November, there were reports that Bengalis would not take relief from the army. A recent private report, dated May 24, 1971, contains this quote by a Bengali.

Please do not have your country send any aid to this country, not even food. The food will only go to the Army and prolong our agony.

Based on the interviews I had with the refugees and he discussions I have had here in America with people familiar with East Pakistan, I am very afraid that that attitude is widely shared by the people of East Pakistan.

Conclusion

Mr. Speaker, the nations of the worls must make a great esort to avert other great tragedies from being pied on top of the flood and cyclone and the barbarity which has already occurred in East Pakistan. I am convinced that all of our aid should be through international agencies and that we must do nothing at this point to provide economic assistance to the Government of West Pakistan. There are now reports that West Pakistan is feeling the effect of its barbarous policy in the East wing and if we were to alleviate the problems in the West we would intensify the problems in the East. It is as simple, and as complex, as that.

I will introduce legislation to put those principles into policy. At this point, however, I would implore those in our Government who have the responsibility

to shape our response not to yield to ordinary solutions which will, in my judgment, have extraordinarily disastrous results. I would urge that every single dollar which could now go to the Government of Pakistan be diverted to international agencies. I would urge the people of the world to insist that their government do the same. Any other course, in my judgment, would subsidize slaughter and spread pestilence.

This may well be an ultimate testing ground for world responsibility, humane belief, and international effectiveness in dealing with crisis. I hope and pray that we can, collectively, have an enobling action rather than one which could only debase us as fellow members of mankind's fragile community.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'পাকিস্তানে সর্ব প্রকার মার্কিন সাহায্য বন্ধ করতে হবে : ই. গালাঘের-এর বক্তৃতা ও প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের বৈদেশিক সাহায্য বিধি-১৯৬১ সংশোধনী বিল।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	১৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

E 6122 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Extensions of Remarks*

June 17, 1971

ALL AMERICAN AID TO PAKISTAN MUST CEASE

In the House of Representatives

Mr. Gallagher. Mr. Speaker, the Government Pakistan has created a situation of unparalled tragedy in East Pakistan by its military actions undertaken on March 25, 1971, and, according to all eye-witness reports, continuing to this day. The flood of refugees forced to flee to India—now some 5.7 million—is irrefutable proof of these actions, as I saw when I inspected refugee camps early in June.

It should not be forgotten that the leaders and supporters of the Awami League won the election in December. They won 167 of the 169 seats contested in East Pakistan, an absolute majority in the full country in an election everyone concedes was fair.

The sheer number of refugees threatens the stability of India, poses a threat to peace on the subcontinent and, in my opinion, compels a formal change in U. S. policy. If we assist the Government of Pakistan in any way in its effort to thwart the will of the majority, Communist-inspired grop's may well replace the moderate leaders who won the election.

I believe the United States must suspend all military, economic, and food assistance to the Government of Pakistan. According to all reports, the Army has flagrantly misused American aid in the past : for example, boats provided to alleviate the suffering caused by the flood and cyclone in November are now being used to transport troops on their raids throughout the countryside of East Pakistan. There is considerable doubt in my mind whether the populace in the East wing can recover sufficiently from its long-term distrust and recently created fear of the Army to accept aid administered solely by the military forces. According to testimony before my subcommittee, American and World Bank economic aid is all that keeps Pakistan form bankrutpcy and it certainly allows the Army to finance its adventures in the East—now costing some $2 million each day.

Mr. Speaker, this afternoon I had the distinct pleasure of hearing speech at the National Press Club by the Foreign Minister of India the honorable Sardar Swaran Singh. He spoke elequently and persuasbly on the

probles created for his government by the military adventures of the Government of Pakistan in East Pakistan and he stated many reasons which, in my judgment, argue for the adaptation of the House of my amendment to the Foreign Assistance, Act of 1961.

My amendment, introduced in bill form on Tuesday, June 15, as H. R. 9160 would suspend all aid to the Government of Pakistan until international inspection teams have ascertained that Pakistan is co-operating in allowing the situation to return to reasonable stability in East Pakistan and that, as far as feasible, refugees are being allowed to return form India to reclaim their lands and properties.

In the **Congressional Record** of June 11 on page E5749 I discussed the many remifications to world peace this situation poses. I spoke of the incredible flow of refugees and I would now like to report to my colleagues the most recent figures. The total number as of June 12 was 5, 765,000, comprising 3,067,000 males and 2,698,000 females. This includes 907,000—children under 8 years of age. During April, immediately after the brutal actions of the Army inside East Pakistan, 56,000 each day came into India. During May and until the 5th of June the figure rose to 100,000 each day. Finally, from the 6th to the 12th of June the figure was 124,000 each day.

Any policy which generates this number of refugees--a number which is increasing rather than diminishing-- must be the concern of all mankind. Aside from the obvious human misery which has been so compellingly documented in many photographs and descriptions in our press, it is also irrefutable evidence that the situation inside East Pakistan has not returned to normal. I think that H. R. 9160 would strengthen the hand of this administration in its desire to see stability returned to the area, for it would insist that all aid be channeled through international agencies and that our tax dollars would no longer contribute to the agonies and the clear threat to peace.

The Government of Pakistan must be madeto fully and honestly co-operate in a normalization process. H. R. 9160 would suspend our bilateral aid and would make a powerful statement to the nations of the world that the idealism and the sincere desire of America to be truly humanitarian has not vanished. I urge my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring my bill when I reintroduce it early next week.....

H. R. 9160

A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to suspend all assistance to the Government of Pakistan

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That section 620 of chapter 2 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to prohibitions against furnishing assistance is amended by adding at the end there of the following new subsection :

"(V)(l) All military, economic, or other assistance to the Government of Pakistan, all sales of military equipment, and all sales of agricultural commodities (whether for cash, credit, or by other means), under this or any other Act, shall be suspended on the date of enactment of this subsection.

"(2) The President shall take measures as may be necessary to assure that no military equipment provided by the United States to any other country shall be transferred to the Government of Pakistan. If the President determines that any such transfer has been made after the date of enactment of this subsection, he shall suspend all assistance under this or any other Act to the country making the transfer and shall suspend all sales of military equipment under the Foreign Military Sales Act to such country.

"(3) The provisions of this subsection shall cease to apply when the President reports to the Congress that international inspection teams have ascertaineod that the Government of Pakistan is cooperating fully in a'lowing the situation in East Pakistan to return to reasonalbe stability and that refugees from East Pakistan in India have been allowed, to the extent feasible, to return to their homes and to reclaim their lands and properties.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর কেনেডী কর্তৃক আমেরিকার পাকিস্তান নীতির সমালোচনা।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২২ জুন, ১৯৭১

S9640 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *June* 22, 1971

U.S. POLICY TOWARD PAKISTAN

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the American people and Congress have been misled again—this time on the question of U.S. policy toward Pakistan.

Since very early in April, I have been assured repeatedly—in private conversations and official correspondence—that our Government was not supplying arms to Pakistan. I know that other Senators have had similar assurances. In a letter to me on April 20, for example, the State Department said :

Since we placed an ovarall embargo on map assistance to Pakistan in 1965, we have supplied no lethal end items of military equipment to Pakistan. Last October we announced a one-time exception to sell to Pakistan a limited quantity of lethal arms. Nothing has been delivered following this decision nor is anything in the pipeline under this decision. Technical talks on this subject have not been held during the past 6 weeks. The matter is being kept under review.

In addition, we have a modest program of cash and credit sales to Pakistan of non-lethal military end-items as well as some spare parts and ammunition. We have been informed by the Department of Defence that none of these items has been provided to the Pakistan Government or its agencies since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25-26, and nothing is presently scheduled for such delivery.

Now we learn from press reports, Mr. President, that a Pakistani ship the *Padma*, sailed last night from New York to Karachi with American military supplies sold to Pakistan under the Foreign Military Sales Act. Apparently this is not the first violation of officially stated policy, and according to some sources, it is not to be the last.

Whether it is double talk, incompetence or both, the shipment of U.S. arms to Pakistan is a violation of policy. And even worse, it will continue to fuel military actions which have already been the primary cause of over 6 million refugees and countless civilian dead. Last Friday, I expressed, again, my dismay over our Government's silence and apparent indifference over the actions of the heavily American supplied Pakistan Army toward the people of East Bengal. Today we find it is not just silence and indifference, but a degree of complicity, which is unconscionable.

But saddest of all, Mr. President, is the fact that our great Nation is more efficient in moving military hardware than in arranging humanitarian relief. A ship left last night laden with military goods for Pakistan while very urgently needed relief operations—in both East Pakistan and India—lie in a morass of procrastination and redtape.

When will we begin to attach the same degree of priority—the same sense of ungency—in moving food to aid the victims of war that we apparently attach to the guns that create those victims?

And, more importantly, when will we begin to attach priority to concerted diplomatic initiatives to restrain the forces that generate conflict resulting in such massive human tragedy?

Mr. President, if Congress can no longer believe the word of the executive branch—if their promises and assurances are so easily violated by their own actions—then we must reluctantly conclude that Congress must write those promises and assurances into law, which cannot be so easily violated.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে মার্কিন অস্ত্র সাহায্য : সিনেটর ফ্র্যাংক চার্চ-এর বক্তৃতা ও প্রাসংগিক দলিল উদ্ধৃতি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২২ জুন, ১৯৭১

June 22, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S9724

ARMS TO PAKISTAN : a report from frank church

[On April 23, 1971—at the height of the fighting between Pakistani government troops from West Pakistan and Bengali citizens of East Pakistan seeking autonomy —the State Department advised the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that as official policy, the United States had halted shipments of military items to Pakistan. The State Department said, "*we have been informed by the Department of Defence that no military items have been provided to the Government of Pakistan or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan on March 25 and nothing is now scheduled for such delivery.*"

On June 22, Senator Frank Church revealed in the United States that such shipments have, in fact, taken place, despite official U.S. policy. Church submitted copies of Bills of Landing and official deck receipts to show that military items were shipped aboard the Pakistani ships *Sunderbans* and *Padma*, which sailed from New York Harbor on May 8 and June 22, respectively.

Reprinted below, from the Congressional Record on June 22, is the text of the Senator's remarks in the Senate, together with supporting documents.]

ARMS TO PAKISTAN REVEALED

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in the New York Times this morning, there is a disturbing report that U.S. military equipment is being shipped to Pakistan in violation of the administration's officially proclaimed ban on such shipments.

I have seen the bills of lading and Air Force delivery listings covering these shipments, and I can personally affirm the accuracy of the Times article.

I have today called upon the President of the United States to direct appropriate U.S. agencies and officials to take prompt action to halt this shipment of military items which still remain within our reach by intercepting and removing them. The Pakistani ship *Padma* left New York harbour this afternoon and is due, I am informed, to dock in Montreal tomorrow.

If the Coast Guard is unable to intercept the *Padma* in American waters, then we should solicit the co-operation of the Canadian Government in recovering these forbidden shipments.

The seriousness of the disclosures by Mr. Tad Szulc of the New York Times cannot be over emphasized. These shipments of arms to the Government of Pakistan are in direct violation of U.S. policy, as declared and defined by the Nixon administration.

In a letter to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 23, 1971, the Department of State explicity stated that—

We have been informed by the Department of Defence that no military items have been provided to the Government of Pakistan or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan on March 25 and nothing is now scheduled for such delivery.

Mr. Szulc's revealation contradicts the State Department's official statement of American policy, raising new questions about the credibility of this administration.

At this point, Mr President, I ask unanimous consent that the following documents be printed in the Record :

First, Mr. Szulc's article from the New York Times.

Second, A bill of lading from the National Shipping Corp. of Karachi, sent to the Embassy in Pakistan, dated April 8, 1971, covering shipment of military goods aboard the Pakistani ship *Sunderbans*, which sailed from New York on May 8.

Third, A similar bill of lading, from the same corporation, covering shipments of additional military items on the *Sunderbans*, dated April 16.

Fourth, A copy of the deck receipt, from East-West Shipping Agencies, Inc., to the Defence Procurement Division of the Embassy of Pakistan, dated May 21, listing military items received for shipment to Pakistan, apparently on the *Padma*.

Fifth, A copy of a letter I today sent to President Nixon, requesting that he take necessary steps to enforce his declared policy.

[From the New York Times, June 22, 1971]

US MILITARY GOODS SENT TO PAKISTAN DESPITE BAN

(By Tad Szulc)

WASHINGTON, June 21 —A freighter flying the flag of Pakistan was preparing today to sail from New York for Karachi with a cargo of United States military equipment for Pakistan, apparently in violation of the Administration's officially proclaimed ban on such shipments.

Senior State Department officials, in response to inquiries, acknowledged that at least one other ship was now on the way from the United States to Pakistan carrying what they described as "foreign military sales" items.

These items, they indicated, came from excess Defense Department stocks and apparently were shipped as a result of confusion within the Administration as to how the three-month-old ban on shipments of military equipment to Pakistan should be applied.

"There has evidently been some kind of slippage here," an official said.

To Karachi in August

The *Padma,* the ship that was preparing to sail from New York, in scheduled to arrive in Karachi in Mid-August with a cargo that is said to include eight aircraft, parachutes and hundreds of thousands of pounds of spare parts and accessories for place and military vehicles.

The *Sunderbans,* another ship of Pakistani registry, sailed from New York on May 8 with other items of military equipment, for Pakistan, including parts for armoured personnel carriers, according to the ship's manifesto and the accompanying State Department export licence. She is due to arrive in Karachi Wednesday.

All this equipment has been sold to Pakistan by the United States Air force under provisions of the Foreign Military Sales Act.

After troops of the Pakistani Army, mainly West Pakistanis, were ordered to crush the libereation movements in East Pakistan last March 25, the State Department announced that all sales of military equipment to Pakistan had been suspended and that the program, initiated in 1967, had been placed "under review."

Today, State Department officials, responding to queries about the sailings of the *Padma* and the *Sunaerbans,* said that it retained the official policy of the Administration that sales of all types of military equipment to Pakistan were prohibited under the ban imposed shortly after the severe repression of the East Pakistani independence movement began early in the spring. The State Department estimates that at least 200,000 East Pakistanis have died in the subsequent fighting and that about six million refugees have fled to India.

Senior State Department officials said in interviews today that they were not aware of shipments of military equipment to Pakistan after March 25.

They acknowledged that such shipments would constitute a violation of the proclaimed policy.

The State Department officials said they had been informed by the Defense Department that no military equipment under the foreign sales program had been delivered "to the Government of Pakistan or agents of the Government of Pakistan" since March 25.

No Explanation Offered

They said the Defense Department "reaffirn d" this policy today in discussions with the State Department. They could not explain how this Pentagon statement could be reconciled with the fact that, according to the bills of lading submitted to the Pakistani Embassy here, the equipment to be loaded on the *Sunderbans* was received at the dock in New York on April 23 and the equipment for the *Padma* on May 21.

A communication from the shippers to Lieut. Col. M. Amram Raja at the defense procurement division of the Pakistan Embassy covering the dock receipts for the two ships was sent on May 21.

The defense Department, asked about the shipments last Saturday and again today referred all inquiries to the State Department. Officials appeared to be at a loss for an explanation of the shipments.

State Department sources quoted the Defense Department as saying that no sales or deliveries to Pakistan had been authorized since March 25 and that the equipment aboard the two freighters had been purchased prior to the official prohibition.

Inquiry by Senator Church

But they offered no comment as to why the dockside deliveries and actual shipments had been made after March 25.

The State Department has not yet replied to a letter sent on June 17, by Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, to Secretary of State William P. Rogers requesting information about "certain items of military equipment" being shipped to Pakistan under State Department licenses.

Senator Church who is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, advised Mr. Rogers that he understood that the State Department had issued License No. 19242 for some of this equipment.

A check of the bills of lading of the cargo aboard the *Sunderbans* showed that this license covered an item described as "28 skids parts," weighing 11,895 pounds. No further description of these items was available

But another license issued by the State Department for the *Sunderban's* cargo specified "parts and accessories for military vehicles." The *Sunderbans* carries a total of 21 items, according to the dockside delivery listings, identified on these documents only as cases and cartons of "auto parts and accessories," "skids and parts," "boxes" and "parts."

Planes And Parachutes Listed

The dockside delivery listings for the *Padma* include two entries of "four aircraft" each, 113 parachutes and parts, and auto parts, accessories, skids and "wooden boxes."

An item described as "crates, bundles and parts" is listed as weighing 14,133 pounds.

The program of military sales to Pakistan, begun in 1967, had been running at nearly $10 million a year, according to Robert J. McCloskey, the State Department spokesman. The United States agreed in that year to sell "nonlethal" equipment to both Pakistan and India, lifting in part the embargo placed on military deliveries after the 1965 Indian-Pakistani war.

In October, 1970, the Administration agreed, as an "exception," to sell Pakistan an undisclosed number of F—104 fighter planes, B—57 bombers and armoured personnel carriers. However, the State Department aid today that none of this "exception" equipment had been delivered.

But authoritative sources here, who cannot be identified, said that the flow of military equipment to Pakistan from Air Force sales alone had reached $47,944,781 between 1967 and April 30, 1970.

A communication sent on May 28 to the defence procurement division of the Pakistani Embassy by the headquarters of the Air Force accounting and finance centre in Denver enclosed a "status report......listing all your open foreign military sales cases, showing case value, amounts collected, delivered and undelivered."

The letter—signed by Elaine B. Loventhal, chief foreign military sales branch comptroller at the Denver headquarters—was headed : USAF statement of military sales transactions and detail delivery listings."

The "status report" noted that previous charges on Pakistani military purchases were $25,679,654.10, that undelivered items totaled $21,730,740.07 and that "cash received to date" was $24,342,782.37.

State Department officials were unable to say precisely what period this report covered.

The Air Force report said, however, that the Pakistani Government had to remit "on or before 31 May, 1971" the sum of $3,376,253 51 for further "total cash requirements."

A notation on the report showed that a check from Pakistan for $404,116.49 had been received "in May, 1971."

Authoritative sources here said that "in all likelihood" additional sales to Pakistan might have been made by the Army and the Navy

Spokesmen for the East-West Shipping Agency, the New York agents for the Padma and the *Sunderbans*, indicated that the *Padma* had carried military equipment to Pakistan on a number of recent voyages, most recently delivering it in Karachi on March 22, three days before the troop action in East Pakistan.

The voyage for which the *Padma* is now preparing is her first to Karachi carrying military equipment since the ban was imposed after March 25. The current trip by the *Sunderbans* is also her first with such equipment since the ban. But authoritative sources said that other ships with military equipment for Pakistan might have sailed since March 25 from East and West Coast ports.

Bill of Lading

Forwarding agent—shipper's references: Ref. Exp: 63942MVF Inter-Maritime Forwarding Co., Inc., 30 Church St., N.Y.

Shipper : Embassy of Pakistan (Defence Procurement Div.), Washington, D.C.

Consigned to order of: C/O Embarkation Headquarters, Karachi, Pakistan.

Address arrival notice to : Commadant Officer, Central MT Stores Depot Golra. C/O Embarkation Headquarters, Karachi, Pakistan.

Also notify : None.

Vessel . S S. Sunderbans (National Shipping Corp.).

Pier : No 36 East River.

Port of loading : New York, N.Y.

Mark and numbers : EXP : 63942 ; BAC—1/19, BAF—1/8, BAD—1.

Number of packages : 28.

Description of packages and goods : Skids, parts and accessories for military vehicles (claw screw cam control).

Gross weight in pounds : 11,895.

Dated at New York : 4-8-71.

BILL OF LADING

Forwarding agent—shipper's referencs:

Ref Exp : 53950 MVP, Inter-Maritime Forwarding Co., Inc., 30 Church st., N. Y.

Shipper . Embassy of Pakistan (Defence Procurement Division), Washington, D. C.

Consigned to order of : C/O Embarkation Headquarters, Karachi, **Pakistan.**

Address arrival notice to : Commandant Officer, Central MT Stores **Depot** Golra, C/O Embarkation Headquarters, Karachi, Pakistan.

Also notify : None.
Vessel : SS. Sunderbans (National Shipping Corp).

Pier : No. 36 East River.
Port of loading : New York.
Marks and numbers : EXP : 63950, BAG-1/9, UNI-1/13, BAD-1.

Number of packages : 23
Description of packages and goods : Pieces (22 skids, lctn.), parts and accessories for military vehicles (shaft, screw, mount knob).
Gross weight in pounds: 18, 171.
Dated at New York : 4/16/71.

East West Shipping Agencies, Inc.,

New York, N. Y.

Embassy of Pakistan,
Washington, D. C.
Attention : Lt. Col. M. Akram Raja, Attache
(D. P.) *Defense Pres. Division*

Dear Sir : We are pleased to forward copies of dock receipts together with a list covering that merchandise received for the past week, May 21, 1971,

Trusting you find the above in order, we remain.

Very truly yours.

East West Shipping Agencies, Inc.

United States Senate.

Washington D. C., June 22, 1971.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Preident : It has come to my attention that the Pakistan ship *Padma*, that left New York harbour this afternoon bound for Montreal, is carrying a load of United States supplied arms, weapons, and related spare parts which is in violation of our officially proclaimed policy banning all arms and weapons to the Government of Pakistan at this time.

I take the utmost objection at the failure of the United States to prevent these arms from being loaded on the *Padma*. Certainly we should be able to enforce the publicly declared policy of the government.

It is reported that the *Padma* will dock in Montreal before proceeding further. If the Coast Guard is unable to intercept the ship in American waters, then I urge you to solicit the co-operation of the Canadian Government in recovering these forbidden shipments.

I hope you will take prompt and necessary measures to see that American arms are removed from the *Padma*.

Very truly yours,

Frank Church.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্রের নতুন চালান : সিনেটর হার্টের মন্তব্য।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

S 9764 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *June 23, 1971*

Renewed U. S. Aid to Pakistan

Mr. Hart. Mr. President, I am appalled to read in today's press that the administration has given approval to renew shipment of U. S. military equipment to Pakistan.

In the face of eye-witness accounts that wholesale slaughter is being inflicted on the people of East Pakistan, it is inconceivable to me that our Government would place additional military material in the hands of the Government of Pakistan.

Mr. President, this is not a time or a place for "business as usual." It is dismaying to me that our Government has not yet perceived that the overwhelming majority of the American people are sickened by U. S. involvement in mass killing Surely this is a situation where restraint on our part would be not only the humane thing to do, but might also serve as a turnabout step away from world chaos and toward world peace.

Equally alarming is the State Department's apparent lack of candor in its repeated insistence that "no military items have been provided to the Government of Pakistan or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25 and nothing is now scheduled for such delivery."

Certainly in the past week, the grave dangers of such lack of candor and misleading statements of official policy have been highlighted all too vividly. It appears that the Departments of State and Defense, knowing full well the thrust of public and congressional inquiries about cntinued military assistance to Pakistan, either attempted simply to ignore the stated official position of our Government or employed very questionable criteria in permitting the shipment.

Either explanation raises grave questions about the executive department's reliability in its dealing with the Congress and the public—at a time when it is asking for the utmost trust and reliance upon its disclosure policy.

I commend the Senator from Idaho for his discussion of this matter on the Senate floor yesterday and join him in asking that the executive branch provide a full explanation of this disturbing incident.

Specifically, I request an explanation of what criteria were used in reaching the conclusion that the State Department could represent that no arms had been "provided" since March 25, and that no shipments were "scheduled."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রস্তাব নয়, আইনের মাধ্যমে অস্ত্র প্রেরণ বন্ধ করতে হবে : সিনেটর সিমিংটন।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৪ জুন ১৯৭১

June 24, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 9889

U. S. MILITARY GOODS SENT TO PAKISTAN DESPITE BAN

Mr. Symington,. Mr. President, the article entitled, "U. S. Military Goods Sent to Pakistan Despite Ban," written by Tad Szulc, presents at the least an incomprehensible picture of insensitivity and bureaucratic inefficiency.

It is also once again a story of the executive branch telling the Congress and the people that it is doing one thing, then we find that something quite different occurred.

Mr. Szulc reports in the New York Times that State Department officials confirm that at least one ship is on its way to Pakistan carrying military equipment while another is preparing to sail with a cargo of aircraft, parachutes, and spare parts for planes and military vehicles.

These shipments are being made despite the State Department statement, reproduced in the committee report on Senate Resolution 21, that no U. S. arms—

Have been provided to the Pakistan Government or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan, March 25-26, and that nothing is now scheduled for such delivery.

In addtion, the fact that these shipments have gone forward indicates that the State Department either did not know what was going on, or else misled Congress when Assistant Secretary Abshire, writing to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee on April 23, said with regard to military shipments to Pakistan that—

Nothing is in the pipeline

According to Mr. Szulc, even State Department officials now acknowledge that these shipments constitute a violation of the proclaimed policy, but they offer no explanation for the contradiction between the policy and the facts.

As chraiman of the Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I requested yesterday by telephone a full explanation from the Scretaries of State and Defense ; and will report to the Senate when these explanations are received. Pending their receipts, let us reserve final judgment ; but it would appear that we should begin to give thought to steps which might be taken by Congress by means of law, rather than by the passage of reslolutions, so as to insure that the executive branch's stated policy is carried out.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মি: প্রেসিডেন্ট, পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে আমরা যুদ্ধে লিপ্ত হয়ে পড়েছি : সিনেটর টানি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

July 7, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S10541

THE WAR IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. Tunney. Mr. President, we are at war in East Pakistan. We are have not declared war, and we have no troops in Pakistan, but we are, nonetheless, in the eyes of the East Pakistanis and Indians, at war. It is our won grainships that are carrying Pakistani troops to the East. It is our planes that are searching out the ragged, desperate, ill-armed Bangladesh, and then, finally, it is our guns, rifles, and ammunition that cut them down—wholesale and indiscriminately. Without our help, the Pakistanis would be severely hampered in their warmaking powers and because that is so, because we are effectively allying ourselves with one belligerent in a civil war, we ourselves are belligerents and our actions become all the more descripable.

There is only one position for the United States in this situation and that is as an advocate of peace. A relentless advocate for sick and hungry people. In order to place this country in a position to pursue this policy, I have cosponsored the Saxbe-Church amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, This amendment would terminate all military and economic assistance to Pakistan, until such time as effective internationally supervised relief measures are instituted in East Pakistan. This, Mr. President, is intervention for peace and not war. It is intervention for life and not death, and it is intervention with food and medicines, not guns and planes. I do not see how it is possible to act for peace in the area while we are still actively engaged in providing to wherewithal for war. I believe that cutting off aid to force relief measures would be the most justified, indeed the required, use of our ability to pressure the Pakistan Government.

But there is yet another dimension to the problem.

On Monday, July 5, an editorial appeared in the Washington Post concerning our trade record with Pakistan. The editorial was entitled "U. S. Arms for Pakistan : A Shameful Record." The editorial retraces how what we all were told over a period of days by the State Department. The editorial also describes the consequent shifts in the State Department line. It is by now, to many of us, an old story.

The other day the President's special assistant, Dr. Henry Kissinger, met a not so cordial welcome at the New Delhi Airport. The reasons are as good as they are obvious. India and Pakistan are trading the thinnest of wires between war and peace and at the same time we are continuing to supply arms to the Pakistanis. Our relationship with India is rapidly deteriorating, while at the same time we are providing the wherewithal for the slaughter of millions of East Pakistanis. Who is gaining by this ? Certainly not war-ravaged West Pakistan. Was no lesson learned from the Biafran tragedy ? Will we sit by, not idly, but as undeclared belligerents, aiding in the misery and death of millions of East Pakistanis ?

In Pakistan after consistently being told that no arms were being shipped, we find more and more appearing. What right have we to equip the West Pakistanis to fight the Bangaladesh ? What right have we to intervene in a civil war for any reason other than humanitarian relief and rescue ? If the State Department can answer these questions, I am sure we would all be very interested. But even if the State Department could provide answers, why sould we expect that the American people would listen ? Why should we think we are hearing the truth ? The raw facts are, Mr. President, that either the State Department has no control over the foreign activities of this Nation, or else they choose to exercise that control with one hand while dishing out public information with the other.

We have, due to the inexcusable bungling of the State Department, backed ourselves into a corner in our relationship with India. At the same time that Mrs. Gandhi is resisting the urging of some of her countrymen to go to war, we are supplying the weapons to Pakistan that exacerbate the situation. I simply do not understand, Mr. President, whose interests we are serving by our actions in that area. We enable Pakistan to continue waging war, which in turn causes India to move closer and closer to a state of war, and all the while millions of East Pakistans are dying or being made refugees. It is not a role that we should be proud of.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Post editorial be printed in Record.

U. S. ARMS FOR PAKISTAN : A SHAMEFUL RECORD.

The Pakistani army undertook to crush the autonomy movement in East Pakistan on March 25. Soon after, as word of the army's appalling and indiscriminate slaugher began to seep out, the question was asked in Washington whether arms sold or given by the United States were being used and, further, whether the supply of these arms was continuing. Here is the record of the answers given in Washington.

April 2 : The State Department said it could neither confirm nor deny reports from the scene that American equipment was being used.

On April 20, the fact no longer deniable, the Department informed Senator Kennedy that it had "expressed our concern over the use of American arms in East Pakistan" ; it added that "arms acquired from a number of countries, including China, the U. S. S. R. and the U. K., also have been used."

Three days later : The Department specifically acknowledged to Senator Fulbright that "some M-24 tanks and F-86 aircraft have been observed in use East Pakistan in recent weeks." It did not acknowledge that these tanks and planes had been employed aginst ragged desperate men armed with little more than rifles, if that.

April 6 : Mr. Fulbright had asked Secretary of State Rogers for information on the "status of any current shipments" of military equipment to Pakistan. The following week a department spokesman, speaking to reporters, denied

that the United States has "a large on-going military assistance program with Pakistan" and declared, "There is no—repeat—no equipment in the pipeline and none has been delivered" under a one-shot October, 1970, arms deal. Referring to a "modest" sales program dating from 1967 for "non-lethal military equipment, spare parts for equipment already in Pakistan hands and some ammunition," he said : "Insofar as shipments under these agreements are concerned, we have this matter under review."

April 14 : An unattributed report appeared in The Washington Post saying that arms shipments were continuing but with minimum publicity. The next day, however, a department spoesman concluded a review of the subject this way : In short, no arms have been provided to the Government of Pakistan since the beginning of this crisis, and the question of deliveries will be kept under review in light of developments."

April 20 : The department told Senator Kennedy : "..........none of these items [on the 1967 'non-lethal' list, including ammunition] has been provided to the Pakistan Government or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25-26, and nothing is presently scheduled for such delivery."

May 6 : Senator Fulbright was told : "In short, no arms have been provided since the beginning of the crisis and the question of deliveries is under review."

May 8 : The Sonderbans, a Pakistani ship carrying arms to Pakistan, sailed from New York, without public announcement or public knowledge.

June 17 : The State Department told reporters, as reported in this newspaper the next day, that "no deliveries of military equipment has been made to Pakistan since March 25, when the fighting began."

June 22 : The department, responding to a story in the New York Times, acknowledged that two shiploads of arms were going to Pakistan and explained that they had been licensed before March 25. The same day the second ship, the Padma, sailed.

Six days later : The administration said it would allow further shipments of military material if licensed before March 25. The first reason cited was to apply "leverage" to induce the Pakistan Government (1) to bring about a political accommodation in East Pakistan (it has yet to do so) and (2) to take back the six million refugees who had fled to India (the flight continues, according to report, at a 40,000-a-day rate). The second reason cited by the administration—which had earlier downgraded use of American arms in the carnage by a saying Soviet, Chinese and British arms also were use—was to discourage Pakistan from shifting to other arms suppliers.

June 29 : It was revealed that four or five more arms ships were scheduled. The Kaptai sailed July 2.

This is, we submit, an astonishing and shameful record, with two meanings. The first is that, for the shabbiest of political reasons, the United States is supplying military equipment to a brutal regime that has killed an estimated 200,000 of its citizens and dirven me six million others out of their country. The second meaning must be read in the context of the current controversy over the Pentagon Papers, which turns on the public right to know and the government's right to conceal. Here we have a classic example of how the System really works ; hidden from public scrutiny, administration officials have been supplying arms to Pakistan while plainly and persistently telling the public that such supplies were cut off. We assume that this deception is due to a combination of organizational confusion and bureaucratic dissimulation and not to deliberate deceit. The fact is : arms ships still sail. It is up to the President to stop them—assuming the government is serious about its proclaimed policy.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
অস্ত্রের চালান পাঠানো একটি মারাত্মক ভুল : সিনেটর স্যাক্সবীর বক্তৃতা ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১২ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

July 12, 1971 CONGRISSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 10727

DETERIORATION OF EVENTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, invite the attention of Senators to recent developments in regard to the further deterioration of events in East Pakistan.

On Sturday the Washington Post reported that the World Bank barred distribution of the Cargill report, because the report was a scathing indictment of Pakistani President Yahya Khan's regime. The report was said to have made the following points :

A continuing reign of terror exists in East Pakistan enforced by Yahya's West Pakistani troops ; urban life in the east wing of the country has been shattered and the economy paralyzed; active guerrilla resistance to Yahya's regime continues; widespread famine is likely this fall, and Yaha's administration is in ignorance of world opinion and the state of affairs in East Pakistan.

Both Reuters News Service, in the Washington Post, and the Washington Star reported on Sunday that the World Bank finally distributed the Cargill report after vainly trying to suppress the document. I commend it for distribution of this document to the 11-nation Pakistan Aid Consortium and call upon the World Bank to make copies of its report available to the Congress.

This report is necessary in light of our Government's continued aid to Pakistan since the terrible events following the Army's actions on the night of March 25. Further, the Foreign Operations Sub-committee of the Senate Appropriations Committee reports that the administration has requested that the military and economic supporting assistance will increase tenfold, from $500,000 to $5,500,000. This breaks down to $5 million for credit sales under the foreign military sales and $250,000 for police training.

Last week the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), in an eloquent speech, reported that $35 millinion worth of military equipment was still in the "pipeline" for delivery to Pakistan. This speech has received considerable attention in the news media. In light of the military aid in the pipline, plus the request for fiscal year 1972, I think the Cargill report from the World Bank would be of great assistance to the Congress in our further deliberations.

Mr. President, I would stress one particular item of the World Bank report—the prospect of famine. It has been reported to me by high Goverment sources that there will be a short fall of 3-1/2 million tons of feed grain. Further, if the food were delivered, there is no effective organization to distribute it—even if President Yahya were willing to do so.

Mr. President, I hope that Henry Kissinger can dissuade President Yahya from his present course or, as an alternative, help change the course of American policy of continued commitment to the Yahya regime's reign of terror. Mr. President, let us recognize Yahya's policy for what it is—the most brutal and deliberate genocide since Adolph Hitler.

Anthony Lewis in today's New York Times raises this ugly comparison and says :

This time there can be no excuse for any informed person failling to understand what is happening, contemporary accounts leave little to the imagination. And yet, some responsible men do not see. But the American interest goes beyond realism. We can no longer have any illusons about our ability to make unpleasant governments around the world behave well, but there does come a point at which self-respect requires us to stop helping them.

Our policy of continued shipments of arms is wrong. It is a terrible mistake. We seem to be trying to placate both India and Pakistan since the Soviet Union is siding with India and China with Pakistan. As Flora Lewis said in the Washington Post :

It courts disaster, not only for India and Pakistan. And it is more likely to wind up with a spread of Communist control into truly strategic areas than would the collapse of South Vietnam. For once grand strategy, national interest, and urgent human needs are on the same side. Why isn't the United States on that side with its main allies ?

I believe that the Pakistan strife may provide an opportunity for the United States, Soviet Union, and Peoples Republic of China to attempt to reconcile a most difficult problem and thereby strengthen their common efforts at international cooperation. The President may wish to call for an international conference to discuss this problem.

Last Thursday, July 1, Canada blocked a shipment of weapons to Pakistan. Customs officials there said the order blocked the loading of 46 crates of parts for F-86 Sabre jets, Even if we have provided by license or other means arms for Pakistan which have not left the United States, why cannot we prohibit their shipment ? There is no principle in law which says that we must continue. For example, we could follow Canada's lead by asserting that our public policy overrides all contract law. A license is always subject to being withdrawn when it is contrary to public policy, for example, the license to practice law and the license to practice medicine.

We are being told today by some that the rule of law has returned to Pakistan. If that is the case, why was Sydney H. Schanberg, the New York Times correspondent, expelled from East Pakistan Wednesday, June 30 ? If the rule of law has returned, why did a Pakistani army platoon smash into the Hindu section of Boliadi shooting men, ransacking homes, and burning the village market.

Mr. Preisdent, the time has come for legislative action. I invite the attention of Senators to the Saxbe-Church amendment No. 159 to S. 1657, the Foreign Assistance Act. It was submitted on June 10, 1971, and at present being considered by the Foreign Relations Committee. We have 29 cosponsors for our amendment. I ask unanimous consent that the following Senators be added as cosponsors of amendment No. 159 to S. 1657 : SCOTT, TUNNEY, CASE, PASTORE, BENNETT, PELL, BELLMON, HART, ROTH, BAYH, BOGGS, CHANSTON, BROOKE, METCALF, GURNEY, MCGOVERN, EAGLETON, STEVENSON, MOSS, MONDALE, HUGHES, HARTKE, MUSKIE, PROXMIRE, HUMPHREY, MAGNUSON, WILLIAMS, RANDO PH, and RIBICOFF.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনায় শোকাভিভূত ক্যালিফোর্নিয়া বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের কতিপয় অধ্যাপকের পত্র।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

July 20, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 11611

TRAGEDY IN PAKISTAN

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, the tragedy in Pakistan worsens each day. Millions of people are homeless and hungry as a result of the unfortunate warfare that has crupted between East and West Pakistan.

Several Americans who have worked and lived in Pakistan inform me that the best way to end this situation is to make certain that our aid is funneled to that nation in a fair and equitable manner for the benefit of all those in need. To that end, I have cosponsored amendment No. 159, submitted by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. SAXBE) and the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH).

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the record a letter to the editor of the Los, Angeles Times concerning the situation in Pakistan. The letter was written by a group of Asian studies scholars on the faculty of UCLA. It deserves our full attention.

University of California.

Los Angeles, Calif., May 17, 1971.

The Editor,

Los Angeles Times.

DEAR SIR : We, the under signed scholars of Asian Studies on the faculty of UCLA. write to express our profound sense of anguish and shock at the news we have read and personally received of the brutal and protracted massacres of Bengali civilians by West Pakistan's armed forces since March 25, 1971. From every creditable report we have seen it appears that General Yahya Khan's Army directed the fullstrength of its fire power at such bastions of "resistance" to his milltary dictatorship as the unarmed camp of Dacca University, where no leas than five department chairman we murdered, together with as yet unaccounted numbers of their research assistants, students, staff, and families.

Unless or untill West Pakistan's regime permits the Read Cross or the United Nations, or some other impartial international agency, to send its representatives to the now ravaged region of East Pakistan (which the overwhelming majority of the Bengali-speaking populace now prefer to call the "Country of Bengal," *Bangladesh* it will be impossible accurately to assess the dimensions of this South Asian massacre. From what we already know, however, it seems painfully clear that whatever the precise total in Bengali dead, wounded, and terrorized may be, a new record in martial fire power mortality may possibly have been set by West Pakistan's forces during the past six weeks.

Since 1954 our Nation has supplied approximately two billion dollars worth of military "aid" to Pakistan, including tanks, planes, and artillery. That aid was offered to Pakistan when it became a member of SEATO, in order to "bolster" South Asia's Northern perimeter against possible Communist invasion. The only use, however, which Pakistan made of American military supplies prior to last month's massacre was during the Indo-Pak War over Kashmir in 1965. After the latter, our government placed an embargo on military shipments to Pakistan, but in October of 1970 that embargo was lifted, and we have now promised to ship another 300 armed personnel carries, four maritime reconnaissance planes, six F-104 jet fighters, and seven B-57 bombers to West Pakistan's regime.

We most strongly urge our government, which has reimposed a limited embargo on arms shipments to Pakistan to extend and maintain a total embargo for the indefinite future, and further request that all economic aid which may directly or indirectly provide foreign exchange to General Khan's administration, which may be used to purchase military equipment elsewhere, be suspended at least until an impartial international Commission has been able to satisfy the American people that the slaughter of Bengali civilians has been halted, and that West Pakistani troops. responsible for the Dacca and other Bangladesh massacres have been withdrawn from that region.

We fear that there is little hope of our protests influencing the minds of West Pakistan's military leadership, but trust that by taking the course we recommend our nation will at least clear America's conscience of all stigma of possible continued support for the murder of Bengali civilians.

Sincerely.

Stanley A. Welpert, Professor of Indian History; D. R. Sar Desai, Professor of Southeast Asian History; J. Richard Sisson. Professor of Indian Politics : Rupert Emerson, Visiting Professor of Asian Politics; Hans H. Baerwald. Professor of Japanese Politics; Fred G. Notchelfer, Professor of Japanese History; J. LeRoy Davidson, Professor of Indian Art; David M. Parquhar, Professor of Chinese History; Robert A. Wilson, Professor of Japanese History.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের মর্মান্তিক ঘটনার প্রতি সিনেট সদস্য স্যাক্সবীর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ ও প্রত্যক্ষ দর্শীর বিবরণ উল্লেখ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

July 20, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 11591

TRAGIC INCIDENTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. Saxbe. Mr. President., I invite the attention of Senators to futher events and accounts relating to the tragic incidents in East Pakistan. A lengthy speech is not necessary. The articles speak for themselves. I merely wish to repeat that the Saxbe-Church amendment suspending aid to Pakistan has 31 cosponsors. These cosponsors, plus the Senator from Idaho (Mr. Church) and myself represent one-third of the U. S. Senate.Tomorrow at least one more Senator will add his name to the growing list of cosponsors. We merely wish to prevent the United States from being dragged into another civil war.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a number of articles on Pakistan be printed in the Record.

[From the Boston Sunday Globe, July 11, 1971]

EAST PAKISTAN—A MOUNTING CRISIS—WITNESS RFPORTS ON DEATH, DESTRUCTION

An eyewitness account of the devastations left by West Pakistani troops, fanning out along the river leading from Dacca to the Bay of Bengal, is told in the following experts from a tapeletter recorded in the area in late May.

William H. Ellis, a Canadian engineer working on coastal embankments near the Bay of Bengal, recorded his comments on an unofficial and highly dangerous survey of the area in which he worked. The message was sent to Dr. John Rohde, formerly of the Cholera Research Laboratory in Dacca and now resident at Children's Hospital in Boston.

Ellis, who holds a master's degree in hydrology from McGill University, has now left Pakistan.

Ellis left Narayanganj on a shipping corporation coaster headed for Chittagong and stopping at Barisal. The tapeletter :

Ship was carrying may be 600 people. They were everywhere, under the lifeboats, in the lifeboats, on top of the cabins, between the decks, in the holds, companion ways, just everywhere. I tried to make my way to the engine room, but I just couldn't make it without chucking my biscuits so I came back up on deck.

We met two coasters coming up the river, both of which were loaded with military vehicles,. One tanker was lying at anchor off Chungport. Further there were a dozen of the larger carrying cargo countryboats.

Executions

There's practically no activity along the river banks : only an occasional person standing, watching the boats go by, inothing doing in the fields, no tilling, cattle are out grazing with herdsmen, but that's about all.

Barisal was completely deserted, only the dogs on the streets although it was still an hour and a half before curefew.

Once I got down there I discovered why they didn't want me down there. Every day for the last few weeks they have been executing 10 to 20 people a day. This I got from the people who lived in the area. Every afternoon at 4 o'clock there would be 10-20 single, spaced shots fired and they would later see the bodies in the khal.

......The executions apparently stopped a week or so ago, at least the firing stopped, but still discovered there were more bodies and it seems...... they are still executing prisoners (by bayonet.)

......I saw evidences of the anti-hindu operations in the form of a poster (on gutted shops) stating "under marshal law authority", I asked by native guide on what shops they were placed and he said they were Hindu shops. The operations had been going on in the area for two or three weeks now......

Like Animals

There are now almost columns of Hindus in flight in the area. They have nowhere to go. They cannot get across the border to India. they flee in one direction, find there is a Army blocking their way and flee another. They're being hunted down like animals.

Families in the area are housing 15 to 20 people per house, and there is barely enough food........there is description after description of where the Muslims have covered up, have hidden Hindus, and taken great risks personally........in one village they called out the Muslim head man and asked where the Hindus were.

He refused so the army wrapped him up in jute and set fire to him.... papers are full of requests for factory hands to-come back, civil servants to return to their duties........ but everyone knows if you come back to work you're likely to get shot.

......It was made clear the army was hunting for three elements which they would eliminate in this order : first, saboteurs and Hindus from India ; second, all members of the Awami League ; third, gurrillas and other "anti-social" elements.

Constant Burning

They have nowhere to flee but southward towards the sea. They are caught between the sea and the advancing army.

From Barisal, I took the mail boat to Khulna. The land is deceivingly peaceful. It is so green, so lush, but there is so little activity. From time to time we would see bodies floating in the river...... other times we could smell but not pick them out from amongst the water hyacinths that are moving down as the water picks up ....

......We passed villages that were in flames. This went on for miles. The jungle is so dense that you cannot see beyond the foreshore but in the sky all over on both sides we could see smoke in the sky......occasionally a search-light would pick out the naked figures of persons who were fleeing along the river-banks........They carried their few meager belongings on their head.

Later while I was sitting on the toplevel of the boat a crew member a sidled up to me. and told me that this burning had been going on for the last two weeks, every night ....

Even in this area, unaffected by the cyclone (of November, 1970) there will be perhaps only 10 per cent of the normal crop—so many people had to flee or have been murdered.. .... . .

We reached Koona ? At the next morning—here the activity is a fraction of what it used to be .....

In this area conditions are closer to sheer chaos........this is because the Koona area is next to the border and the influence of large number of . .... even for those who would like to return to work it is practically impossible.

There is much looting and burning going on beacause there is no law and order........ 10 to 20 people are knifed there every day in broad daylight. A man and his son were knifed while I was there ....

When the army arives the Muslim' league informs on the Awami league and the Hindus. The army comes to wipe out the Awami league and Hindus.... In the villages of ... ...the government employees do not go to their offices for fear of being killed , their army is too busy killing Hindus.... ..

I traveled to Jessore ...... a road that I have traveled many times before.... I know it well, I know the activity and I know the villages ..... with comparison with before it is deserted.

Villages on both sides of the road have been burnt. We cannot see where the villages were ...... looking at the palm trees you can see where the palm fronds are all scorched and the trunks are blackened .....Some villages remarkably have been spared and they have a few people listlessly watching you as you go by..........

Usually when the mills are working it is bleching black smoke ; we saw only one mill with smoke cominig out...... there are many brickyards along the way ; every one was deserted.

As before, there was practically no activity in the field......the only signs of farming were the cattle out grazing.

When you board a plane (at Jessore) it is interesting......your baggage is unpacked, searched piece by piece ; you are given a complete physical search.... they found my pocket knife and took it away from me......when you board the plane vou find two armed guards.

I could see very plainly the area around there had been flattened. Most of the houses are like boxes without roofs..........

Nothing Moving

What was still very clear from 10,000 feet was that there is no traffic at all on the rivers or roads or paths, Nothing moving, not any boats to be seen tied up along the banks.

As we crossed the Ganges west of Dacca there were just a few of the cargo boats, may be five or six where normally you would see dozens. As we got lower things looked relatively normal in the villages until we got close to Dacca and then I could see the pattern of boxes without tops, where roofs had been burnt off........ and still the predominant feature of no activity.

Back to Dacca. It is clear the situation is entering a new phase where the Army has gained control of the towns, the land transportation routes, and is now fanning out on this massive operation to wipe out the Hindus.. ...the regime which is running the country, the cabal of generals, has become so engorged with their own propaganda that they honestly believe that there is an Indian infiltrator behind .evey tree, and that every Hindu is suspect and to be shot on the spot.

As was pointed out to me, there is not a family in this whole country that has not been affected—that has not lost members that have been shot, or not looted, or had their women raped, or young girls taken away.

And yet in spite of this, or perhaps because of this, the regime has absolutely no support from the common people.

Everyone knows what they read in the Pakistan papers is apack of lies and they know from experience that what they hear is true on All India Radio.

It is remarkable how they find out what goes on in every village.

It is clear that things here in Dacca are more normal than they are everywhere else, and that word notmal has become a standing joke with everyone in East Pakistan............But even in Dacca they are already bold enough to strike in broad daylight.

Monday last at about 1 o'clock they threw hand grenades and the damage that was done to the bank looked like a grenade.

· Anyway, about 1 they struck at seven places in Dacca...... and so already they are striking back even here in Dacca, which supposedly is the normal place in this country.

The other thing I mentioned before, that Bengali men, have time and again said to me, "please do not have your country send any aid to this country, even food......the food will only go to the Army and prolong our agony." More than one man said to me "I'd rather die by starvation than go on with the agoney that is going on now."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
অস্ত্রের জোরে ক্ষমতাসীন সরকারকে মদদ যোগানোর বিলাসিতা আমাদের সাজে না : সিনেটর ম্যাকগভার্ন।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৩ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

July 23, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 11945

THE SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the present situation of bloodshed and repression in East Pakistan should concern us all. After the cyclone disaster of last year, this devastated land has been victimized by official violence. One need only read the report of the mission of the World Bank to be moved by the sufferings of the Bengalis. For example, in the town of Jessore, where 80,000 lived a few months ago, only 15,000 to 20,000 people remained; 20,000 have been killed and the rest of the population has fled into the countryside.

As we have learned in Southeast Asia, however, this Nation should maintain official neutrality during internal conflict and civil strife. But neutrality does not mean we must support the unjust policies of West Pakistan with further shipments of aid.

At this time, American aid to Pakistan, which goes to West Pakistan, is continuing. This month the Pakistani freighter *Padma* is carrying 2 million of American military equipment back to Karachi. This Nation cannot afford the luxury of subsidizing a government which holds power through the use of force to suppress the majo ity of its population.

In addition, as the World Bank mission reported earlier this months the economic disruption in East Pakistan has been such that economic assistance to this region is bound to be ineffective., This Nation should follow the lead of the Bank and discontinue aid payments until the situation is stablized. The demage wrought in East Pakistan by civil war cannot be healed by financial aid which will be diverted to the West.

However, two emergency situations in the area demand immediate attention. The present chaotic state of East Pakistan, where much of the population is in hiding in the countryside and where over 7 million people have fled the country, raises the very real possibility of famine. Crops have been left untended and the commercial life of the nation has been devastated. Communications and transportation are haphazard. The most appropriate American response would be shipments of medical supplies, grain and other foodstuffs to the Bengalis under the auspices of the Red Cross, or some other international organization, not a continuation of financial aid. This would guarantee that American assistance would only be granted to those suffering under the heel of Pakistani repression, and would hopefully avert at least-one tragedy for the Bengalis.

The refugee situation in neighbouring India also requires action by this country. The large-scale influx of refugees has surely taxed the resources of India. We should extend support to India for her humanitarian efforts to assist the fleeting Bengalis. We must maintain our neutrality in an internal conflict of this sort, but neutrality can never bar assistance to the victims of repression and exploitation. Food and medical shipments and funds earmarked for refugee relief should be granted the Indians to deal with the grave situation they face.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ আজ গণহত্যার দৃষ্টান্ত : সিনেটর প্রক্সমায়ার।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

S 12198 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *July* 27, 1971

EAST PAKISTAN EXAMPLE OF GENOCIDE TODAY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, those who delay the ratification of the Genocide Treaty cannot ignore the tragedy taking place 8,000 miles from our shore in East Pakistan. Since March, the Pakistan Army apparently has been ravishing the country, massacring thousands of men, women, and children whose only crime is being Hindu.

Through the eyes of journalists leaving that country we have seen the slaughter of old men and infants, poor peasants, people who have never had any connection with the rebel army. I quote an article published in the London Sunday Times, June 13 :

West Pakistan's Army has been systematically massacring thousands of civilians in East Pakistan since the end of March. This is the horrifying reality behind the news blackout imposed by President Yahya Khan's government since the end of March. This is the reason why more than five million refugees have streamed out of East Pakistan into India, risking cholera and famine.

Mr. President, this article is entitled simply "Genocide." That word describes what is taking place in East Pakistan.

I quote again from an article entitled "Why the Refugees Fled." also published in the London Sunday Times of June 13 :

The bone-crushing military operation has two distinctive features. One is what the authorities like to call the "cleansing operation ": a euphemism for massacre. The other is the "rehabilitation effort." This is a way of describing the moves to turn East Pakistan into a docile colony of West Pakistan. These commonly used expressions and the repeated official references to "miscreants" and "infiltrators" are part of the charade which is being enacted for the benefit of the world. Strip away the propaganda, and the reality is colonization—and killing.

Genocide is not a thing of the past. Just look at what is happening right now in Pakistan. How much longer can we delay in acting on the genocide convention ?

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতি : সিনেটর ফুলব্রাইটের ভাষণ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৮ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

July 28, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 12381

EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The cataclysmic chain of events in East Pakistan not only points up the egregious misuses to which U.S. military and economic assistance can be put. It also illustrates the insensitivity of U.S. policy to changing events and the seeminghly inevitable reaction to defend the status quo regardless of the context.

U.S. military assistance was furnished Pakistan to defend against communism. It was used instead to wage war on India, the world's largest democracy, and subsequently to suppress the feeble steps toward democracy taken in Pakistan itself. Despite this perversion of U.S. largess, we have now been astonished to learn that shipments of military goods are continuing, apparently in pursuit of illusory influence or "leverage" with the Pakistan Army. The shock is compounded in view of the fact that the Foreign Relations Committee had been assured by the administration that no military items had been furnished Pakistan since March 25 and none were scheduled for delivery. This is another sad case of private executive foreign policy decision-making taken without the benefit of, indeed in strict isolation from, public discussion and debate.

Economic assistance provided by the United States was misused by the Pakistan Government to subsidize unbalanced development favouring West Pakistan at the expense of the East, which in the process exacerbated the problems which have now been so graphically revealed. Yet we support the Pakistan Government, economically and militarily, despite its destruction of emerging representative government and in the face of a ruthless military campaign, largely directed against Hindus and the intellectual and leadership elements among the Bengalis, which has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thosuands of people. This support continues in the face of a recommendation by the World Bank against further aid and in the face of contrary attitudes on the part of other aid-giving nations of the world.

It is said that we must not intervene in the internal affairs of other countries—a principle which shoud have been better understood in 1964, or since 1949 in China for that matter—and that we should not use economic aid for political purposes. However, supporting a government engaged in civil war with economic assistance is as much an intervention as helping the other side. It is distressing to see that, through continuation of assistance to Islamabad, the United States again finds itself actively alined with a military dictatorship pursuing policies diametrically opposed to those to which we say we are committed.

Unfortunately the implications of this civil strife are not confined to Pakistan. The refugees created by the Pakistani military actions have been driven into India where they pose a grave problem, and, indeed, it is not an overstatement

to suggest that they constitute a potential danger to world peace equivlalent to that created over 20 years ago in Palestine. These helpless Bengali refugees are pressed into an area of India where insurrection and instability are already widespread and the problem of grinding poverty is most acute. India simply cannot bear the burdens, in terms of good, housing, employment, and health measures, which the refugees have thrust upon it. The situation could easily lead to renewed communal rioting, accelerated revolutionary activity—which could threaten the future of India itself—or another Indo-Pakistan war.

In this situation the administration says that it is privately urging the Pakistanis to find a political solution in East Pakistan. However, the subsidy of the Pakistan dictatorship continues. AID announced on June 10 that it was providing $1 million for Pakistan to charter vessels for the purpose of distributing food in the East, a worthy purpose. On analysis, however, there are some serious questions. Earlier Pakistan was supplied with similar vessels for cyclone relief and she is reported to be using them for military purposes.

In this context, is not the $1 million for new boats simply a means of permitting Pakistan to use its existing vessels to pursue military objectives ?

And what assurances do we have that Pakistan will not divert to military purposes the vessels which they will charter with the 1 million we are giving them now ?

The situation in East Pakistan is intolerable, as is a foreign policy which in practice reinforces the status quo there. The United States should instead use all the influence, limited though it may be, which it can bring to bear. In this connection, steps should be taken to insure that military goods, including spare parts, are not shipped to Pakistan and the offer of F-104's , B-57's, patrol aircraft, and armoued personnel carries made last fall should be immediately rescinded. Economic assistance should be suspended until the Pakistanis, both East and West, agree upon a satisfactory political solution and until steps are taken to repatriate the refugees now in India. If the administration does not abandon its fruitless status quo course, I will support congressional action to achieve that objective.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মণ্ডেল-ফ্রেজার যৌথ প্রস্তাব।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৩০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

S 12610 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *July* 30, 1971

By Mr. MONDALE.

S. J. Res. 143. A joint resolution relating to peace for Pakistan. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, even in a world numbered by mass death and suffering, the horror in East Pakistan seems without parallel. Hundreds of thousands have died from disaese, starvation, and brutal military repression. According to an authoritative report by the World Bank, even the most immediate efforts will not save hundreds of thousands more from dying of starvation.

And now more than 7 million people are crowded in the hopelessness and squalor of refugee camps in India.

It is as if the population of two States the size of Minnesota had been driven from their homes to an impoverished and disease-ridden exile in a foreign land—or as if the majority of the people in Minneapolis St. Paul or St. Louis or Denver or San Francisco, had been killed or were about to die.

I think most of us find it very difficult to grasp the sheer magnitude of this tragedy, to understand to almost endless individual tragedies—the loved ones lost, the life work destroyed—which are the life and blood reality of the great statistical disaster.

But I think the American people are coming to understand clearly one element of this tragedy—the unconscionable neglect our own Government has shown for any real effort to alleviate it.

There is no need to recount here the long string of misrepresentations and empty assurances which the United States has made while it went on arming a repressive regime in East Pakistan and maintaining callous silence though millions were in torment.

But it is not too late to summon statesmanship in this ghastly problem. It is not too late to make real the rhetoric we hear so often about this Nation's concern for human life and for a generation of peace.

Congressman FRASER and I are introducing jointly in the House and Senate a resolution declaring that it is the sense of the Congress that the President should move immediately to seek the cooperation of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China to work to stop the fighting and dying in East Pakistan.

S. J. Res. 143

Whereas the civil strife in East Pakistan has brought the death of hundreds of thousands and great human suffering to millions; and

Whereas the persistence of that strife is a clear and present threat to the peace of the area and thus a potential threat to the peace of the entire world; and

Whereas the President has stated his intention to seek the cooperation of the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China in building a generation of peace for all mankind;

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That it is the sense of the Congress that the U.S. should urgently seek the diplomatic cooperation of the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China in a joint effort to enable the Government of Pakistan to take whatever steps may be necessary to end the civil strife in East Pakistan; to return to the area a legally and democratically elected government without prejudice to the policy that government may follow once in power; to facilitate the rapid and unhindered return to their homes and property, without reprisal, of all refugees driven from East Pakistan as a result of the civil strife; and to re-establish, to the extent feasible, conditions affording a prompt resumption of commerce and economic development in East Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে বায়াফ্রার ঘটনার পুনরাবৃত্তি হচ্ছে : সিনেটর পিয়ার্সনের ভাষণ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৩০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

S 12624 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *July* 30, 1971

EAST PAKISTAN : BIAFRA REVISITED

Mr. Pearson. Mr. President, continuing disorders in Pakistan have left an estimated 200,000 people dead, created more than 6 million refugees, and severely reduced the prospects for a fall harvest adequate to meet the needs of the people of East Pakistan. The spectre of a mass starvation in East Pakistan, far exceeding the death toll of Biafra may become a grim reality this fall. This massive loss of life is made all the more tragic because it can be prevented. In a world with surplus food, death by starvation due to political disputes is the ultimate obscenity perpertated by man upon man.

Although the need for swift action is readily apparent, the distribution of emergency food supplies is not simply a matter of transporting food from Americans to Pakistanis. In order to get the food to the people, normal channels for the distribution of food in affected areas must be reestablished. These channels will not be restored until a series of political accommodations between the Government of Pakistan and dissident elements in the East are reached. Our Government must, in good conscience attempt to use every legitimate means at its disposal to facilitate a political settlement and restore the means to transport available relief supplies to the people of East Pakistan.

The United States is in a moral political dilemma similar to the one encountered during the civil war in Nigeria. On the one hand, it is morally unacceptable for Americans to stand idly by while thousands of people die horrible needless deaths by starvation. On the other hand, we must recognize that exerting pressure on the Government of Pakistan to reach accommodation with opposition forces in the East is direct interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation.

How, then, do we balance our concern for the people of Pakistan with our desire to refrain from political intervention in the interanal affairs of nations around the world ?

As a general principle of our foreign policy, non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations is founded upon two basic ideas. First, Americans are rarely directly affected by internal politics of sovereign nation-States. Second, Americans now recognize that their nations's power to intervene around the world is finite ; the United States cannot be the arbiter of the disputes of all mankind.

In the case of the situation in Pakistan, however, neither of these general principles is valid. The futile deaths by starvation in East Pakistan do have a direct impact upon Americans, perhaps more of an impact than spectacular Byzantine, violent changes of government which occupy the time and energies of diplomats. Each American who is aware of the situation in East Pakistan dies a little each day his Government fails to do its utmost to alleviate the suffering in that area.

As for the second principle, in this case, at this time, the United States and other donor nations do have a good deal of influence over the Government of Pakistan. That Government is dependent upon the capital and commodity flows from the members of the aid consortium headed by the World Bank, which supplies foreign assistance. Surely the taxpayers of the United States and other consortium members cannot condone that continuation of economic and certainly not military, assistance to a Government which systematically excludes a part of its population from sharing in the benefits of that assistance, or worse yet kills them wih it. It would seem that the Government of the United States, following the lead of the consortium, should make clear to the Government of Pakistan that continuation of aid is dependent upon an end to the killing of civilians in the east wing and the distribution of adequate food supplies to all people of the Fast, without regard to religion or political affiliation.

Mr. President, should the State Department fail to impress upon the Pakistanis that many Americans cannot condone the unnecessary starvation and brutal killing of fellow human beings, Congress may find it necessary to suspend, by law, economic and military assistance to Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতির ক্রমাবনতি : সিনেটর স্যাক্সবীর আবারও ভাষণ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

S 12786 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *August* 2, 1971

DETERIORATION OF EVENTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. Saxbe. Mr. President, the rapidly deteriorating events in East Pakistan are continuing their downward spiral to epidemics, communal violence, and war. Refugees are pouring across the border at a rate of 40,000 to 50,000 a day with an imminent total of 7,35,000 refugees in India.

Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan, says :

We are very near to war with India. Let me warn them (India) and the world, it means total war.

Indeed, this may be correct. C. L. Sulzeburger wrote in the New York Times on July 18 :

The Kissinger trip produced an impression that the greatest immediate danger to peace lies in steadily worsening India-Pakistan relations and a possibility that war might explode between these South Asian neighbors, respectively supported by Russia and China. This would destroy Washington's effort to create a new international equilibrium improving relations with Moscow while developing fresh contact with Peking.

Yet, why should Yahya threaten war ? Abul Maal A. Muhit, economic adviser to the Pakistan Embassy and former Deputy Secretary to the Yahya cabinet, defected here in New York maintaining that the Yahya regime has "lost all claim to legitimacy." He predicted that up to 15 million East Pakistanis might die of starvation in the next 3 months. India has accepted 7 million refugees from Yahya's reign of terror. Yet, Yahya says there is a limit to his patience." What patience ?

I am pleased that the United Nations may send to East Pakistan a team of 156 civilian relief and rehabilitation experts and that the United Nations Children's Fund is opening 1,000 centers in Eastern India on August 15 to distribute high protein foods.

The New York Times editorial yesterday stated :

It is time all American aid to the Yahya regime, excepting relief assistance, was unequivocally stopped. The reported American-backed plan to station United Nations observers in East Pakistan could help ease the plight of the Bengalis, but it falls far short of the political accommodation that is needed to head off an explosion on the Indian subcontinent that could precipitate an American-Chinsese-Soviet confrontation in the Himalayas.

Now is the time to turn our policy around. I urge the House to approve the language of its Committee on Foreign Affairs suspending aid to Pakistan and the Senate to adopt the Saxbe-Church amendment of a similar nature.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'বাংলাদেশ' বিশ্বের দরবারে এক নতুন নাম : কংগ্রেস সদস্য রায়ান।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	৩ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

H 7820 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE *August* 3, 1971

BANGLADESH

Mr. Ryan. Mr. Speaker, the name "Bangladesh" is a new one in the world community. Bangladesh--East Pakistan—is a land where a massive tragedy continues, despite the world community's horror at what is happening in Asia.

East Pakistan is today, according to all accounts, a disaster area. The Pakistani Army-, or more accurately, the West Pakistani Army—has levied a virtual pogrom against the people of East Pakistan. Towns have been leveled, children and women have been slaughtered. The enormity of the cruelty almost escapes comprehension.

It is estimated that more than 250,000 East Pakistanis, or Bengalis, have died. More than 7 million have fled as refugees to India, which simply does not have the resources to aid them. Some understanding of the tragedy in East Pakistan is provided by a quotation from the August 2, 1971, issue of Newsweek magazine :

It seemed a routine request. Assembling the young men of the village of Haluaghat in East Pakistan, a Pakistani Army major informed them that his wounded soldiers urgently needed blood. Would they be donors ? The young men lay down on makeshift cots, needless were inserted in their veins—and then slowly the blood was drained from their bodies until they died.

This illustrates the planned action which is being undertaken.

There is very little dispute any more. The Government of Pakistan—the government dominated by West Pakistanis—is converting what has hitherto been its economic and political stepchild—East Pakistan an ecomnomic and political activity. In doing so, no act has been too helpless. Violence and brutality have supplanted reason.

In undertaking this course, the official Pakistani Government has sought to justify its initial actions by the claim that East Pakistan intended to dissolve the union between the western and eastern halves of Pakistan. To the contrary, the evidence shows that in the national parliamentary elections held prior to the disaster, which has now been visited up—on East Pakistan, the East Pakistanis achieved what would have been a majority control of the government. This is in fact what apparently inspired the subsequently.

Thus, East Pakistan is becoming a wasteland. This situation holds little promise of improving. Famine threatens in East Pakistan. According to Mr. Abulmal A. Muhith—economic adviser to the Pakistani Embassy here and former Deputy Secretary to President Yahya Khan's Cabinet—who has defected and joined the forces of Bangladesh, up to 15 million Bengalis may die of starvation in the next 3 months. Meanwhile, India is being overwhelmed by refugees, and this refugee population may be expected to grow.

At the same time, tensions between India and Pakistan continue to mount, and these two traditionally hostile neighbors may well reach a point of outright war. The ominous implications for the great powers in such a development are frightening.

The horror of Bangladesh must not be permitted to continue. Some affirmative steps have apparently been taken by the administration, and I commend them. On Sunday, August 1, it was announced that an international group of 156 civilians constituting a relief and rehabilitation force were to be sent to East Pakistan under United Nations auspices.

This group will include 73 monitors to be stationed at four area offices in Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Khulna, and 69 other locations. Their purpose will be to report on local conditions. Hopefully, their presence will help abate the violence and reprisals. In addition, the United Nations-sponsored force will concern itself with helping the Pakistani authorities alleviate the threat of starvation and disease, and with rehabilitating homes and shelter for the millions who are now homeless. Insofar as the U. S. Government has been instrumental in launching this effort. I believe it has acted wisely and properly.

However, other actions by the administration cannot be countenanced.

The administration has failed to halt arms shipments to Pakistan, and it apparently has sought to deceived the American public concerning its actions. On April 12, a Department of State spokesman claimed that there had been "an embargo since 1965" on military assistance to Pakistan, and a followup statement of April 15 by a Department spokesman said :

In short, no arms have been provided to the Government of Pakistan since the beginning of this crisis, and the question of deliveries will be kept under review in light of devlopments.

On April 23, Assistant Secretay of State David. Abshire wrote the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator FULBRIGHT, and stated :

We have been informed by the Department of Defence that no military items had been provided to the Government of Pakistan or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan on March 25 and nothing is now scheduled for delivery.

On May 6, Assistant Secretary Abshire wrote again to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee claiming :

As you know, we terminated all grant military assistance to Pakistan and India, as consequence of the 1956 Indo-Pakistan war. We have povided no weapons to either country since then. The only measure of grant military assistance which we have reinstituted since 1965 has been a modest program of military training. With respect to military supply, as the Department's spokesman announced of on April 15, the Department of Defence has informed us that no spare parts and ammunition have been provided since the beginning of the crisis and the question of deliveries is under review.

Yet, at the same time that the State Department was claiming that no arms were being shipped to Pakistan, that is, the West Pakistan Government, arms were in fact being shipped. And, in fact, it is now acknowledged that future shipments will be made, supposedly because the agreement to provide the arms being sent was made prior to March 25, the day fighting broke out.

Thus, while the State Department was denying that there was military assistance to the West Pakistan Government arms were on their way.

Once again, military assistance is being provided by the United States to support repression and violence. Once again, political expediency—and I take it that that is what in fact is motivating this administration, since clearly humanitarianism cannot justify its actions—is the prevailing basis for policy.

These shipments must immediately be halted. No paper agreement, arrived at some magic date prior to March 25, can justify the supply of arms, many of which no doubt will be used to continue the violence leveled at East Pakistan.

To achieve this end, I have joined in cosponsoring House Joint Resolution 765, which calls for the suspension of "all military assistance, and all sales and deliveries of military equipment and weapons," to Pakistan, as well as the suspension of "all licenses for military sales including those already approved" for a period of 365 days "unless the President determines that such assistance, sales, or deliveries are required for reasons of overriding national interest and so reports to the Congress." This bill deserves immediate passage.

I am pleased to note that the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971, H. R. 9910, does in fact suspend aid to Pakistan. This is an extremely important action by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I would have only hoped that the language of the bill could have been stronger, inasmuch as it now has language allowing abrogation of the suspension of East Pakistsni refugees have been allowed, "to the extent feasible," to return to their homes and to reclaim their lands and properties. However, even with this caveat, this provision still provides excellent opportunity for the Congress to accomplish what the administration has failed to do.

I would also note that the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971, H. R. 9910, authorizes 100 million for relief for East Pakistani refugees, and this is particularly commendable. Other steps, as well, must be taken. The U. S.

Government must clearly express its abhorrence of the actions taken by the Pakistani Government. It must clearly articulate our discountenance of the abrogation of the elections which occurred earlier this year. It must encourage a massive relief effort by the United Nations, and support that effort.

An article by Lee Leascze, published in the July 24, 1971, edition of the Washington Post and entitled "U. S. Arms Aid to Pakistan Bewilders Fearful Bengalis," quoted a Bengali as stating that—

The cradle of democracy............is against us.

All too sadly, that is not an inaccurate assessment of the public posture the Administration has assumed, Ambivalence in the face of the human horror of Bangladesh is the present position of the U. S. Government. That must be changed.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আমেরিকার জাতীয় প্রেস ক্লাবে সিনেটর কেনেডীর বক্তৃতা।	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	২৬ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Address by Senator Edward M. Kennedy to the National Press Club

August 26, 1971

I am grateful for this chance to speak to the members of the National Press Club and to share with you my experiences during a week-long visit to the refugee camps of India... to a scene which only can be described as the most appalling tide of human misery in modern times.

In just a few months, since early April, the civil war in East Bengal has driven nearly 8,000,000 men, women and children into India to escape conditions in their homeland. Unnumbered thousands of others have been slaughtered in the civil strife, or displaced within their country. Millions more in East Bengal face continued terror, disease and starvation, unless they receive immediate relief.

This stark tragedy is not yet understood by the world. And although it has been a source of urgent concern to me and the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees from the outset, I can tell you that not until you see it first-hand can you begin to understand its immensity. For only by being there can you sense the feelings and understand the plight of the people, and the forces of violence which continue to create refugees and increase the toll of civilian casualties.

In India I visited refugee areas along the entire border of East Bengal... from Calcutta and West Bengal in the west... to the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts in the north .. to Agartala in the State of Tripura in the east. I listened to scores of refugees as they crowded into camps, struggling to survive in makeshift shelters in open fields or behind public buildings... or trudging down the roads of West Bengal from days and even weeks of desperate flight. Their faces and their stories etch a sage of shame which should overwhelm the moral sensitivities of people throughout the world.

I found that conditions varied widely from one refugee camp to another. But many defy description. Those refugees who suffer most from the congestion, the lack of adequate supplies and the frightful conditions of sanitation are the very yonng... the children under five.. and the very old. The estimates of their numbers run as high as fifty per cent of all the refugees. Many of these infants and aged already have died. And it is possible... as you pick your steps among others... to identify those who will be dead within hours, or whose sufferings surely will end in a matter of days.

You see infants with their skin hanging loosely in folds from their tiny bones ... lacking the strength even to lift their heads. You see children with legs and feet swollen with edema and malnutrition, limp in the arms of their mothers. You see babies going blind for lack of vitamins, or covered with sores that will not heal. You see in the eyes of their parents the despair of ever having their children well again.. And most difficult of all, you see the corpse of the child who died just the night before.

The story is the same in camp after camp. And it is complicated by the continually growing number of civilian casualties overburdening an already limited hospital system. Most of these casualties have been brought across the border by their fellow refugees. Yet there also are large numbers of Indians whose border villages have been subjected to shelling from Pakistani troops. In addition, there are the untold numbers of victims who remain uncounted and unattended in the rural areas of East Bengal.

The government of India, as it first saw this tide of human misery begin to flow across its borders, could have cordoned off its land and refused entry. But, to its everlasting credit, India chose the way of compassion. The Indian Government has made Herculean efforts to assist and accomodate the refugees .. efforts which history will record and remember.

But even this noble work is being defeated by the sheer numbers involved in this calamity. At peak periods two months ago, refugees were arriving in India at the rate of 150,000 a day. Today they still arrive at the rate of 25,000 a day.

And while the magnitude of the problem staggers the imagination, the individual accounts of the people who have fled East Bengal tear at your heart.

A 55 year old railway employee .. he was a Muslim civil servant with 35 years of service ... told me of an unexplained noontime attack by the Pakistani army on his railroad station. "I do not know why they shot me." he said. "I don't belong to any political party. I was just a railway clerk." Now he sits idly in an Indian refugee camp, financially crippled, and with no prospect of returning to receive his long-earned government pension that was to begin next month.

Even more tragic are the experiences of the innocent and uneducated villagers. You can piece together the mosaic of misery from dozens of interviews among new refugees on the Boyra-Bongaon Road north of Calcutta.

On the day we travelled this 20 mile road, at least 7,000 new refugees were streaming along the banks of the border river crossing near Boyra. Nearly all were peasant farmers. Most were Hindus, from the Khulna and Barisal district south of Dacca ... on the fringe of the area affected by last fall's cyclone.

The very young and the very old were exhausted from many days and nights in flight .. usually on foot. Many were in a visible state of shock, sitting listless by the roadside or wandering aimlessly toward an unknown fate. They told stories of atrocities, of slaughter, of looting, and burning of harassment and abuse by West Pakistani soldiers and collaborators. Many children were dying along the way, their parents pleading and begging for help. Monsoon rains were drenching the countryside, adding to the depression and despair on their faces. To those of us who went out that day, the rains meant no more than a change of clothes. But to these people it meant still another night without rest, food, or shelter.

It is difficult to erase from your mind the look on the face of a child paralyzed from the waist down, never to walk again, or a child quivering in fear on a mat in a small tent still in shock from seeing his parents, his brothers and his sisters executed before his eyes, or the anxiety of a 10 year-old girl out foraging for something to cover the body of her baby brother who had died of cholera a few moments before our arrival. When I asked one refugee camp director what he would describe as his greatest need, his answer was "a crematorium." He was in charge of one of the largest refugee camps in the world. It was originally designed to provide low income and middle income housing, and has now become the home for some 170,000 refugees.

It is time .. it is past time .. for Americans to understand what has produced this massive human tragedy, and to recognize the bankrupt response by our own nation.

The issue from the beginning in East Bengal has been self-determination and democratic principle. After years of political and economic domination by West Pakistan... after years of martial law and unfulfilled election promises... a free election finally was conducted throughout Pakistan last December 7th. The election was administered under martial law and, at the time, loudly proclaimed fair by the government of President Yahya Khan. It produced in East Bengal an overwhelming mandate — almost 80% of the vote—for the Awami League party and its leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The Awami League was thus given a majority in the forthcoming Pakistan National Assembly charged with drafting a new constitution for returning the nation to civilian, democratic rule. But what happened next formed a pattern of delay and deception, followed by the invocation of martial law once more. Negotiations between Sheikh Mujib and President Yahya over the party's six-point proposal for regional autonomy dragged on and deteriorated . . erupting in terror and bloodshed suddenly on the night of March 25th.

While the East Bengalis negotiated for democracy and autonomy, the West Pakistan army prepared for systematic repression and organized terror. Countless thousands were butchered during the days that followed March 25th, and many millions more were dislocated within East Bengal. What I saw last week in India was the human debris from that night of terror and from the subsequent weeks of violence. Martial law remains, as does

the military's violence "Collective responsibility"... a policy of destroying whole villages on the suspicion that they harbor Awami Leaguers or Bengali guerillas.. is now sanctioned by martial law, and it is reflected in the continuing flow of refugees.

Unfortunately, the face of America today in South Asia is not much different from its image over the past years in Southeast Asia. It is the image of an America that supports military repression and fuels military violence. It is the image of an America comfortably consorting with an authoritarian regime. It is the image of an America citing its revolutionary past and crowing about its commitment to self-determination, while it services military juntas that suppress change and ignore a people's aspirations.

The situation in East Bengal should particularly distress Americans, since it is our military hardware.. our guns and tanks and aircraft delivered over a decade ... which are contributing substantially to the suffering. And even more shocking is the fact that these military supplies continue to flow... apparently under instructions from the highest officials of our land. Pakistani ships loaded with U. S. military supplies continue to leave American harbors bound for West Pakistan troops. And it is all so shameful and so sad. For they could be halted with a simple stroke of a pen.

It is argued that the continuation of military aid to West Pakistan somehow gives us "leverage" to constructively influence the Pakistan military's policy in East Bengal. Well, where is that leverage ? Where is the leverage to stop the use of U. S. arms which produce the refugees and civilian victims that we then must help support in India ? Where is the leverage to halt the secret trial of Sheikh Mujib whose only crime is that he won a free election ? Where is the leverage to prevent our humanitarian aid from being turned into military equipment, when American relief boats are transformed into American gun boats ? Why, if we have the leverage to influence the government of Pakistan, must our great nation assist in this shabby and shameful enterprise ?

It is time for Americans to ask their leaders : "Just what kind of government is it that we seek to influence ... and for what purpose ?"

For over ten tragic years, Americans have been asked to sacrifice nearly $100 billion and 45,000 lives to uphold the concept of self-determination and democratic principles in a land 10,000 miles from our beaches. Today,... in a land 12,000 miles away and with 5 times the population ... America is being asked by its leadership to support the repression of self-determination ... to cooperate in a conspiracy against the results of a free election.

Consider another pitiful parallel : after all our sacrifice and our effort in South Vietnam, we are confronted with a so-called "democracy" that is ruled by a military elite which still cannot conduct a free election" —which calls an election "free" when it eliminates all significant opposition. Meanwhile, in East Bengal—less than 2000 miles from Saigon —we ignore the results of a free election only to help a group of generals suppress an electoral mandate and, in the process, to subvert all the principles for which we have sacrificed so much for so long.

You may say that we have no business getting involved...that we cannot police the world. That may be true. But the cold fact is that we already are involved in East Bengal. Our guns are involved. Our money...invested over two decanes of economic assistance...is involved. It is not a question of whether we should be involved but, rather how we should be involved. It is not a question of whether we should spend funds but rather, how are we spending funds. Whether we supply more guns, or invest in he humanitarian programs to bring peace and relief to a desperately troubled area.

There is irony in the voices of the leaders of East Bengal with whom I talked and who now constitute themselvs as the Government of Bangladesh. These leaders will not come to America to ask for assistance. As one Awami League official said : "Many nations and people come to America to ask for billions of U. S. dollars for more guns, more supplied. We Bengalis ask only that you provide nothing...no guns, no money to either side...that you simple remain neutral." To me this seems both sound from a political as well as moral view. Neutrality, rather than the mindless and fruitless practice of following old habits in our dealings with military cliques in South Asia, may provide us with leverage which is real and effective.

The nations of that region are struggling today against heavy odds to achieve democratic government. We in America do not fully realize how the spirit of democracy flourishes there. India a few months ago held, for the fourth time, the largest free election in the world. For Pakistan it has taken a longer period to arrange free election. But the significance of last December's vote was not missed even by the marital law authorities in West Pakistan. They proudly and rightly, proclaimed it as a milestone in Pakistan's history. It had presented Pakistan with its first real opportudity to bridge its regional division and develop democratic institutions.

So it was that civilian leadership emerged in Pakistan, capable of pulling together the forces of history...of prescrving the unity of Pakistan and the stability of the region. The full folly of the West Pakistan army's bid to undo what a whole people had set in motion ... to suppress its best hope for unity...can only be understood in this context.

If some political solution is not found soon...if some mechanism is not established for cooling tempers and furnishing relief...the situation in East Bengal threatens to develop into terminal cancer both for Pakistan and Eastern India. For no issue has had more disruptive impact on the subcontinent since partition in 1947.

The implications for American foreign policy are clear.

First, we must arouse America to the real human tragedy now taking place in Pakistan and India. The tragedy of East Bengal is not only a tragedy for Pakistan. It is not only a tragedy for India. It is a tragedy for the entire world community, and it is the responsibility of that

community to act together to ease the crisis. If America is to fulfill its role as the leading humanitarian nation of the world community, than America must take the lead in bringing international aid and relief to the millions of refugees and other victims of this international conflict.

We know, however, that the response of the United States and the international community has been far short of the need. To date, the United Nations has given less than $ 150 million for relief. Of this total, the United States has pledged about 880 million.

To be sure, as the Administration pointed out with pride, we have pledged a larger share of the total than the rest of the world combined. But the pride is quickly dispelled by the vastly greater burden now being carried single-handedly by the government and the people of India. When we realize that India herself faces the prospect of a budget for refugee relief of $500 million to $1 billion in the next year alone, we realize how little the outside world is really doing, and how paltry the American contribution really is.

Simple humanity demands that America and the United Nations must accept the truth that this heavy burden should be borne by the entire international community, and not by India alone. Consistent with the financial support we have traditionally given to United Nations aid and relief activities in the past, as well as with the level of support we are currently giving as a member of the international consortium for aid to that part of the world, the United States must be prepared to contribute at least 30 to 40% of the relief effort for East Bengal. If a billion dollars is needed through the United Nations, then America must have the courage not only to demand that the U. N. meet the need, but also to provide the $300 to $400 million that will be required as the American contribution to the effort. When Congress returns in September, I intend to offer appropriate legislation to achieve this goal.

Second, we must do an about-face in our relations with the nations in the area. Most important, our government must stop preaching "restraint" to India and start showing "restraint" ourselves toward Pakistan. We must end immediately all further U. S. arms shipments to West Pakistan. We must end all other economic support of a regime that continues to violate the most basic principles of humanity. We must demonstrate to the generals of West Pakistan and to the peoples of the world that the United states has a deep and abiding revulsion of the monumental slaughter that has ravaged East Bengal.

My experience in the field last week has strengthened these views immensely. No American who has seen the faces of children too weak to cry, too tired to live, too shocked to care, could settle for less. No American would recommend less against a government that tries a political leader in secret ... and, as many fear, may put him to death ... for the crime of winning a free election.

No American would support a regime that is alien to the principles for which so many of his fellow citizens have given their lives in virtually every corner of the world.

I do not, at this time, suggest a break in our diplomatic relations with Pakistan. Let us continue to talk urgently. Let us express our candid views. Let President Nixon make personal representations to President Yahya Khan about every aspect of the crisis. To the beleaguered Government of India let us reaffirm our faith in the ability of men of good will everywhere to work together to end the crisis.

Third, I believe that the United States should work strongly within the framework of the South East Asia Treaty Orgainization to bring as much pressure as possible to bear on the Government of West Pakistan to modify its cruel policy of repression toward East Bengal. If no alleviation of these policies is immediately forthcoming, the United States should lead the other SEATO nations in seeking to terminate the participation of Pakistan in the organization.

Similarly, we should re-examine every other bilateral and multilateral relationship we have with Pakistan. No forum of this nation, no forum of the world community, should hesitate to focus the bright light of informed opinion on the nightmare of terror and inhumanity now being perpetrated in South Asia.

As Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, I plan to file a formal report on the findings of my recent field investigation. Our Subcommittee will conduct further hearings at the end of September. These hearings will be an effort to document what our government is doing, what it is prepared to do, and what it is capable of doing to provide the leadership necessary to bring peace and relief to South Asia.

The prayers and dreams of people like those in East Bengal were stated eloquently a generation ago in the magnificent verse of Tagore, Bengal's greatest poet and philosopher. As Tagore wrote in an immortal ode to peace and freedom in words that could describe the aspirations of East Bengal today,

> "Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;
> Where knowledge is free ;
>
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls ... ...
>
> Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

With words like these as our inspiration, America can find the will to help these dreams come true.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ম্যাসাচুসেটস্ আইন সভার প্রস্তাব।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Sept. 9, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Extensions of Remarks* E 9327

RESOLUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

In the House of Representatives—*September 8, 1971*

Mr HARRINGTION. Mr. Speaker, on August 11 the Massachusetts, Senate and on August 23 the Massachusetts House of Representatives, adopted resolutions calling for the immediate cessation of all economic and military aid to the Government of Pakistan for the duration of its civil war. It is essential that pubilc officials speak out against the atrocities being committed in Bengal with American arms, and I praise the Massachusetts Legislature for the wisdom and compassion of its action.

With this in mind, I include the texts of the resolutions :

Resolutions urging the President of the United States, the Congress and the Citizens of the Commonwealth to take any action appropriate to effect the Suspension of Economic and Military Aid and sales to Pakistan, with the exception of Relief, Supplies, for the Duration of its Civil war.

Whereas, the people of the commonwealth are gravely concerned about the tragedy East Pakistan and the military action of the Pakistan army which has killed an unknown number of civilians and driven more than seven million refugees to India ; and

Whereas, The United States government is continuing to ship ammunition and military equipment to Pakistan for use by its army against its own civilian population and is requesting the Congress of the United States to appropriate one hundred thirty one million dollars for aid to Pakistan ; and

Whereas, in providing military and economic aid to the Pakistan government when all other major aid-giving nations, except China, have temporarily suspended aid, the United States is, in effect, supporting the repressive action of the Pakistan army and its persistent brutality against a majority of that country's population ; and

Whereas American interest and the real interests of Pakistan cannot be served by continuing to assist a regime which savagely suppresses its own people, flaunts the democratic processes demonstrated in the elections of December, 1970, causes a flood of refugees to a neighbouring state and threatens the peace and security of the entire Indo Pakistan subcontinent; now therefore, be it.

Resolved, that the Massachusetts Senate urges the citizens of the commonwealth and all firms, unions and other organizations operating therein to oppose any further military aid or sales to Pakistan and to oppose further economic aid, other than food and other relief assistance distributed and monitored under international auspices, until military action ends in East Pakistan, civilian rule is restored and a majority of the refugees are able to return to their homes; and be it further.

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully, urges the President and Congress of the United states to take any action which may be necessary to immediately suspend military and economic sale to Pakistan for the reasons hereinbefore stated; and be it further.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secreary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth.

Resolutions Urging the President of the United States, the Congress and the Citizens of the Commonwealth to take any action appropriate to effect the Suspension of Economic and Military aid and Sales to Pakistan with the exception of Relief Supplies, for the duration of Its civil war.

Whereas, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is concerned about the tragedy in East Pakistan and the military action of the Pakistan army which has killed an unknown number of civilians and driven more than seven million refugees to India; and

Whereas, The, United States government is continuing to ship ammunition and military equipment to Pakistan for use by the army against its own civilian population and is requesting Congress to appropriate one hundred thirty one million dollars for aid to Pakistan; and

Whereas, in providing military and economic aid to the Pakistan Government when all other major aid-giving nations, except China, have temporarily suspended aid, the United States is in effect, supporting the repressive action of the Pakistan army and its persistent brutality against a majority of that country's population; and

Whereas, American interest and the real interests of Pakistan cannot be served by continuing to assist a regime which savagely suppresses its own people, flaunts the democratic processes demonstrated in the elections of December, 1970, causes a flood of refugees to a neighbouring state and threatens the peace and security of the entire Indo-Pakistan subcontinent; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives urges the citizens of the Commonwealth and all firms, unions and other organizations operating here to oppose any further military aid or sales to Pakistan and to oppose further economic aid, other than food and other relief assistance distributed and monitored under international auspices, until military action ends in East Pakistan, civilian rule is restored and a majority of the refugees are able to return to their homes; and be it further

Resolved, that the Massachusetts House of Representatives memorializes the President and Congress of the United States to suspend military and economic sales on the basis as stated above; and be it further

Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে শরণার্থী ত্রাণে অতিরিক্ত বরাদ্দের জন্য বিল : সিনেটর কেনেডী।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 14876 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE—*September 20, 1971*

By Mr. KENNEDY :]

S. 2568. A bill to authorize appropriations for the relief of Pakistani refugees in India. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. KNNEDY. Mr. President reports from India continue to tell of a stream of human misery flowing from East Pakistan.

In fact, in the month since I returned from visiting scores of refugee camps all along the border of East Pakistan in India, nearly a million more East Bengalis has found it necessary to flee inhuman conditions and truly genocidal acts of their government.

The story of East Bengal will surely be written as one of the greatest nightmares of modern times. The situation, as I saw it for myself, defies description. And each day the misery grows.

A report in the New York Times this morning, as well as other information available to the subcommittee on refugees, which I serve as chairman, says—

That the Pakistani army and its civilian collaborators are continuing to kill, loot, and burn despite the central government's public avowals that it is bent on restoring normalcy and winning the confidence of the Bengali people.

Mr. President there is nothing new in such reports. I heard them from countless refugees during my interviews in India.

How much longer will our Government—and the President himself—sweep this time under the rug, with the justification that our silence affords leverage. Where is our leverage? where are the results of our leverage?

But more importantly, where is our sense of values? Where is our compassion for millions of suffering refugees?

When will our government finally choose leadership over silence, in helping to ameliorate a situation which is fast pushing South Asia over the brink of disaster?

When will we cease the shipment of arms to an inflamed area and provide instead the humanitarian relief urgently needed?

Without this, Mr. President, the human costs will continue to rise.

Each day brings new misery and more death. And each day increases the terrible burden India is being forced to carry—without the measure of support by our own government and the international community, commensurate with the truly vast need in the field.

New estimates of our Government now put the cost to India, of caring for the refugee, at the staggering total of $830 000,000 during the current fiscal year—a cost equal to the annual contribution of the aid consortium for India's economic development. Simple h . . . ty demands that we and the international community must face the simple truth that this refugee burden cannot be borne by India alone.

To this end, I am introducing today a bill to authorize $400,000,000 to assist the International Refugee Relief Effort in India This figure is consistent with the percentage of financial support we have traditionally given to many international agencies. It is similar, in fact, to the level of support we are currently giving as a member of the international development consortium for India.

To further explore the massive human tragedy in South Asia—and to document what our Government is now doing and what it is prepared to do in the future to help in this problem—I am announcing today that further hearings by the Subcommittee on Refugees will begin next week.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record the text of the bill I introduced today.

S. 2568

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representative of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That section 302 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) There is authorized to be appropriated to the President, for the fiscal year 1972, not to exceed $400,000,000 for use by the President in providing assistance for the relief and rehabilitation of Pakistani refugee who left Pakistan on or after March 25, 1971, and went to India".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত ও বাংলাদেশ সফর : কংগ্রেস সদস্য ফ্রিলিংহুসেন-এর সমীক্ষা।	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

October 13, 1971

Observations on 12 day trip to Pakistan and India.

Purpose was to have a firsthand look at the humanitarian relief problems created— both in East Pakistan and in India— by the civil strife in East Pakistan, and to examine the political situation in the area.

1. The continuation of substantial humanitarian assistance to both India and East Pakistan is critical importance. It is crucial to the prevention of famine and the development of stable conditions in East Pakistan. Increased relief aid for refugees is also needed to relieve an intolerable economic burden on India. Flood relief for areas seriously affected by the recent monsoons will also be needed.

The magnitude of the refugee problem is staggering. The Indians have kept records of incoming refugees, and are providing them with shelter and food, and I have no basis for challenging their estimates that some 9,000,000 refugees are being cared for.

2. I trust congress will act favorably on President Nixon's recent request for $250 million in emergency humanitarian relief to India and East Pakistan. However, such a large appropriation will compete with domestic needs and Congress will want assurance that other countries are contributing adequately to this emergency. So far the United States has contributed $80 million, almost half of a total of $186 million pledged or given by the international community to India for refugee relief. Relief on the scale which will probably be necessary will raise also the question of reasonable accountability for the funds contributed.

Although India is at present reluctant even to consider any role for the United Nations in co-ordinating the relief effort and perhaps also in reducing the number of incidents along the border between India and East Pakistan. I personally still hope that a way can be found to increase the usefulness and good offices of the U. N.

3. The danger of war between India and Pakistan is real, and quite possibly increasing. By accident or by a deliberate move, armed conflict could easily begin. For that reason, utmost restraint by both countries is of extreme importance. War would be the ultimate traged, solving nothing, but inevitably inflicting still greater tragedy on an area which has already suffered enormously.

4. It is essential that some concrete progress be made and made soon— toward a political settlement. The participation of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the East Pakistan leader, if it could be achieved—and this unhappily may not develop in view of past events—could be a key element in this process.

In any event, no stone should be left unturned in efforts to move promptly. Much will depend on the efforts not only of India and Pakistan, but of the international community.

Finally, I believe all further American military aid to Pakistan—whether in the pipeline or not— must be stopped. The amount of equipment actually delivered to Pakistan since the embargo has been insignificant in terms of dollar value and of military value to Pakistan, and it has adversely affected relations between India and the United States.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলার জনগণকে আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণাধিকার না দেওয়া পর্যন্ত সংকট অবসানের আশা নাই : রোজেনথল।	কংগ্রেসের কার্যবিবরণী	১৪ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

Oct. 14, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD**—*Extensions of Remarks* **E 10915**

STATUS REPORT ON PAKISTAN

In the House of Representatives

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, more than 6 months have elapsed since the West Pakistani Army began its fierce attack against East Bengal. By now the American public has been satiated with a stream of reports describing a tale of terror. The rape, torture, looting, killing, starving, and systematic burning of villages have continued unabated since March 25.

No end is in sight. The number of refugees who have fled across the border now totals 9 million and relief workers in India are bracing themselves for an additional 3 to 11 million others who are expected to arrive before the end of the year. By all accounts this constitutes the largest mass exodus of human beithe in modern history.

Unlike last winter's natural disasters which took a toll of a half million lives, the present holocaust has taken twice as many lives and is entirely man made.

East Bengal's leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman—whose party received 95 per cent of the seats at stake in the east in the December 1970 election—is now secretly imprisoned in the western sector and is being tried for his life by the military government. Until he is released and until the people of East Bengal—Bangladesh—are allowed self-determination, there will be no hope of ending the suffering.

The U.S. Government maintains that Pakistan's current difficulties are an "internal" matter and that the goal of U.S. policy is to exert "leverage" upon the Pakistani Government in order to stave off a disastrous cimax. Behind this cloak of impartiality however, lies an entirely different story :U.S. arms, military equipment, and economic assistance continue to flow to West Pakistan, providing the major financial backing for General Yahya Khan's program of suppression. Some sources estimate that as many as 80 percent of the weapons being used by the West Pakistani Army in Bengal are of American origin.

At his August 4 press conference, President Nixon clarified his administration's policy with a brief statement :

We feel that the most constructive role we can play is to continue our economic assistance of Pakistan......We are not going to engage in public pressure on the Government of Pakistan. That would be totally counter-productive. These are matters that we will discuss only in private channels.

Why does the President insist on covering up Pakistan's ruthless and premeditated campaign of genocide when the rest of the world is cring out with horror ? The 11 member nations of the aid to-Pakistan consortium agreed to cut off all aid to Pakistan after a World Bank delegation saw at first hand the destruction perpetrated by Yahya Khan's soldiers. The United States alone intends to continue feeding the Pakistani war machine.

Any end to the suffering in Bangladesh requires a realistic political solution in addition to a rapid distribution of relief equipment and food. Indeed, under the present circumstances the provision of food grains by itself may actually serve to retard any potential resolution. In the past, 95,000 tons of Public Law 480 food grains presented for relief use in the east have been diverted to the west by the Central Government of Pakistan and 24 U.N. vehicles intended to be used for distribution of humanitarian supplies have been commandered by the Pakistani generals and used instead to transport troops into battle.

What assurances are there that the 200 jeeps, 26 coastal vessels and nine minibulkers recently given to the United Nation will not be similarly commandered ? How can the 70 U.N. observers—all of whom are presently huddled together in the sanctuary of the Capital City, Dacca—prevent misuse of funds, food, and medicine by the Pakistan Army ? It is foolish to think that that army—a foreign force occupying a distant land and speaking a strange language—will suddenly stop gunning down Bengalis to graciously offer them the needed supplies. In a war of genocide food is often just as deadly a weapon as bullets. Until the people of East Bengal can determine their political future the torment will continue, the refugees will flee in ever greater numbers and the Indian subcontinent will remain a powder keg only waiting to explode.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থী : সিনেটর পার্সির বক্তৃতা ও উদ্ধৃতি	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

S 17040 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *October* 28, 1971

The Pakistani Refugees

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the heavy influx of refugees from East Pakistan has sorely taxed the already overburdened resources of India. Because the refugee population has now reached 9 million pressures are mounting in India to take military action against East Pakistan to stem the tide of refugees. Indeed, the threat of war hangs heavy over India and Pakistan. The New York Times, in an article written by Malcolm Browne and published on October 26, 1971, reports that "501 enemy troops defined as Indians and Indian agents" were killed by West Pakistan forces. In fact, the Times further reported that "these statistics indicate that the fighting had reached its greatest intensity since the brief Indo-Pakistani conflict in 1965."

It is all too apparent that the mobilization of forces along the Indo-Pakistani frontiers is intensifying the threat of war. In the Washington Post of October 17, 1971, it is stated :

It is believed that nether side want to go to war. The chief danger is seen as coming from accidental escalation along the East Pakistan border.

The ever-increasing total of Pakistani refugees in India complicates the matter greatly. Sydney H. Schanberg, in an article published in the New York Times of October 10, 1971, writes that—

India's willingness to absorb the refugee pressure is not limitless—that there is a breaking point and that it could come soon.

I have recently been to both East Pakistan and India and witnessed first-hand in eight different camps the despair and tragedy of the refugees. As Malcolm Browne notes in the New York Times of October 14—

.... the chances of reversing the tide of millions of destitute refugees who have fled to India seem remote.

It is obvious that the situation is deteriorating. In these circumstances, all interested nations should be exploring, by diplomatic means, the possibilities of solutions which would maintain the peace between India and Pakistan, and lead to the return of the Pakistani refugees to East Bengal as soon as their security can be assured. Our own State Department is working toward this objective.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর হ্যারিসের প্রস্তাব ও বিবৃতি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৫ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 17656 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *November* 5, 1971

Senate Resolution 190—Submission of a Resolution to Authorize an Emergency Session of the Security Council

(Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.)

Mr. Mansfield. Mr President, by request I submit a resolution on behalf of the senior Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. Harris) and ask unanimous consent that it be printed together with his statement.

The resolution is as follows :

S. Res. 190

Whereas in recent weeks there have been numerous reports from South Asia suggesting that a conflict between the Governments of India and Pakistan could erupt at any moment ; and

Whereas a conflict between these two populous countries would be a major disaster for world peace and could involve outside powers ; and

Whereas the People's Republic of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have all expressed concern at the heightening tension in South Asia ; and

Whereas in the past the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has made it difficult for all parties interested in peace and stability in South Asia to communicate their views freely among one another; and

Whereas the People's Republic of China is now ready to assume its seat on the United Nations Security Council ; and

Whereas an immediate exchange of views in the Security Council by parties directly or indirectly involved in the menacing conflict in Sout Asia could improve the prospects for peace in that area : Now, therefore be it.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the United States should instruct its delegation at the United Nations to propose the formal inscription on the agenda of the Security Council of an item entitled "The Threat to Peace in South Asia" and that the United States delegation should call for an emergency session of the Security Council on this subject at the earliest possible date.

The statement of Mr. Harris is as follows :

Mr. Harris Mr. President, with the admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, the world is entering a new diplomatic era.

The People's Republic of China, by sheer weight of population and by geographic size, has always had a profound effect on other nations' policies. But so long as it remained is in isolation, it did not engage in an open and free exchange of views with others on international crises.

The result was often the delay of political settlement. This was true in Korea. It has been true in Vietnam. And today it is particularly true in South Asia.

The smouldering conflict there between India and Pakistan may be the greatest threat to world peace since World War II. For not only would a war between these two states involve two enormous population masses, untold casualties and a possible religious war. There would aslo be the grave danger that concerned outside powers, in particular China, the Soviet Union and the United States, might at some point be drawn in. In that event the world would face the possibility of a war involving 51% of the entire population on the globe, a catastrophe on a scale with World War II.

From the beginning we have known that a political settlement between India and Pakistan would be difficult. The reason is clear. At stake is not simply the future but the political survival of two major world states. But what the states directly involved would have found difficult in any case, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the United States have made impossible. Both by their actions of support for one side against the other as well as by their failure to consult with one another about a political solution, they have delayed, not facilitated a political settlement.

I believe we can wait no longer for political discussions leading to an end to this menace to world peace. Both the powers directly involve, India and Pakistan, and those major powers indirectly involved must participate. And there is only one body where these discussion can be held, the UN Security Council.

We must end the practice of making the United Nations the court of *no resort*. Many experienced observers believe the world may literally be standing edge of the final precipice. Now is not the time to neglect the only world forum which brings together all interested parties without cost in prestige or position to any..

Today I am therefore introducing a resolution which declares it to be the sense of the Senate that the United States should instruct its delegation at the United Nations to propose the formal inscription on the agenda of the Security Council of the item "The Threat to Peace in South Asia" and that the United States delegation should at the same time call for an emergency session of the Security Council on th subject.

I urge support for this resolution so that the world may understand the danger—it faces and take steps towards its elimination. I urge that we not pass up the unique diplomatic opportunity to move towards peace in South Asia which I believe we all can agree China's entry nto the United Nations may present.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে সমর সম্ভার প্রেরণ বন্ধে সিনেটর কেনেডীর সন্তোষ ও চারদফা কর্মসূচী প্রদান।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 17821 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *November* 8, 1971

Halt in shipment of military supplies to Pakistan.

Mr. Kennedy. Mr. President, the State Department has just confirmed to me this morning's news reports that the administration is halting the shipment of military supplies to Pakistan. I understand that this order involves the revocation of some $ 3,600,000 worth of outstanding shipping licenses—as well as some $ 10 million worth of potential licenses authorized by 24 "offer and acceptance contracts" negotiated by the Department of Defense with the Embassy of Pakistan after March 25. The order excludes, however, some $ 160,000 worth of items already cleared by customs in New York, and waiting for shipment to Pakistan. I also understand the that official estimate on the value of military supplies sent to Pakistan since late March approximates some $ 5 million.

Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to commend the administration for this positive step in our national policy toward South Asia. For nothing has symbolized more the heavy measure of support we have been giving to the military regime in Pakistan, than the continued shipment of American military supplies—and nothing has symbolized more the bankruptcy of our approach to the crisis in South Asia—carried out in the name of leverage—than the continuing repression in East Bengal and the flow of refugees into India.

But—even at this late stage—the action announced today by the Department of State is a welcome first step in what I hope will be a redirecting of our policy in South Asia. There are a .... of other things our country should do, as well. Some of these additional steps were outlined in a report I issued last week. The report is based on my recent visit to the refugee areas in India, and hearings before the Subcommittee on Refugees, which I serve as chairman.

One of the more important steps which should be taken is for our Government to facilitate an immediate visit with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross Mission in Pakistan. Such a visit falls within the expressed mandate of the mission's program currently underway in Pakistan and East Bengal. Positive information relating to the welfare and fate of Sheikh Mujib—and the many others held in detention—will contribute to a reduction of tension throughout the area. Sheikh Mujib's only crime was the winning of a free election sponsored by a military regime that later refused to abide by the election's mandate. Sheikh Mujib's symbolic leadership of political forces opposing the present government in Islamabad, makes his just treatment and personal safety a matter of greatest importance in any efforts to encourage and accomplish a political settlement between Islamabad and its Bengali opposition.

Second, our Government, in cooperation with others, should encourage current initiatives to include the tragedy of East Bengal in the debate of the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. America's represen-

tatives at the United Nations should participate in this debate; and actively support reporting to the floor of the General Assembly a resolution noting the tragedy in East Bengal, calling on all parties concerned to seek a political settlement, and calling on the international community to contribute generously for the relief of the millions of men, women, and children in need.

Simultaneously, our Government should support the efforts of the Secretary General in bringing to bear the peace keeping machinery of the United Nations on the threat to peace posed by the actions of the Pakistan Army in East Bengal, and the resulting confrontation between India and Pakistan. In a definitive memorandum of July 20, the Secretary General sought the involvement of the Security Council, saying :

The United Nations with its long experience in peace keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion must and should now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy which has already taken place and to avert the further deterioration of the situation.

The time is long overdue for our Government, in cooperation with others, to respond positively to the Secretary General's recommendation to activate the peace keeping function of the United Nations. Over 3 months have passed since this appeal, and time is not on the side of peace in South Asia today.

Third—to emphasize the urgency of our Government's concern over the deteriorating situation in East Bengal and South Asia—the President should appoint a special representative to communicate with the President of Pakistan, and other parties in the area. Given the long friendship between the United States and Pakistan, and the every substantial diplomatic and material support we have given to Pakistan, our country has a unique opportunity for offering leadership to help encourage the attitudes needed for achieving a political settlement between Islamabad and its Bengali opposition, and for bringing peace and relief to a troubled area.

Finally, we must move through the legislative process—as soon as possible—reasonable appropriations for relief needs among the refugees in India and the famine-threatened people of East Bengal.

Mr. President, South Asia today is on the brink of war and even greater human tragedy. I share the view of many Americans that our Government's policy toward the area has borne a special responsibility in bringing about this situation; for our past policy has encouraged Pakistan intransigency and fed frustrations in India and East Bengal Today's announcement by the Department of State must be followed up with additional steps to rescue our foreign policy from a course that has been disastrous both to our best traditions and interests in South Asia.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাক-ভারত সংঘাতে আমেরিকা যেন জড়িয়ে না পড়ে: সিনেটর এ্যালেন।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	২৯ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 19668 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *November* **29, 1971**

The Tragic Conflict Between India and Pakistan

Mr. Allen. Mr. President, the human tragedy that is taking place in Asia, where India and Pakistan have renewed their border fighting and threaten all-out war, must not engulf the United States. This is not the first time that these giant countries have squared off against one another, but unless the leaders of those two countries come to their senses, the skirmishes now taking place may well be the forerunner of a bloodbath egged on by increasing enmities between Communist China and communist Russia.

Red China is backing Pakistan in this fight, while Russia and India just last April signed a treaty of cooperation.

Americans cannot be accused of being callous to the human suffering that is taking place in this subcontinent occupied by Pakistan and India.

During the past 25 years the United States has given India more than $8 billion in aid, more than any other country in the world has received except for South Korea and South Vietnam where we still have military forces. During this same period, we have provided aid to Pakistan totaling almost $ 4.5 billion. These figures do not include the$ 414 million earmarked for India and $ 220 million for Pakistan under the 1972 foreign economic assistance package which was passed in the Senate last month. Nor do they include the millions of dollars in private donations by Americans for relief in last year's tragic typhoon and to the almost 10 million refugees in Indian from Pakistan.

Despite these humanitarian efforts by the United States to help the 550 million people of India and 110 million people of Pakistan, we now find that those countries have alined themselves with Communist Russia and Red China. That is the kind of appreciation we have received from our assistance programs.

The tragic insistence of India and Pakistan to go to war simply adds further proof of the bankruptcy of the United Nations which was supposedly formed to maintain international peace and security. The Security Council has complete authority to use its influence and the power of the United Nations whenever there is a threat to peace.

But the record clearly and unmistakably portrays the failure of the U.N. as a world peace keeping organization. Since 1947, just 1 year after the U.N. was created, there have been 73 wars or civil conflicts throughout the world. But on only 10 occasions has the Security Council provided peace keeping forces or observer teams, and the United States provided the bulk of the support in most of those. Even those few actions are marred by failures, such as the

abrupt withdrawal of U.N. forces along the Suez Canal in 1967 resulting in the socalled 6-day war between Israel and the Arab States, a war that threatens to resume at any time. And the U.N. now stands on the sidelines watching this new India-Pakistan war.

The United States continues to place unjustified faith in the U.N. but no other country in the world is so willing to settle its international disputes by peaceful means. While millions of their people live constantly on the edge of starvation the Governments of India and Pakistan are more interested in spending money for war than they are in developing their agricultural economies to feed their teeming millions or in helping develop an economy that would provide jobs and a decent living for their people.

We have absolutely nothing to gain and everything to lose if we try once again to intervene and take sides in foreign conflicts. Recently, under pressure from Congress, the President very properly cut off deliveries of military supplies for Pakistan, and I hope that he will exert every other precaution to keep the United States out of this unsolvable mess.

While I am saddened at human suffering wherever it may be, I am unalterably opposed to the United States getting involved in the growing conflict between India and Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সংকট গভীরতর হচ্ছে: ফ্রিলিংহুসেন।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 2, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE** **H 11739**

A Deeping Crisis

Mr. Frelinghuysen. Mr. Speaker, we all know that our Government yesterday suspended the issuance of licenses for arms shipments to India. Quite understandably, this decision made headlines here in this country. It is to be hoped that it has an impact also on India.

In my opinion, this move was timely and appropriate. India's recent intrusions into East Pakistan are raising a serious threat to peace. Although there is no way to check the accuracy of recent reports from this area, India herself admits to penetrations of her forces of up to 5 miles. It is obvious she is using her military superiority over Pakistan to achieve her own objectives.

This decision is regrettable and fraught with danger. There is no telling what the future may hold. To me at least, it appears a ominous development. Mr. Speaker, that Mrs. Ghandi has gone so far as to challenge the Pakistanis' right to station troops on their own territory.

The Acting Ambassador of India, Mr. Mharajkrishna Rasgoptra, is reported to regret out move as he feels "it will not slove anything, nor move any of us closer to a political solution in Bengal".

Unquestionably, Mr. Speaker, our Government's decision will not provide a "solution" to this situation. But it must be obvious that the United States, above all else, wants a political solution. Regrettably it is not within our power to bring this about.

The problem is that India is acting as if she had decided that she must seek a military solution. If this is the case, we recognize that we cannot force her to change her mind. By its suspension of armed shipments to India, the U.S. Government is expressing our distress over the course which India appears to be taking. Military adventurism by India could provoke a major catastrophe yet all-out war is an increasing possibility unless, even at this stage, restraint is shown.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
দক্ষিণ এশিয়ায় শান্তির প্রতি হুমকি তে সিনেটের প্রস্তাব-২০৭, সিনেটর হ্যারিসের বক্তৃতা এবং প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সনের উদ্দেশে সিনেটরদের পত্র।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S20580 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE December 4, 1971

SENATE RESOLUTION 207—SUBMISSION OF A RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE THREAT TO PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA

(Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.)

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the chapter of this administration's foreign policy historians are most likely to remember probably is being written this week in South Asia. Long after the press blitz about the President's trip to the Great wall is forgotten, people will recall that in the last months of 1971 the Nixon administration stood by while an international disaster occurred which was totally unnecessary had commonsense and national interest been heeded.

For months both the friends and critics of this administration have pointed out that the new crisis center of danger to world peace was now South Asia. They warned that America's whole political future in Asia now hangs in the balance. For by our totally indefensible policy we have managed to offend both parties to the conflict. We offended Pakistan by not doing enough to aid it in its hour of need, for we could not without outraging our own people. Yet we also insulted India by our total disregard for its appeals that we at least halt military shipments to a Pakistani Army slaughtering innocent victims in East Pakistan.

In April, I called for an end to economic and military assistance to Pakistan. I discussed that view in very strong terms with Assistant Secretary of State Sisco, personally, all to no avail.

All in all, it was a remarkable performance. In defiance of national interest, pleas of allies and dictates of commonsense, this administration methodically continued a bankrupt, immoral policy until yesterday the ultimate reality—full scale war between India and Pakistan—struck. Only at the last possible minute did the United States act to halt the further delivery of arms to Pakistan. And then as if to provide a belated and spiteful balance to its policy, this week it announced that it would no longer continue military shipments to India, which long ago owing to American folly had turned to the Soviet Union as its main arms supplier.

Mr. President, the record of the past several months proves one thing. Supposed grasp of grand strategy is no substitute for commonsense and compassion. Dr. Kissinger is acknowledged to be a brilliant man and President Nixon asks to be remembered for his accomplishments in foreign policy. But while the President and his advisers have spent weeks worrying about the protocol of a symbolic trip to Peking, they apparently could not spare the time to understand the human drama unfolding in South Asia.

And I believe that however symbolic that trip—which I myself approve—its results can scarcely offset the tragic setback for our nation and world peace which his administration's neglect of the India-Pakistan crisis has brought about. If the President had to visit China because some 750 million people live there, by similar reasoning he should not ignore South Asia since 690 million live in that region.

But now that war has broken out, what is to be done? Now that the mistake has been made and a whole generation of Indians and Pakistanis taught to mistrust us?

I say, let us begin with at last grappling with the realities of the crisis.

The first reality is that Pakistan in its previous form is dead. The date of death is not precise but it occurred sometime this summer as Pakistan continued on with the bloody suppression of the East, driven by its own intransigence and by the unwise counsel of friends like Communist China and the United States.

But the second reality is that Pakistan's separate parts continue to live. It may still not be clear how these two parts will evolve. They may move on to separate and independent status. Or despite rivers of blood, they may yet be able to come together under a new form of association which at last grants the East the freedom and self-determination it has sought for so many years.

My personal opinion is that an independent Bangladesh is inevitable. But Pakistan should be given a last, peaceful chance to return to its former status of potential greatness.

The third reality in South Asia is that the cause of peace is not served by the international conspiracy to avoid U.N. involvement in this crisis. There is always one virtue of public debate. It places nations in a position where they must defend policies that in the full glare of publicity may prove to be indefensible.

By the international agreement to silence on the India-Pakistan crisis, it is safe to say that the conduct of virtually every interested party has been worse than it otherwise would have been.

Had the Security Council taken up the crisis at an early date, Pakistan would have been forced to defend large-scale crimes.

Had the U.N. debated this issue early, India—for which otherwise one has only sympathy—could not have continued so easily its seemingly callous game of exploiting the tragedy to weaken its hated opponent.

Had the United Nations seized the initiative, Communist China would have been compelled to explain how it squared its well-publicized support for the impoverished masses of the world with a policy of backing the brutal suppression of East Pakistan.

Had the world body demanded a public accounting, the United States and the Soviet Union would have been under an obligation to defend their immoral decision to continue big power politics as usual in the face of one of the greatest human tragedies of this century or any other.

Mr. President, writing in his diary of the Kennedy years and our policy in Vietnam and elsewhere, a great American, Chester Bowles, noted his fears that officials who downgrade morality in politics may find themselves without a directional compass in a period of fastbreaking events. In such a situation, information is always partial so that one is forced to take action at least in part on the basis of moral principal or political instinct. And he worried that the devotees of power politics, whose political instincts told them that considerations of morality were irrelevant, would lose their way.

Nowhere is Ambassador Bowles' observation more relevant than with regard to American policy toward this crisis. Both the President and his trusted advisers these past months have retreated to the clouds of global strategy while the human reality was millions in flight and hundreds of thousands dead.

As decent men, and I know they are, they should have listened to what their own moral sense told them. But they did not. And now they have brought lasting permitted U.S. participation in one of the American Nation. They have indirectly permitted U.S. participation in one of the worst crimes of this century and they have not achieved peace. Instead they have helped to bring on a war, whose ultimate course no one in this Chamber can predict.

I am a strong believer, however in the view that it is never too late to do right. Let us at last take this issue to the U.N. Security Council, as I and others urged weeks ago. There, all the interested great powers are now able to participate for the first time in the postwar period.

Without ruling on the merits of an independent Bangladesh, let us call for its representatives to participate. On this score we simply must not allow events again to overtake us with tragic consequences for ourselves and the people directly involved in the conflict.

Finally, let us force everyone, ourselves included, to be honest about the bankrupt policies we have all been following.

Today, Mr. President, I am submitting a resolution, with Senators BAYH, CRANSTON, HART, HATFIELD, HUMPHREY, MCGOVERN, MONDALE, TUNNEY, and WILLIAMS, which would declare it to be the sense of the Senate that the Unted States follow precisely this course......

Mr. President,, it is time that Members of this body and of the administration speak for the conscience of America in this hour of crisis.....

S. RES. 207

Whereas a full scale war between the Governments of India and Pakistan has developed out of the current hostilities on the sub-continent; and

Whereas a prolonged conflict between those two populous countries would be a major disaster for world peace and could involve outside powers; and

Whereas an immediate exchange of views in the Security Council by parties directly or indirectly involved in the menacing conflict in South Asia could improve the prospects for peace in that area; and

Whereas the continued political and military struggle in East Pakistan demonstrates that a state of civil war exists in that region ; and

Whereas in the Security Council deliberations all parties to the conflict should be represented; and

Whereas the People's Republic of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America are all gravely concerned at the heightening tension in South Asia : Now therefore be it

Resolved. That it is the sense of the Senate that (a) the United States delegation at the United Nations should propose the formal inscription on the agenda of the Security Council of an item entitled "The Threat to Peace in South Asia". ;

(b) the United States Delegation should at the same time call for an emergency session of the Security Council on the subject at the earliest possible date.

(c) the United States delegation should propose the formal participation in the Security Council debate of representatives of the Bangladesh, and

(d) although the first order . of business for the Security Council must be the cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan, the United States delegation should press for rapid Security Council consideration of steps including the negotiated release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which will permit the vast majority of East Pakistani refugees now in India to return to their homes in East Pakistan in the very near future.

The President,
The White House.
Washington D. C.

The pending war between India and Pakistan may be the greatest threat to world peace since World War II. For not only would a war between these two states involve two enormous population masses, untold casualties and a possible religious and communal war ; but there would also be grave danger that concerned, outside Powers—in particular China, the Soviet Union and the United States—might at some point be dragged in.

We, the undersigned Members of the Senate, strongly believe the world can no longer wait for conventional diplomatic discussions leading to an end to this menace to world peace. Both the powers directly involved, India

and Pakistan, and those major powers indirectly involved must participate, and there is only one body where these discussions can be held rapidly and without loss of face for the parties concerned. That body is the United Nations Security Council.

Because the root cause of the conflict between India and Pakistan is the continued suppression of popular will in East Pakistan, the resulting flow of millions of refugees into India and the enormous burden which this had placed on that nation, we also believe that the Security Council should invite for participation repesentatives of Bangladesh.

With these points in mind, we respectfully urge you to instruct the U. S. delegation at the United Nations formally to inscribe the item "the threat to peace in South Asia" on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council and at the same time to call for an emergency session of the Security Council on this subject.

The first order of business in the Security Council debate necessarily must be cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan. But because the refugee problem lies at the heart of the tension between the two countries, we also urge the U. S. delegation immediately to press for rapid Security Council consideration of measures which will permit the vast majority of these refugees to return to their nomes in East Pakistan in the very near future.

A war involving India, Pakistan and the three major powers concerned would affect more than 50 per cent of the entire population of the globe. Whatever one's views on the likelihood of this possibility, the magnitude of such a catastrophe is so awesome that we firmly believe the United States must leave no door to peace untried at this crucial moment.

Walter F. Mondale, Bob Packwood.
Frank E. Moss, Lee Misalf.
Birch Bayh, Philip A. Hart, Fred.
R. Harris, Alan Cranston, Wil-
liam proxmire, John V. Tunney,
Hubert H. Humphrey.

U. S. Senators.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের প্রতি ভারতের স্বীকৃতি যুদ্ধের আগুনে ইন্ধন যোগাবে : সিনেটর বায়ার্ড।	সিনেটের কার্য বিবরণী	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 6, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 20621

The U. N. Security Council veto by the Soviet Union

Mr. Byrd of West Virginia. Mr. President, last Wednesday, December 1, I expressed apprehension that the India-Pakistan quarrel seemed to be headed in the direction of all-out war, and I called for positive action by the United Nations to avert what promised to be a bloodbath.

Though reports from India and Pakistan are still conflicting, it seems certain that my worst fears have been realized and caution on both sides has been thrown to the winds. According to radio reports this morning, the Government of India has officially recognized the Bangladesh as the government of East Pakistan—a move certain to infuriate the Pakistans and add fuel to the fires of war.

The attempt last night by the Security Council of the United Nations to adopt a resolution calling for a cease-fire was vetoed by the Soviet Union. While it is by no means certain that India and Pakistan would have heeded such a resolution, it seems to me unforgivable and reprehensible that the Soviet Union should use the veto to ruin whatever chance there was of ending the hostilities.

I can only express the hope, Mr. President, that this negative action by the Russians will be regarded by the world body as the obstructionism that it is and that further efforts will be made to persuade India and Pakistan to stop the bloodletting and settle their differences by intelligent negotiation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শরণার্থীরা স্বগৃহে প্রত্যাবর্তন না করা পর্যন্ত সংঘর্ষ থামবে না : সিনেটর কুপার।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 20686 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *December 6, 1971*

War between India and Pakistan

As in legislative session,

Mr. Cooper. Mr. President, a fullscale war has broken out between India and Pakistan——a war caused by the internal conflict in East Pakistan and Pakistan and the flight of 9 to 10 million refugees to India. There are already reports of mounting casualties on both sides, as the armies of India and Pakistan go into battle against each other armed with modern weapons of war.

This is the third time since the independence of India and Pakistan that a war has broken out. The war between India and Pakistan is the final step in the series of devastating human tragedies in East Pakistan. It is my view that an end to the present conflict between India and Pakistan will not take place until a settlement is reached which will assure that the 9 to 10 million refugees now in India will be able to return in safety to Pakistan, from which they fled, because of the repressive action of the Government of Pakistan.

I support the President's efforts to secure action by the Security Council of the United Nations, which, it is hoped, will bring the war in the Indian subcontinent to an end.

The primary purpose of the Security Council is to take action for the "maintenance of international peace and security."

The Charter of the United Nations, provides under article 33 that, upon the request of any member of the United Nations in the event of war, "the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and secuirty," shall first of all, "seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conceliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice."

It is my hope that the Security Council will act, and the Governments of India and Pakistan will accept the good offices of the Security Council, and the United Nations as a whole, to bring the war to a quick end.

The United Nations was created to provide a way for the nations of the world to resolve their disputes peacefully, and to prevent disputes between nations from developing into war. It has this responsibility which it should assume, if it is to maintain the faith of peoples through the world —this is the central issue, rather than the problem and interests of the Soviet Union, the United States, or the Peoples Republic of China.

The United States should continue to urge the United Nations to carry out its great responsibility in the Security Council if possible, and in the General Assembly if efforts in the Security Council fail.

I repeat what I said a minute ago. I have kept up with the problems of India and Pakistan. I have said that the cause of the flight of the fefugees to India is the result of the Government of Pkistan's repression in East Pakistan. But now that they are at war, the real question is whether the United Nations will undertake the responsibility which belongs to that body. I hope very much that it will do so.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে সোভিয়েত ভেটো : কংগ্রেস সদস্য রেরিক এবং জেরাল্ড ফোর্ড-এর মন্তব্য ।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদ কার্যবিবরণী	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 6, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE** **H 11789**

Another spike in the U. N. Coffin

Mr. Rarick, Mr. Speaker, the weekend activity in the United Nations Security Council should offer a disenchanting eye opener to those adherents who somehow believe that the United Nations is an instrument of World peace.

Russia, in twice vetoing cease-fire resolutions, has again proven to the world that he does not believe in peace when she or her pawns are winning. Quite noteworthy, her veto of the U. S. middle-of-the-road resolution, which simply called for a cease-fire by both India and Pakistan and a return to their frontiers, is exactly the opposite of the Russian position in the Middle East.

The real peacemaker in the U. N.-thwarted action was the United States, who in trying to favour neither side lost both and is now being linked with Pakistan on the strange rationale that we do not support India. The Soviets' siding with India in this aggressive issue should surprise no one since the Soviets always back the side with the largest population and for some reason the minority-conscious media goes out of its way to throw the U. S. support behind the nation with the least number of people.

But the big loser was the United Nations, which has become but a debating society for the major Communist parties to harangue over dialectic issues while innocent people are again victimized by the ravages of war.

I feel the American people support the President's reported position that as a sovereign nation we do everything in our power, first, to stay out of the war, and second, to employ every diplomatic pressure to stop the conflict.

With the United Nations again proving to be a failure, the United States will find that it can accomplish more on its own than could ever be accomplished through the U. N. bureaucracy.

India-Pakistan Cease-fire Resolution

Mr. Gerald R. Ford. Mr. Speaker, tragically, the fighting between India and Pakistan intensifies while efforts to bring about a cease-fire and a mutual troop pullback are blocked in the United Nations Security Council by the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that the United States take the lead in shifting the India-Pakistan cease-fire resolution away from the Security Council and placing it before the General Assembly. Only there can the peace-loving nations of the world work their will.

If this tragic war is to be ended, it is clear that there must be a withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani troops to their own territories. In short, we must implement the provisions of the U. S. resolutions introduced in the United Nations. The Soviet veto does not alter the facts of the situation. Any political settlement between India and Pakistan can only come about after the fighting stops.

Mr. Speaker, there is 184,350,000 in enonomic assitance for India in the pending foreign aid bill. I am sure India will appeal to the United States for aid in dealing with problems she herself is now creating. I do not believe that the American public and its representatives in the Congress will be receptive to such appeals should India continue to employ her troops n efforts to take over Pakistani territory. In other words any nation that refuses to cooperate with the U. N. in its peace-keeping efforts should not expect a receptive atmosphere in the Congress or by the American people.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত-পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে কংগ্রেস সদস্য মিঃ সাইকস্ ।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 6, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE** **H 11889**

India's Naked Aggression Against Pakistan

Mr. Sikes. Mr. Speaker, I am certain that America and the world are shoked by India's naked aggression against Pakistan . The open invasion of East Pakistan by India's military forces has destroyed efforts by our country and others to maintain Peace in that part of the world and to restore order and sound government to East Pakistan. Short of the examples of communist aggression in Korea and Indochina this open act of war by India is the most flagrant example of the violation of another nation's neutrality that we have seen in recent years.

We are observing the process of the setting up by armed force of a new nation which is to be a satellite of India and Russia. Pakistan does not have the armed strength or the resources to prevent it. The United Nations is going to do nothing as is its wont. The United States cannot be expected to take a hand military. However, it will be noted that there was scheduled for inclusion in the current foreign aid bill about $400 million of additional U.S. aid for India. It is well to remember that in the past quarter century our Nation has given $8 billion of the taxpayers' money from the American treasury to India. This has freed Indian funds for the creation of military might and the purchase of modern weapons principally from Russia. It is no secret except to the American people that the Russian fleet enjoys special privillages in Indian ports in its move toward the domination of the Indian Ocean. The very least we in the Congress can do is to express our disapproval of these tactics by cutting off aid to India.

I believe we in the Congress should forthwith take steps to assure the world that U.S. foreign aid is not going to be used flagrantly, either directly or indirectly, for the enslavement of other peoples and for unjustifiable acts of war. Language has been written into the foreign aid appropriation bill which is intended to bring about a suspension of aid other than for refugee relief and rehabilitation and humanitarian assistance while India and Pakistan are involved in armed conflict with each other. This will accomplish the purpose but possibly not in terms as strong as are justified.

In view of these facts, I do not consider that it is proper to mute the obvious fact that India is an aggressor and that Pakistan has been invaded or that India's objective appparently is the dismemberment of the Pakistani Republic. This should be spelled out and impressed on the American public.

The reporting on this deplorable situation and the events leading up to it has been biased and has served to disguise the step-by-step approach by India to open warfare without provocation against her neighbor. Now the facts are clear and at the very least, they should serve to prevent further waste of American funds in assistance to India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতের প্রতি মার্কিন মনোভাবের সমালোচনা : মি: হেলস্টস্কির বিবৃতি।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

E 13040 CONGRESSIONAL—RECORD *Extensions of Remarks—*

December 6, 1971

Prime Minister Gandhi's Statement Concerning War

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 6, 1971

Mr. Helstoski. Mr. Speaker, war has broken out between India and Pakistan for the third time in 25 years. We must all deplore this tragic development; enough suffering has already occurred in South Asia without a major war further contributing to the bloodshed and destruction.

However, despite my disappointment that American peace-making efforts failed, I am appalled by the vindictive attitude taken by the State Department toward the government of India. Statements issued by that agency over the weekend would have us believe that India is guilty of unprovoked aggression.

As is to be expected in light of out past efforts in south Asia, the State Department's attitude is myopic and heavily slanted in favour of the Pakistani dictatorship. A brief of the facts will show that complete blame for the outbreak of hostilities can in no way be laid on India's doorstep.

The current crisis in the Indian subcontinent was initiated last March by the brutal attack on the civilian population of East Pakistan by Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan. Seeking to supress the popularly elected Awami League, the Pakistan Government has, since March 25, been conducting a genocidal war against the Bengalis which has driven over 10 million refugees into India. Led by the United States, the developed countries have poured millions of dollars worth of refugee aid into the region. Despite this, the strain of 10 million refugees on the Indian economy and the region around Calcutta has been intolerable.

Mrs. Ghandhi has been warning the world for months that India could not be expected to tolerate this threat to her internal security. Only an equitable settlement of the Pakistani Civil War, enabling the refugees to leave India, could avert extreme Indian action to relieve this intolerable strain on her resources.

The United States, in response, has failed to alter its friendly policy toward the Pakistani government. We have taken no concrete action which would end the suffering in Bangladesh and relieve the strain on India's economy. Why should the State Department then be shoked and hurt that India has rejected its eleventh hour mediation efforts? The administration's bias in favor of the Yahya Khan regime and its ambivalent attitude toward the genocidal

rampage underway in East Pakistan are plain for all to see. The State Department cannot regain its credibility in South Asia until it ceases to embrace the Pakistani dictatorship and takes a strong and morally correct stand against the bloodshed in Bangladesh.

Mr. Speaker. Prime Minister Ghandi outlined over the weekend to her parliament the issues and causes of the current war as India sees them. As we review the State Department's morally outraged statements on the South Asian crisis we would do well to keep Mrs. Gandhi's eloquent speech in mind.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সংঘর্ষের মূল কারণ প্রশাসনকে অবশ্যই উপলব্ধি করতে হবে : সিনেটর কেনেডী।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 7, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Senate* S 20721

U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE CRISIS IN SOUTH ASIA

Mr. Kennedy. Mr. President, the administration's policy toward the crisis in South Asia defies understanding.

After 8 months of escalating violence and military repression—after hundreds of thousands of civilians have been killed in East Bengal and 10 million refugees have fled into India—suddenly our national leadership recognizes that war has swept over South Asia. But when did this war begin? Who started it? What should be condemned? And what should we and the international community do about it?

Perhaps in the mind of many Americans is the thought that India has created this crisis. But the facts, Mr. President, show that this war began not last week with renewed military border crossings, nor last month with the escalating crossfire of artillery between India and Pakistan: this war began on the bloody night of March 25 with the brutal suppression by the Pakistan army of the free election it held in East Bengal. A review of events since March 25—a quick jostling of out memory—reminds us that the problem in South Asia is today, and has been from the very beginning, a political problem between the ruling military elite in West Pakistan and the Bengali opposition elected in East Bengal.

The facts documenting the beginning of this war, and who started it, are too grim and well reported to be indoubt, even by an administration that attempts to ignore them. Hundreds in articles have now been written and thousands of pictures have been taken by countless eye witness foreign observers testifying to the bloody terror that has swept over East Bengal since March 25. Indeed, suppressed field cables to the Department of State in the beginning characterized the actions of the Pakistan army as "genocide." Foreign journalists were expelled by military authorities lest they record the holocaust, and film of foreign cameramen was confiscated.

It was only after refugees began to pour out of East Bengal in April that the story of repression could be slowly pleased together. Even now, the full dimension of the tragedy is not really known. Nevertheless, as troops descended upon Dacca at night, they indiscriminately shelled residential areas, attacked the university's student hostels, and imprisoned or executed all suspected Awami Leaguers they could round up. Thousands of East Bengalis have simply disappeared and never been heard of again. Thousands died and many Thousands more sought refugee in the countryside. Dacca became a ghost town in less than 24 hours, and remained subdued and empty for weeks thereafter.

The Pakistan army followed the people into the countryside. Systematically, troops began—according to a Pakistani journalist loyal to the Yahya regime— to liquidate the Awami League's "insurgency" and to crush the Awami Leage militants throughout East Bengal.

As the Pakistan army moved out into the countryside to crush the Awami League, all evidence--including the simple fact that the bulk of the refugees in India are Hindu—suggest this objective was coupled with a policy of terror directed primarily at the minority Hindu population.

In some areas, according to eye-witness reports in late summer. Pakistan troops were painting large yellow "H" signs on Hindu shops, so as to identify the property of the minority which had become a special target. To show they were not Hindus, members of the Muslim majority—although not fully exempt from the army's terror --were painting signs saying "All Muslim House" on their homes and shops. In turn, the small community of Christians were putting crosses on their doors and stiching crosses in red thread on their clothes. Not since Nazi Germany were so many citizens of a country publicly marked with religious labels and symbols.

Fear has gripped East Bengal since the devastating night of March 25. The World Bank mission, after spending several days travelling throughout East Bengal in early June, was forced to conclude:

Perhaps most important of all, peeples fear to venture forth and, as a result, commerce has vitually ceased and economic activity generally is at a very ebb.

Clearly, despite improvements in some areas and taking the province as a whole, widespread fear among the population has persisted beyond the initial phase of heavy fighting. It appears that this is not just a concomitant of the army extending its control into the countryside and the villages off the main highways, although at this stage the mere appearance of military units often suffices to engender fear. However, there is also no question that punitive measures by the military are continuing ; even if directed at particular elements (such as known or suspected Awami Leages, students, or Hindus). These have the effect of fostering fear among the population at large.

Report after report over the summer months echoed the findings of the world bank repert- as did hundreds of interviews with refugees in India, including new arrivals—interviewed by myself and members of the field team of the Subcommittee on Refugees this past August.

Throughout this period our national leadership watched this tragedy in silence, at no time has any official of our Government, including the President, condemned the brutal and systematic-repression of East Bengal by the Pakistan army—a repression carried out in part with American guns and bullets and aircraft. And even in the last few weeks, as the Pakistan army dramatically escalated its terror and repression, our Nations sat in numbed silence.

Now the administration tells us—8 months after March 25—that we should condemned, not the repression of the Pakistan army, but the response of India towards an increasingly desperate situation on its eastern borders—a situation which our Nation calculatedly ignored. Certainly condemnation is justified; but what should we condemn?

We should condemn. Mr. President, the silence of our leadership. Are we so insensitive to what our country stands for that our Government can actually support as well as apologize for a military regime's brutal suppression of democracy? Are we so blind that we can ignore a government that jails a political leader whose only crime was the wining of a free election?

Mr. President, we should also condemn the world's silence and apathy towards the massive human suffering caused by the refugee flow into India. From the beginning, the international community's response has been unconscionably lethargic and wholly inadequate. It has been characterized by little sense of urgency and a low priority of concern for a tide of human misery unequaled in modern times. By ignoring the needs of the refugees we have also allenated the people of India, endangering the economic stability and well-being of the world's largest democracy.

We should also condemn the neglect and insensitivity that is causing the death each day of 4,300 refugee children for the lack of food and shelter. We should condemn the circumstances that have caused the death and suffering of millions more because insufficient funds have been made available to relief agencies in India.

Mr. President,the administration has justified its refusal to condemn Pakistan in the name of keeping leverage with Islamabad. Over and over again--in hearings before the Subcommittee on Rufugees, and elsewhere--Congress and the American people were told to be patient while our leverage and diplomacy took effect, Regrettably, there is little on the record—publicly or otherwise—to indicate that many "levers" were pulled. And in the case of a notable exception the revocation of licenses for the shipment of American military supplies—the lever was pulled belatedly just a month ago, but only in full agreement with Islamabad.

And so the record is clear that —over the months of growing crisis—our Government was supporting a regime that not only suppressed an election but destroyed in the process all the principles for which our country sacrificed so much for so long only 2,000 miles away in Vietnam. Perhaps the only difference between Vietnam and Pakistan is that in Pakistan we have made no pretense of acting in support of principles—so that, in effect, no principles can be violated.

And now—in sharp contrast to our deference to Pakistani sensibilities over these past months of violence in East Bengal —our national leadership suddenly denounces India. We have made her the seapegoat of our frustrations and failures, and of the bankruptcy of our policy toward Pakistan. We have not only cut off military aid to India—over which no one will quarrel—but we are threatening to cut off economic and humanitarian aid as well.

In fact, yesterday our Government suspended some $87.6 million in development loans, in what can only be interpreted as a punitive gesture.

This administration has rightly taken pride in its effort to re-establish contact with one-fifth of mankind's population in China. But are we going to simultaneously alienate one-sixth of mankind in India—a democratic nation with whom we have had years of productive relations?

Mr. President over the weekend the administration has belatedly turned to the United Nations, asking it to implement its peace-keeping machinery—an initiative many of us supported months ago. All of us hope that our country will finally do whatever it can to help bring peace and relief to South Asia.

Mr. President, I ask why we were not going in the United Nations at the time these refugees were being created. Why were we not going to the United Nations at a time when there was systematic repression and persecution of a people within East Bengal ? Why did we not bring this up and pursue it with all the kinds of statements we have seen over the period of the last 36 hours, in the third committee of the United Nations? Why did we not identify ourselves at that time with the humanitarian needs of the Bengali people? Why were we not at that time condemning the repression that meant many hundreds of thousands of more people killed or executed ? Where were we at that time ? Now we go to the United Nations in terms of condemning the actions of India.

These ends we seek are not being served by the resolutions we have supported in the Security Council. None of these resolutions—including the one is sponsored by our Government—dealt with the causes of the refugee movement, nor with the kinds of things necessary for their voluntary repatriation from India.

That is the basis for the conflict that exists now—the reason for the creation of 10 million refugees, the tremendous burden the refugees present in terms of diverting funds for economic purposes in that part of the world, as well as the social and political problems that are involved. Not one word was uttered with respect to the reasons behind this massive refugee flow. That is the basis of this problem. In our resolution before the United Nations, there was not one word about how the refugees were created.

The problem is that none of the resolutions we have supported recognize the root of the crisis, the interests of the Bangladesh forces, or the urgent, need for a negotiated political settlement between Islamabad and its Bengali opposition. In the main the resolutions have merely appealed for a cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan, with the inevitable result that the war continues—that the source of the conflict still festers.

It is such a cruel irony that we talk about self-determination in South-east Asia and in Vietnam. We have lost some 55,000 Americans who have been killed there because we want the people in Sourth Vietnam to be able to decide their own future.

We know that the people of East Bengal went to the polls. The election was held under martial law, Sheikh Mujib and the Awami League won 167 out of the 169 seats. It was a democratically held election, with a mandate sufficient to elect him as the Prime Minister of all Pakistan. Yet, what happened ? He was thrown into jail because he won the election. Now we are identifying ourselves with the military rulers who put him in jail, 55,000 Americans went to their deaths in Vetnam to secure such a free election there. Yet we are now identifying ourselves with a regime that has put a duly elected official in jail without any pretense of a civil trial or without any recongition of his success at the polls.

Mr. President, our Government and the United Nations must come to understand that the actions of the Pakistan Army on the night of March 25 unleashed the forces in South Asia that have led to war.

No observer of the situation in Sourt Asia today can come away without the impression that these forces—nationalism and self-determination—can ever be successfully resisted by the force of arms. The right of self-determination for East Bengal—for which the East Bengalis elected Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and for which they now fight and die—will no doubt be attained eventually. Only the form and the circumstances remain in doubt.

As early as last May, official reports to our Government said that the great bulk of the population of East Bengal had been alienated, perhaps forever, from the central government in West Pakistan. Events since then have more than confirmed the accuracy of these early reports. And becuase so much blood has been shed, there can be little doubt that the people and leadership of East Bengal will never accept again the political system that prevailed before March 25.

It is time for all of us to recognize the fact that "Bangladesh" now exists, not only in the minds of the majority of the Bengali people, but in the reality of current events.

If we truly recognize this fact and if we are to avoid escalating vast human suffering and a bloodbath of reprisals throughout East Bengal—the requirements for peace and relief must include the following interrelated steps.

First, we must seek an immediate standstill ceasefire on all fronts sanctioned and supervised under international auspices. A time limit of 15 to 30 days should provide the "cooling off" period necessary to undertake the other diplomatic initiatives necessary to settle the outstanding issues among all parties involved.

Second, we must seek immediate and simultaneous negotiations between India and Pakistan, and between West Pakistan and its Bengali opposition within East Bengal—led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The purpose of the Indo-Pakistan negotiations should be to restore the 1965 Cease-fire agreements on the western front, and to resolve the new issues resulting generally from the current military confrontation. The purpose of the West Pakistani-Bengali negotiations should be to determine the future status of East Bengal, and the circumstances which will permit the voluntary repartiations of the 10 million East Bengali refugees in India.

And let me stress here, Mr. President, that whatever the future status of East Bengali—whether it be some form of independence or autonomy—it is critical that agreement should be reached between all parties during negotiations for the voluntary repatriation of all oppostion political forces. There are "hostages" caught on all sides of this conflict. The Pakistan Army now holds in East Bengali under its control countless Bengali guerrillas and elected Awami League officials. In turn, it is conceivable that the Bengali guerrillas may soon hold within their control elements of the Pakistan Army. In addition, 7 to 8 million members of the minority Bihari Muslim community remain in East Bengal, while approximately 10 million Bengalis, including, of course, Sheikh Mujib in West Pakistan.

If a terrible, mindless bloodbath of reprasals and communial-religious violence is to be avoided, all parties in this conflict must protect these "hostages" of the conflict and abide by the Geneva Conventions and the wisdom of compassion and restraint. The Government of India has made a first step in this direction by announcing it recognizes the applicability of all Geneva Conventions.

Third, we must urge the immediate revival of the United Nations relief mission in East Bengal for the sake of the hapiest millions threatened by famine or displaced by war.

The international relief effort in East Bengal has always been more a hope and aspiration than a functioning field operation. The urgent need to change this will only come when peace has been restored to the Bengali countryside.

Nonetheless, our Nation and the international community must now recognize our responsibility to help in the reconstruction of East Bengal by beginning to think now of the coming problems of rehabilitation and relief. At a time when our Government seems more interested in condemning and cutting off economic aid to South Asia. I hope we will have the foresight to understand that our national interest will soon find the future development and economic stability or all nations in the region an important factor in our foreign policy and in our humanitarian concerns.

Mr. President, for 8 long months our national leadership stood silent and almost idle as the apectre of human deprivation and violence stalked South Asia. It is now a late stage in the crisis—with even more refugees now fleeing because of the escalated violence throughout the area—but I feel the opportunity still exits for our Government to make a positive contribution to the peace and relief of the area. And so I urge the administration to turn its policy around. They must consider the source of the violence, and move toward a fundamental political settlement in East Bengal. Anything short of that means more war, more refugees, more senseless death...............

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ভবিষ্যৎ নির্ধারণের প্রশ্নই আসল সমস্যা : সিনেটর মাস্কির ৪-দফা প্রস্তাব।	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 7, 1971

MUSKIE URGES 4-POINT PROGRAM TO END INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR

Senator Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me) today (December 7) issued the following statement on the India-Pakistan conflict

This is not the time for the United States to sit in judgement to the war between India and Pakistan. This is the time for the United States to contribute to an end to the fighting, to help end the suffering of the people of East Bengal, and to help establish conditions for a lasting and just peace among the peoples of that troubled region.

Therefore, I urge our gevernment to join other countries at the United Nations in proposing :

(1) An immediate ceasefire on all fronts and withdrawal of all Indian and Pakistani forces from the western front to their own territories.

(2) Withdrawal of all Indian and West Pakistani forces from East Bengal and their replacement by a United Nations peacekeeping force to maintain order, to supervise the immediate return of the East Bengali refugees from India, and to provide relief supplies to those who have suffered from this war.

(3) Release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman by the West Pakistan authorities and the establishment of a provisional East Bengal leadership group consisting of East Bengali representatives elected to the Constituent Assembly in December, 1970, and other appropriate representatives.

(4) Negotiations between representatives of East Bengal and the West Pakistan government, on an equal footing, with regard to the future relationship between the two entities. A final political settlement must be achieved without interference by outside powers.

"President Nixon appears to be claiming a policy of 'absolute neutrality' when he continued for too long to ship arms to Pakistan in spite of West Pakistani repression in East Bengal.

War it 'absolute neutrality' when we failed to end economic assistance to Pakistan in spite of the massacre of East Bengalis and the actions that drove almost ten million refugees into India ?

"Was it 'absolute neutrality' for a State Department spokesman to brand India as an aggressor ?

"Is it 'absolute neutrality' in the wake of those actions to withdraw economic aid commitments to India without ending similar aid to Pakistan ?

"Is it 'absolute neutrality' when we simply call for a cease-fire which would leave in place the Pakistani troops that have oppressed the people of East Bengal ?

"The essential problem is the future of East Bengal. There will be no lasting end to the fighting until the people of East Bengal can see for themselves a more certain and just future. It is not for us to determine that future, but we can help set the stage for the people of that area to work out their problems peacefully."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উপমহাদেশের পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে কংগ্রেস সদস্য মিঃ ই, গালাঘের-এর বক্তৃতা।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	৮ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 8, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE H 12039

The Situation on the Indian Subcontinent

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this point to respond to certain remarks made by some of my colleagues earlier in the Foreign Aid debate about the blame for the crisis now gripping the Indian subcontinent. In May of this year, I held the first congressional hearings on the crisis in East Pakistan. I was the first Member of the Congress to view the refugee camps in India, and I authorised the House-passed restrictions on all aid to the Government of Pakistan. I have kept myself constantly informed on developments there. I think I speak now with some credentials on this matter and with special knowledge about the Indian sub-continent. Nothing could be further from the truth than to say that the fault in any possible degree belongs to India. And nothing could be contrary to India's national interest than the present tragedy of the dismemberment of Pakistan.

BACKGROUND

Since the army of Pakistan began its brutal sweep to overturn the results of a free and fair election inside East Pakistan—an election in which the Awami League won control of both wings of Pakistan by gaining 167 of the 313 seats contested nation-wide—the root of the problem and the heart of the solution has been inside East Pakistan. India was drawn into the problem because refugees, now numbering 10 million, fled across her borders.

What I saw when I visited the refugee camps cannot be understood simply through debate. The excellent coverage in newspapers, magazines, and recently on television speaks far more powerfully about the brutality and the wretched conditions of those who were forced to flee. India had no way in the world to close that border between herself and East Pakistan Except to fire into the refugees fleeing into her country. Certainly, no civilized people could exercise that option. These refugees were helpless, terrified people, some of whom walked over 250 miles to escape the Pakistan soldiers who were murdering, looting, and raping innocent civilians who were their won countrymen. The territory of India completely surrounds East Pakistan, and in many places there is no way to determine where Pakistani territory ends and Indian territory begins.

The only alternative to accepting these peoples would have been to immediately move machine guns into position along the border and annihilated, perhaps, 4 or 5 million of these refugees. But India, thank God is not that kind of country and she took the terrorized, starving Bengalis into her country.

When I first requested information about the evolving tragedy which I said on May 11 in the opening statement to my Asian and Pacific Affairs Sub-committee "combined the worst features of Vietnam and Biafra,"I was told that the Congress of the United States should do nothing because we would be exploting the Sino-Soviet rift and the Indian subcontinent was so overcrowded that another 10 million people would make no difference to India. This last point was well expressed in a letter to me from a leader in the population control movement, Prof. Garrett Hardin, and my response, I believe, deals usefully with both points. I shall insert this exchange of letters released on July 18 at the end of my remarks.

India : The Victim of Civilian Aggression

Mr. Speaker, the population of East Pakistani refugees in the refugee camps inside India is greater than the population of 58 countries of the world. It is the largest population shift in a short time in the entire history of mankind. India accepted the refugees not because she wanted them or encouraged them. India took the refugees because she had no choice.

Perhaps the saddest thing about the entire situation is that the Government of Prime Minister Gandhi won a smashing victory at the polls and was beginning to make significant strides toward meeting her nation's massive economic and social problems. But the expense of caring for and feeding the refugees blunted Indian's progress toward meeting the needs of her own people.

So we see the result of Pakistani Government policy terrorized Bengalis being driven across an international border by the murderous army of Pakistan--posed a grave threat to the stability of India.

And yet, Mr. Speaker India took no action against Pakistan for 8 months. The refugees continued, President Yahya offered certain cosmetic measures to hide the true a situation inside East Pakistan, the Government of the United States said nothing critical of the Army's sweep and, in my view, quite probably emboldened President Yahya by allowing the impression of strong support to remain due to continued shipments of arms. Still, India did nothing, but care for the refugees, even though her Government received an entirely false view of American arms policy. I myself, along with many other Members of the Congress received the same erroneous information, and whether or not it was deliverately misinformation, the point is that shipments of arms to the Government of Pakistan continued until quite recently.

And we must never forget that India is the largest country in the world with a democratic tradition. Prime Minister Gandhi's electoral victory gave her nation new hope and new faith in India's hard-won traditions of democracy. Would it not then be wise for America to be very careful in its dealings with India? For the sake of our own oft-expressed traditions, should we not be disposed to consider India's position with sympathy and understanding? We did not do this, Mr. Speaker, and American relations with the Government of India are now at an all time low. I strongly suspect that this loss of Indian respect and regard may be the greatest long-term loss to the United States in this tragic situation. She is the world's largest experiment with democratic government. If developing countries are to find a biable alternative to communism and fascism

it will be because democracy really worked, not in the United States or Great Britain, but that it really worked in India under the most appalling conditions possible. And it is working. This tragedy sets back India's progress and it is totally disruptive of all its domestic policies that were just beginning to show results. Results that were necessary if democracy is to succeed in India. This is the tragedy within the tragedy.

INDIAN ARMY VIEWED AS LIBERATORS INSIDE BANGLADESH

After exercising 8 months of incredible compassion, restraint, and patrience, India finally sent her troops into Bangladesh in support of the Bengalis. The people of East Pakistan who won the election on a basis of regional autonomy —correcting years of economic exploitation by the West Wing—and who only began to work toward total independence after the army swept through on March 25 are welcoming the Indian Army as liberators. Indian troops are co-operating closely with the last majority of the people of Banglaesh, and they are acting in coordination with the Mukti Bahini, the liberation fighters.

In my view, India moved because she could see no possible way for the refugees ever to return home unless strong action was taken. Let me say, Mr. Speaker, that I regret that India viewed her own national security in a manner that convinced her that military action was essential. No one welcome this war, and probably no one is more distressed about its necessity than Indian leaders themselves. Certainly this war is anathema to Prime Minister Gandhi.

India has enough land and enough people, she does not need or want more. An independent Bangladesh could well cause grave problems within India because other national groups in certain territories may want to move toward the same thing, particularly in the striferidden Indian state of West Bengal, where the vast majority of the refugees now are.

I repeat: India moved into East Pakistan because it was the only way she could see to have the refugees stop their incredible drain on her economy and her very future.

THE SIN OF THE BENGALIS WAS TO WIN AN ELECTION

Mr. Speaker, we must wonder why, if this entire war is a cynical master exercise in global politics and directed solely at the breakup of the state of Pakistan, the Indian Army is being hailed at every town and village as liberators. If the Government of Pakistan is indeed the offended party in this matter, why flowers for invaders; why cheers for violaters of the sacred soil of Pakistan? Why, Mr. Speaker?

Quite simply, in my view, because India is working closely with the legitimate government of Bangladesh. The Awami League won 167 of the 169 seats contested in East Pakistan in the December election and this gave them a majority of the whole country. I am somewhat astounded that some of my colleagues in the Congress should so casually dismiss an election victory of such an overwhelming magnitude. I am puzzled that those of us who depend on the will of the people can overlook the fantastic impact this win had on the people of East Pakistan.

The murder, rape, looting, burning, and genocide practiced against those whose only sin was to win a fair and free election and which caused 10 million Bengalis to flee to India totally removes this question, in my view, from the queasy legalism of "an internal matter of Pakistan." Not only are the refugees not "an internal matter of mankind," not only are the forces of Bangladesh fighting to capture what they had won by voting, but the Indian Army is being supported by the overwhelming majority of the Bengalis who make up the population of East Pakistan.

President Yahya Khan took a number of measures which he hoped would be designed to lure the Bengalis back into supporting, if they ever really did, the cause of a united Pakistan. But at each step of the way he was violently opposed by the Bengalis. He appointed several East Pakistanis to the regional assembly and to the national assembly. Many of these people, most of whom were resoundingly defeated by Awami League candidates in the general election, were promptly assassinated by the Mukti Bahini. In spite of some assurances of trying to deal with the real leaders of the Awami League, the only legitimate spokesman for Bangladesh, the real leader, Sheikh Mujib still languishes in prison on trial for high crimes against the State of Pakistan. Appeals from allover the world to release Sheikh Mujib have gone unheeded by President Yhahya. Yet we are told that India is the agressor.

One Overlooked Point

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to discuss in any length today American responsibility for the tragedy in Bangladesh. The record is not a creditable one, but is especially lacking when compared to the restraint, compassion, patience and statesmanship of the Government of India. There is enough blame to go around to all the nations of the world. And some of this blame surely should find its way to the People's Republic of China.

U. S. aid to the Government of Pakistan is but a fraction of that received from the People's Republic, particularly arms, and this aid is being used in an attempt to crush the Bengalis. And what is the struggle for Bangladesh, which began immediately after the Pakistani Army's sweep of March 25. It is "a war of national liberation." Mr. Speaker, and the major source of support for those trying to crush it comes from the People's Republic of China.

Conclusion

Let me conclude by reviewing the points I have made.

First. The crisis began when President Yahya ordered his troops to overturn the results of a free and fair election, by an attempt to literally exterminate the winners and their supporters.

Second. Ten million refugees fled to India and the only way she could have stopped the flow would be by a slaughter at the border equal to the slaughter inside East Pakistan.

Third. The security and stability of India itself was threatened by the "civilian aggression" and by her massive and continuing humanitarian efforts to care for the refugees, while the U. N. and its members ignored the terrible slaughter and the refugees which resulted.

Fourth. India exercised great restraint for 8 months in the face of continued provocations, that few people would even acknowledge were really happening.

Fifth. President Yahya gave no indicaton of releasing Sheikh Mujib who Yahya himself said was elected to be the Prime Minister of all of Pakistan, and his efforts at conciliation were totally rejected by the Bengali people and seen as merely "cosmetic" measures by informed observers around the world.

Sixth. India whose appeals for help were ignored, therefore acted in the only way possible to rid herself of the intolerable burden of the refugees and to save the lives of those Bengalis remaining inside Bangladesh, for there is no cessation of the murder of the Bengali people by the army. The victims continue to be referred to as citizens of Pakistan by President Yahya, yet he has unleashed genocide on people he claims to be his own.

Seventh. The Indian soldiers are being welcomed as liberators by the people of Bangladesh.

Mr. Speaker, no effective case can be made that stands up under informed scrutiny which places the blame on India for creating this crisis. To try to make such a case only intensifies the loss of Indian respect and regard for the United States and nourishes the roots of continued tragedy.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নতুন জাতি হিসাবে বাংলাদেশকে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের অবশ্যই স্বীকৃতি দিতে হবে : ম্যাকক্লস্কি।	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

NEWS FROM :

REP. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

December 9, 1971

Congressman Paul N. McCloskey (Rep.- Calif.) said today that "the United States, it appears to me, must ultimately recognize Bangladesh as a a new nation."

In a statement issued from his Washington office, McCloskey said he had "only one reservation " about U. S. recognition of Bangladesh.

"That reservation is whether there are enough survivors of the 167 delegates chosen in their free elections last year to run a government.

"If there are, then it seems to me this nation should follow its anticolonial heritage and recognize Bangladesh as a new nation.

"It appears impossible for West and East Pakistan to be ever remitted given the actions of the West Pakistan army against the Bengalis," Mcclo skey said. "Estimates of those killed by the Pakistan army over the past eight months range between 200,000 and one million people. There appears to have been a systematic attempt to wipe out the Awami League party which won an overwhelming victory in the elections of December, 1970.

"We should also be preparing a massive U.S. relief effort to supplement United Nations relief programs, not only for the 10 million refugees now living along the Indian border, but also for the nearly 70 million people remaining in East Pakistan. Over 4,000 children per day are estimated to be dying of malnutrition and disease in the refugees camps alone."

In a letter to colleagues, McCloskey asked for their participation in a "People to People" effort—33 a day, $ 10 a month contribution—for 10 million Americans to help keep 10 million Pakistanis alive until the current crisis eases.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের উচিত স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্র হিসাবে বাংলাদেশকে পূর্ণ কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি প্রদান করা : হেলস্টস্কির বক্তৃতা ও প্রস্তাব।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

H 12202 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE *December* 9, 1971

New Nation of Bangladesh

Mr. Helstoski. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a simple House resolution calling on the administration to extend full diplomatic recognition to the new nation of Bnagladesh.

My resoluition the test of which I shall include in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, speaks for itself. The Government of Pakistan, through its heinous repression of the Awami League and the civilian population of East Bengal has forfeited any claim to the allegiance of the citizens of that region. The civil war which was initiated by Yahya Khan on March 25 and the recent outbreak of hoistilities between India and Pakistan have sealed the fate of Pakistan as a unifled nation.

Mr. Speaker. it is only a matter of time before Bangladesh is an independen. country. This morning's reports from that region indicate that Indian forces and the Mukti Bahini have surrounded and nearly defeated the Pakistani Army in what was once East Pakistan. I see no reason why victory will not be in the hands of these forces very shortly.

The United States if acting only from realism should take note of these recent developments and extend diplomatic recognition to this new nation of Bangladesh. But reasons more compelling than international political pragmatism should prompt our Government to reverse its callous policy of support for the repressive Yahya regime and face up to the facts of life in South Asia.

Since March 25, our Government has, through its policy of silence, countenanced the genocidal attack which the West Pakistani Government launched against the East. India's vehement protests that this civil war, which had driven 10 million refugees into the environs of Calcutta, must be ended through international pressure on Yahya Khan fell on deaf ears in the White House and Foggy Botton. The unresponsiveness of our Government and its addiction to cold-war attitudes which required continued support of the Yahya government. served only to heighten tensions in South Asia and drive India to a friendship pact with the Soviet Union. The bankruptcy of our Government's ambivalent policy toward the tragedy of Bangladesh is no better exemplified than by the administration's allowing arms shipment to continue to Pakistan for 8 months after the outbreak of the civil war.

Our policy of equivocation and appeasement of the Pakistani Government must end if the United States is to regain its good name in South Asia and hope for any measure of influence there in the decades ahead. Unfortunately, even in light of the rapidly changing political and military situation surrounding Bangladesh, the U. S. Government fails to divorce itself from the Yahya dictatorship.

American policy in South Asia, thus, must be modified. The resolution I am introducing today provides us with a broad, new South Asian policy framework which would serve the interests of the United States and the peoples of South Asia well.

Apart from granting belated American recognition to the valiant independence efforts of the people of Bangladesh my resolution calls for an immediate cease-fire coupled with withdrawal of all foreign troops from all sectors of South Asia. This would mean, among other things, withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangladesh and a Pakistani withdrawal from Kashmir. We must not ignore, as well, the plight of West Pakistani troops now surrounded in Bangladesh. In light of the atrocities perpetrated by the Pakistani Government in the past 9 months, it is not surprising that revenge might be wreaked on these survivors by elements in Bangladesh. However, simple morality and respect for international law requires that no reprisals be undertaken. Accordingly, my resolution calls for prompt and safe repatriation of these West Pakistani troops we must also press for similar treatment of Bangalis now in West Pakistan.

And of course, my resolution recognizes that immediate efforts must be made to repatriate the millions of homeless refugees now in India. Our traditional American policy of giving succor to the suffering of the world dictates that we take the lead among developed nations in providing funds and material for this repatriation effort.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that time and a sense of belated concern for the masses in East Pakistan will require eventual recognition of Bangladesh. Why not initiate such a policy now before the people of that new nation are totally alienated from the United States as well as from their former government in Islamabad? We must recover our sense of justice and morality in the field of foreign affairs. A start can be made by undertaking this long-overdue revision of our policy toward the people of South Asia.

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives relative to the crisis in South Asia.

Whereas the people of East Bengal voted overwhelmingly last year for self-determination and autonomy, and

Whereas the government of Pakistan has engaged in a ruthless suppression of the civilian population of that region, has slaughtered hundreds of thousands and has driven 10 million refugees into India, and

Whereas the government of Pakistan has thereby forfeited any moral authority over East Bengal and has permanently and totally alienated the population of that region, and

Whereas the government of the United States has consistently failed to take note of the moral imperatives for ceasing support of the brutal and anti-democratic government of Pakistan, and

Whereas the current crisis has been aggravated by hostilities between India and Pakistan: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that it is the sence of the House that:

(1) The United States government should immediately take steps to modify significantly its policy in South Asia, especially with respect to the serious deterioration of its relations with the Government of India,

(2) The current embargo on arms shipments to both India and Pakistan should be extended indefinitely, and the United States should scrupulously, avoid any military involvement in South Asia,

(3) The President should extend full diplomatic recognition to Bangladesh as a free and independent nation,

(4) The government of the United States should press for a total cease-fire in South Asia, coupled with complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Bangladesh, Pakistan and India, including Kashmir,

(5) There should be a swift repriation of all captives and refugees and full compliance with international law governing the treatment of prisoners and the conduct of war,

(6) There should be held, as soon as peace is restored, free elections in Bangladesh to establish a provisional government, and

(7) The United States government should undertake maximum diplomatic efforts and should provide full economic and humanitarian relief assistance to aid in the attainment of the goals of this resolution.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
দক্ষিণ এশিয়ায় অনুসৃত মার্কিন নীতি : সিনেটর কেনেডীর ভাষণ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১১ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 11, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 21451

FAILURE OF U.S. POLICY IN SOUTH ASIA

Mr. Kennedy. Mr. President, a tragic and senseless war— a war as unnecessary and as senseless as all wars—continues to spread today across South Asia. There has been during the last few days a great deal of handwriting and rationalizing over why and how this war came, who is responsible for it, and what can be done about it.

Over just the last 3 days there has been an unusual flurry of briefings by nameless high-level spokesmen within both the Depa tment of State and the White House, attempting to clarify this administration's policy toward the crisis in South Asia—a policy which still, to many Americans, defies understanding.

For despite these briefings, and counterbriefings, and off-the-record statements, our Nation's policy toward the 8-month-old crisis in East Bengal remains as unclear and as contradictory as it has from the beginning.

During these 8 long months of bloodshed and tragedy in East Bengal our Government has placed out foreign policy toward Pakistan on an alter of leverage, insisting that silence could bring influence— that by avoiding the condemnation of genocidal acts by the West Pakistan Army against the people of East Bengal, it would somehow stop that genocide—that by continuing the shipment of American military equipment to the Pakistan army, the army would somehow stop using it to suppress East Bengal. But surely there is no more specious an argument than this, which says that to have leverage we must contribute to, and support, the very problem we seek to address.

As outlined this week by anonymous White House spokesmen, the United States over the last several weeks has engaged, in what they call "A Hectic Race Against Time" to achieve a solution that would avoid war. But, Mr. President, it is fair of us to ask when, if ever, this "race against time" began.

Did it begin, for instance, in mid-July ? Certainly the situation then in South Asia was not basically different than it is now or has been from the beginning. And between July 7 to the 14th our Government had a peculiar opportunity to influence events on the subcontinent.

To refresh our memories, the situation at that time in East Bengal was that the Pakistan Army was touring the countryside killing members of the banned Awami League Party, and slaughtering in the process thousands of innocent men, women, and children. Over 7 million refugees found it necessary to flee to India in order to escape the bloody terror of repression—some 45, 000 were fleeing each day. The freely elected leader of East Bengal

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was still in jail. In West Pakistan, President Yahya Khan was vowing to condemn Sheikh Mujib for treason and sought to normalize the situation in East Bengal by forming a puppet government of politicians sympathetic to the military regime. Martial law was tightening is grip on the cities, and the threat of famine stalked the land.

In India, relief workers were strugging to deal with the largest human tid of refugees in modern history: Attempting - but not succeeding - in providing minimal shelter, food and medicine to a hopeless people dying by the thousands under the monsoon rains. As India strained under the refugee burden a cost which has totalled more than all the funds it has received in foreign aid for economic development this year—Indian leaders complained that they could not withstand the pressure much longer, that the refugee flow must be stopped, that it would be cheaper to go to war than suffer this intolerable drain on its society.

Such, then, was the desperate situation in South Asia last July, when Mr. Henry Kissinger travelled to India and Pakistan while on a world tour. He was, we were told, the President's Personal representative to speak to the leaders of India and Pakistan about the conflict in East Bengal, and its reperscussions on the stability of the region. Many Americans were gratified that the intensifying conflict in South Asia was finally receiving the attention and the priority it deserved by the highest officials of our Government. Until then, many of us in congress had worried over the silence and inaction that had characterized our Government's policy toward the crisis- a silence and a letlargy made clear to me during hearings on June 28 of the Subcommittee on Refugees, for which I serve as chairman.

When Mr. Kissinger disappeared for several days from public view while visiting President Yahya khan in Islamabad, many speculated—and all of us hopped—that he was secretly trying to get at the root of the problem in South Asia by visiting Sheikh Mujib, jailed in secret, near Islamabad.

But as we now know, Mr. Kissinger was neither negotiating nor primarily concerned about the root cause of the conflict in South Asia, but rather about America's policy toward China.

Mr. President, if we have been in such a "race against time" for peace in South Asia, as White House spokesman now tell us. then where was the President's representative racing off to last July? Certainly not toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict ranging in East Bengal—a conflict that was then already 4 months old. Rather he had headed toward Peking and more substantive negotiations unrelated to the refugee tragedy which he refused to see first hand in South Asia.

Mr. President, as I said in this Chamber just 3 days ago, this administration has rightly taken pride in its efforts to reestablish contract with one-fifth of mankind's population in China. But are we at the same time—by neglect, by wrong-headed, short-sighted policies—going to allow one-sixth of mankind, located in India, the worlds largest democracy, to become permanently alienated from the United States? In our rush to place a new priority on China, are we going to simultaneously relegate India—a nation with which we have had 25 years of productive relations—to a new low in our priority?

The fact is that throughout the past 8 months of crisis, our Government has consistently sought to minimize the seriousness of the situation in South Asia. At the very beginning of the crisis—during the days immediately following the bloody night of March 25, and after our Government knew of the situation from secret cables sent from Dacca by our Consul General—the Department of State refused to be candid, publicly or otherwise, even in announcing the emergency evacuation of American personnel and dependents. Instead of calling it an evacuation—which would have implicitly confirmed the reports of violence and repression, which the Pakistan Government was explicitly denying at the time—the State Department reached into its bag of euphemisms and called the exodus of U.S. personnel a simple thinning out of Americans.

My concern over these early signs of disaster in East Bengal, and over our Government's inaction, were first stated on the Senate floor last April 1. I reiterated these views on April 6 in a letter to Secretary of State Rogers. My letter said in part:

Reports from East Pakistan continue to tell of human tragedy as a result of the current civil war. Indications last week of indiscriminate killing and the threat of famine prompted me to express my deep concern over this situation on the Senate floor. The latest evidence from the field services to confirm my worst fears.

Frankly it distresses me that our Government should be so silent—both privately and publicly—on the disaster overtaking Pakistan.

I fully appreciate the immense difficulties involved in the East Pakistan issue. However, I believe our Government should protest actions that involve the widespread and indiscriminate shootings of civilians, particularly when American arms are being used. More importantly, we should do what we can to encourage an end to the violence, directly or through others. We should actively support and contribute to a relief program to help meet the humanitarian needs produced by the conflict. It would be reassuring to me and to many Americans, if we could be informed of our Government's active concern in these matters.

Subsequently, our Government down-played the threat of food shortages and famine in East Bengal, and understated the role of American arms in our relations with the Yahya regime. These facts, Mr. President, are well documented in the hearing of the Subcommittee on Refugees and are outlined in my November 1 report to the subcommittee. I ask unanimous consent that these excerpts from my report be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, we find that after 8 months of calculated indifference to the escalating tragedy in East Bengal —after months of silence in the face of massive human tragedy—the highest officials of this administration now tell us that they were in a "race against time" to preserve peace. But it is apparent that this "race" began only a few weeks ago—and far too late to be effective or even relevant.

American officials over the weekend condemned India because —to use the words of one unnamed State Department source—"India wanted to move too rapidly foo the process of political evolution in East Pakistan which the United

States was promoting." What is too rapid in a crisis that has festered 8 long months—where in refugee camps children are dying at the rate of 4,300 each day, and countless thousands more go without food or shelter. Perhaps if Americans were faced with starving and wounded refugees pouring over our borders at the rate of 45,000 each day, we, too, might then move rapidly.

Although the resort to armed force to settle international disputes can never, of course, be condoned, we cannot but be dismayed that the situation in South Asia has been neglected to the point where both Pakistan's and India's armed forces are now involved in the fighting launched by President Yahya Khan attack on the night of March 25. But to now assign "blame", in the way that this administration has, is not only counter-productive, but dishonest.

The rationalizations stated this week by White House spokesmen leave several erroneous impressions, Mr. President, as well as deliberately misrepresent certain facts. For example, the assertion that the Government of Pakistan agreed "in principle to negotiations with Bangladesh representatives, and, that the United States offered a "plan" to India to avoid war and provide negotiations.

Well, the facts are now coming out, and they document that the scenario of events was far more complicated than these spokesmen would have us believe and the so-called plan for negotiations was something less than concrete. In fact, official reports from the field indicate that at no time did President Yahya Khan ever agree, without many qualifications, to a pledge to undertake negotiations with high-level Bangladesh representatives. More importantly, at no time has President Yahya Khan agreed to release or even to directly negotiate with Sheikh Mujib—the man who remains at the heart of the East Bengal crisis.

More distressing still, Mr. President, is the evidence of Pakistani intransigency reported this week by the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio, who recently returned from a visit to both India and Pakistan. In reporting on his visit, Senator SAXBE states, and I quote:

I suggested to President Yahya that he proceed with granting at least a degree of autonomy to East Pakistan. He told me he was willing to do this and he seemed very sincere. But 10 hours later, Pakistani planes bombed six military airfields inside India and this, in turn, triggered a land invasion by India.

Yahya Khan lied to me. He had planned that bombing mission at the time he talked to me. I believe the shooting war could have been averted and India could have been kept from launching an invasion if Pakistan had granted autonomy to East Pakistan.

Equally as disturbing, Mr. President, are reports yesterday from officials in the field that indicate that as long ago as the middle of October, the U.S. Ambassador to India was instructed to call upon the Indian Foreign Minister in new Delhi to warn India that American sources predicted that Pakistan planned to escalate tensions along the western borders of India if the Bengali guerrillas, the Mukti Bahini, intensified their activities along the eastern borders in East Bengal. Indian leaders were officially warned that such an

escalation, even if undertaken by Pakistan, would have "serious effects on Indo-American relations." There was little suggestion that such a development would effect United States Pakistani relations. No plan for peace or direct negotiations involving Sheikh Mujib was reportedly offered—just warning that if India did not curtail its support of the Bengali guerrillas then war would be inevitable or so predicted American officials in October—2 months ago—without any meaningful alternative offered to India by U.S. officials.

Mr. President, as our national leadership has been incredibly silent during the past 8 months, the specter of human deprivation and violence has engulfed South Asia. It is now a late stage in the crisis, but the opportunity still exists, I believe, for our Government and the international community to make a positive contribution toward the peace and relief of the area.

By ourselves we cannot solve the crisis, and by no means should we become directly involved in it. But to a degree we are already "involved"—our guns and equipment are involved, our economic aid, and our diplomacy—so it is not a question whether we should become involved, but how we should become involved, but how we should use our present involvement.

As Prime Minister Indira Ghandi wrote in a letter to our Government just a few weeks ago :

I hope that the vast prestige of the United States and its wisdom......will be used to find a political solution acceptable to the elected representatives of East Bengal and their leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. On my part I shall make every effort to urge patience on our people. However, I would be less than honest if I were not to repeat that the situation in which we find and ourselves has long been an unbearable one.

Mr. President, for the international community to help resolve this crisis we must press for a standstill cease-fire that will provide the "cooling off" period necessary to begin immediate and simultaneous negotiations between India and Pakistan—and between Islamabad and its Bengali opposition under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib. The purpose of the Indo-Pakistan talks would be to restore the 1965 cease-fire along the western borders, while the Islamabad-Bengali negotiations would determine the future status of East Bengal.

Anything short of this will mean the continuation of the war and even greater tragedy. And so I urge again that our Government must turn its policy around—to begin to consider the source of the violence, not just the manifestations of it—and move on a political settement in East Bengal.....

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের জন্য মার্কিন যুদ্ধজাহাজ : সিনেটর স্টিভেনসন-এর বিবৃতি।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 14, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE S 21629

U. S. Naval Ships for Pakistan

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. President, in the name of neutrality toward India and Pakistan, the administration has called for a cease-fire accompanied by withdrawal of military forces from foreign territory.

It is a strange brand of neutrality that favours one party more than the other. The Bengali victims of a new wave of West Pakistani genocide will not view our policy as neutrality. If the birth of a new nation is aborted, those who have fought and bled for the creation of that nation will not view our policy as one of neutrality. A policy which thwarts self-determination and alienates the largest democratic nation in the world is not neutral, it is utterly wrong.

Others have catalogued a variety of ways in which we have been neutral in favour of Pakistan.

Our professed neutrality is made even more doubtful by the fact that two U.S. Navy vessels are serving with the Pakistani Navy at the present time. One of these vessels, an attack submarine, is on loan without the loan agreement required by congressional legislation.

They are the *Diablo*, a 311-foot, 2,400-ton attack submarine, with 10 torpedo tubes; and the *Mission Santa Clara*, a 530-foot, 16,650-ton capacity, 160-mancrew naval cargo ship. The Pakistanis have rechristened them as the *Ghazi* and the *Dacca* respectively.

These ships were provided to Pakistan under the ship-loan programs of the U.S. Government, through which 295 U.S. Navy vessels are now on loan to 37 nations.

In the case of Pakistan, it is difficult to understand how the loan of these vessels could have been justified, even assuming that it is sound to attempt to counter Chinese and Soviet influence in South Asia by providing Pakistan with military support. The fact is that these vessels were given to a nation which does not share navigable waters with China or the Soviet Union, but does share them with India. The result is not a lessening of Soviet influence in South Asia—quite the contrary. By providing Pakistan with ships, tanks, and other military equipment which can be used only in conflict with India, we enhance Soviet influence in India and create a situation in which the superpowers engage in a vicarious arms race on the subcontinent. As we have seen in recent weeks, it is the innocent people of India and Pakistan who ultimately pay the price.

The loan of ships to Pakistan underscores a serious defect in our entire ship-loan program. If ships owned by the United States are loaned to another nation and subsequently used by that nation in a military conflict, the appearance of U.S. complicity is greater than it would be if the ships had been sold or granted outright.

The countervailing advantage of a loan program is that at a later date we can get the ship back. In practice, however, this advantage turns out to be a theoretical one. Once the recipient nation goes to the expense of refurbishing or reequipping a vessel, it is unlikely that we would insist on the return of the vessel. Even when the legislation authorizing the loan expires, as it has in the case of ships loaned to Chile, Peru, and Pakistan, we have not pressed for the return of the vessels.

We gain nothing by making loans which are not really loans, and there is much to lose. By permitting nations to keep vessels even after the authorizing legislation has expired, we encourage them to disregard other legal obligations to the United States. By retaining ownership but not control, we leave ourselves open to embarrassing incidents. It is not in the interests of the United States for Ecuadoreans to seize U.S. fishing boats with U.S.-owned naval vessels, or for the Pakistani to have U.S.-owned vessels at its disposal for possible use against India.

For all of these reasons, the ship loan program should be subjected to a searching reexamination, with a view toward phasing it out at an early date.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
এন্টারপ্রাইজ বঙ্গোপসাগরে কেন ? সিনেটর ইগলটন-এর বক্তৃতা।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 21694 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *December 15, 1971*

U.S. Intervention in Indo-Pak War ?

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, why is the U.S. carrier *Enterprise* in the Bay of Bengal ? Why is an American task force reportedly steaming toward Asia's newest shooting war ?

The fact that the *Enterprise* is in the Bay of Bengal seems indisputable. Marvin Kalb of CBS, so reported this morning. The administration's official comment remains "no comment," and under the circumstances this can only be taken as confirmation.

Secretary Laird, in his Monday statement that he would not comment on ship movements, did allude to "certain contingency plans that would cover evacuation situations." At first reading, one would normally take this to mean evacuation of Americans, and no one disputes the President's established right of rescue.

The Americans remaining in Dacca, however, apparently are there voluntarily. This morning's New York Times reports that—

Forty-seven Americans were among the foreign nationals who had chosen to remain in Dacca instead of joining air evacuation of foreigners from the beseiged East Pakistan capital.

Perhaps there are other Americans elsewhere in East Pakistan who might need to be rescued.

But could the Secretary have had reference to the evacution of other American citizens ? Is the *Enterprise* steaming toward East Pakistan with contingency plans for the rescue, for example, of West Pakistani troops ?

This might sound like an act of mercy at first blush, although one could ask where the administration's mercy was when these same soliders were butchering Bengalis in East Pakistan. Actually intervention to rescue Pakistani soliders would be an act of war against India, which doubtless wants to hold as many captbies as possible as a pawn for later negotiations.

Whatever the Pentagon's intentions regarding the rescue of Pakistani soldiers, Mr. President, I would like to point out that the Pakistani high command undoubtedly thinks and hopes the presence of the *Enterprise* will somehow relieve its garrisons in East Pakistan—which means that these garrisons will be ordered to hold out—which means that there is certain to be more killing than necessary. Would it not have been more humane to stay out of this situation completely, and press the Indians to accept the good offices of the Red Cross for the protection of any and all Pakistani prisoners they may capture ?

Let us ask a further question : Is the *Enterprise* in the Bay of Bengal to "show the flag" to offset the increasing Soviet influence in India ? If this is what the Commander in Chief has in mind, how far is he willing to go ?—to enter the war against India ?—to attack Russian ships in the area ? If not, are we not engaged in an exercise in paper-tigerism ?

Mr. President, I should like to point out that increasing Russian influence in India stems from an Indo-Soviet friendship treaty signed last summer when this administration had persistently refused to address itself to the situation in East Pakistan. Eight to 10 million refugees have fled to India, placing an insupportable burden on her scant resources. Did the President not have enough influence with his friends in West Pakistan to impress upon them the futility of their repression ? If we had strongly condemned Pakistan's actions rather than standing silent, could we not have helped forestall the present conflict ?

When India needed friends, the Russians were there and we were not. As war on the Indian subcontinent became more and more inevitable, we took no significant steps to prevent it.

Mr. President, it appears that we are taking actions which at best can only prolong the agony of East Pakistan and which at worst may involve Americans in a further shooting war in Asia.

We have acted too late to do the people of East Pakistan any good—too late to help preserve the peace--but just in time to risk turning a local war in Asia into a big-power confrontation.

It is hard, I admit, to imagine that we might now become involved, even peripherally, in another Asian war. It would be inconsistent with the President's Guam doctrine and with his hopes for a "generation of peace." I still cannot believe that the administration wants to become involved. I am relieved that there has been no effort to invoke our treaty relationships with Pakistan, which would, in any case, require congressionl approval.

But as I have watched our policy toward Pakistan and India ricochet from mistake to mistake, I have to wonder if we have the skil' to avoid an accidental involvement.

The President obviously takes the Soviet role in South Asia most seriously—seriously enough so that "a high White House official" has raised the possibility the President might cancel his cherished trip to Moscow. Moreover, the dispatch of the *Enterprise* is a most serious step, whatever the motivation.

So my purpose today is to raise some warning flags before Members of Congress and before the American people—before we once again find that it is to late.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতের ভূমিকা সম্পর্কে কংগ্রেস সদস্য ফ্রিলিংহুসেন।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 15, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE H 12641**

India Opens a Pandora's Box

Mr. Frelinghuysen. Mr Speaker, it is impossible not view the continuing military activity of India against Pakistan with alarm. What is being attempted, apparently with success, is the deliberate dismemberment of one country by its neighbor India, of course, is much the bigger country and with far greater military strength, so the developments are not surprising.

It is most disheartening, however—indeed astonishing—that the world just stands by and watches this process. Although an overwhelming majority of the member nations of the U N are understandably opposed to this use of military force and seek a cease-fire and mutual troop withdrawal, it has not yet been possible even to get a statemet of policy adopted by the U N Security Council.

Some argue, Mr Speaker, that since it is invevitable that East Pakistan will become independent eventually, that India should be excused for hastening this process. I for one cannot accept this reasoning. To me India's actions are celarly aggressive in nature They should not be condoned. By her decision to use force against her traditional enemy she has opened up a Pandora's box of troubles, for herself and the community of nations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কংগ্রেস সদস্য মিঃ রেরিক কর্তৃক জাতিসংঘের সমালোচনা।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 15, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD**—*Extensions of Remarks*

E 13507

U. N. Peacekeeping : Only to Advance International communism

In The House of Representatives

December 14, 1971

Mr. Rarick. Mr Speaker, again and again we see evidence appearing indicating the futility of the United Nations as a peacekeeping organization.

The United Nations Organization is not now, and never has been, an organization capable of keeping peace. The only evident facts of history indicate otherwise—both Korea and Vietnam were and are U N wars.

The solution, Mr. Speaker, is not a reduction of U. S. contributions to this international sinkhole—it is absolute and total withdrawal from this Communist-dominated organization. Three times the U. S. Government has offered resolutions calling for a cease-fire in the India-Pakistan conflict; three times this resolution has been vetoed by Soviet Russia.

Certainly the implication is clear. Now that Red China occupys a seat on the Security Council, we can expect that one or the other of the two Communist powers will veto U. S. resolutions—unless we ourselves submit to thier control and offer resolutions in keeping with their avowed drive for Communist world domination.

No, Mr. Speaker, the answer is not a reduction in U. S. appropriations to the U. N. It is toatal and complete withdrawal from the U. N. and its related agencies.

I say again to our colleagues, this can be accomplished by signing discharge petition No. 10, which I have at the Speaker's desk, calling H. R. 2632 from the consideration of the House Committee on the Judiciary and forcing a floor vote on continued U. S. membership in this international Communist debating society.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র ও পাক-ভারত যুদ্ধ : কংগ্রেস সদস্য ফ্যাসেল-এর বক্তৃতা।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 17, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE H 12733**

The United States and The India-Pakistan War

Mr. Fascell. Mr. Speaker, words are inadequate to describe the war which continues between two of the world's largest a nations despite the surrender of Pakistan forces in the East. Every effort must be made to halt the fighting between India and Pakistan as soon as possible.

Where is the United States in all of this ? I agree totally that we must avoid getting involved in the fighting. But while we cannot decisively affect the course of events we do retain grat influence. To date that influence has not been used as it should have been used. From the beginning of the present crisis a year ago the United States has turned a totally deaf ear to the pleas of the people of East Pakistan who, having gone to the polls in a free election; saw the results of that election overturned and a regime of terror and oppression instituted.

President Khan has been a faithfully. For that we are grateful. And I am sure we will continue to honor our commitments to Pakistan when they can be fulfilled but not in the context of the war.

While it may be wrong that Indians resorted to arms to halt the flow of refugees and perhaps to right old wrongs under a cloak of humanitarianism, we in the United States must ask ourselves what did this Nations do to give India hope of a peaceful alternative ? What did we really do to prevent this war ?

As in other areas of the world it appears that the United States had no real overall policy forged to meet the realities of 1971 on the subcontinent. It seems we have reacted to a new set of circumstances based on worn-out old premises. Hence our almost total support for Pakistan.

It seems to me that our policy has been wrong not just on the merits of the case but on the basis of our own self-interest. But now is not the time to debate the rights or wrongs of that policy. The situation is rapidly deteriorating in East Pakistan. It is time for the United States to act to prevent needless bloodshed in the wake on of an apparent Indian victory. From the movements of U. S. naval vessels reported in the press this morning and from the apparent warning issued yesterday to Moscow at an anonymous White House briefing yesterday, it would appear that the President is contemplating some kind of action on the subcontinent. If he is, I hope he will take the Congress into his confidence and not await our adjournment to take any action with such a possible profound implications.

Mr. Speaker, while I would not necessarily be opposed to the use of U. S. helicopters to prevent slaughter of the survivors and to save U. S. citizens from danger, such a serious step should be taken only if—

First, it is essential for humanitarian purposes ;

Second, Congress is as fully consulted as possible ; and

Third, every attempt is made to gain the concurrence of the Indian Government in any humanitarian efforts we may make.

I remain totally and unequivocally opposed to the use of any U. S. military forces for other than totally defensive or humaitarian purposes until and unless Congress has been consulted.

If any action is contemplated, I hope the President will avail himself of this opportunity to carry out his often expressed desire to keep the Congress fully advised on major world developments.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কংগ্রেস সদস্য সদ ম্যাকক্লস্কির ৩ দফা।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্য বিবরণী	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

December 17, 1971 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Extensions of Remarks* E 13714

Congress Enacted Aid to India and Pakistan

Mr. McCloskey. Mr. Speaker, today, as our last act in 1971, the Congress has enacted an appropriation bill for the assistance of refugees in India and Pakistan.

In view of the fact that the Nixon administration today is continuing to pursue power politics in the Bay of Bengal, and particularly in view of the administration's deliberate concealment over the past 9 months of the facts surrounding the systematic execution of East Pakistani political leaders, I think it incumbent upon us to recommend a change of direction in U. S. foreign policy to accompany this appropriation.

I would, therefore, recommend a three point U. S. Christmas program for the people of East Pakistan.

First. We should recognize the new nation of Bangladesh, with the hope that the survivors of the freely elected East Pakistani leaders of year ago can continue with their announced program of creating a democratic government for the new nation.

Second. Instead of sending a task force to the Bay of Bengal, we should be sending in food and hospital ships to assist the people of Bangladesh. At the present time, the hospital ship, U. S. S. *Sanctuary*, is berthed at Mare Island in California awaiting overhaul. I suggest that we send the *Sanctuary* to Bangladesh to replace the nuclear carrier *Enterprise* and the other ships of its strike force.

Third. We should exert all possible pressure on Pakistan to release Sheik Mujib and other East Pakistani leaders in return for the repatriation of the West Pakistani troops who have just surrendered.

Instead of complaining about Indian aggression in a war in which our own silent acquiescence in savage repression and genocide by West Pakistan helped initiate, we should be trying to support a new democratic government and the exchange of all prisoners on both sides without further

bloodshed. Instead of sending warships, we should be sending food and medical supplies and facilities, particularly in view of the [Christmas season where we in America have such immense affluence for which to give thanks.

Finally, we should advise the administration that the Congress will no longer a acquiesce in the administration's concealment of factual information which is necessary to our own congressional responsibility under the Constitution. The continued refusal of the State Department to provide Congress with the responsibility under the Constitution. The genocide which started in East Pakistan last March caused a tragic delay in the change of a U. S. policy which was and is indefensible.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিটলস সংগীতানুষ্ঠানে বাংলাদেশে শান্তির জন্য ৫ সহস্রাধিক মার্কিন নাগরিকের যে আবেদনটি প্রচার করা হয়েছিল : কংগ্রেস সদস্য বিংহ্যাম।	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের কার্যবিবরণী	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Dec. 17, 1971 **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD**—*Extensions of Remarks*
E 13791

PETITION FOR PEACE IN EAST BENGAL

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 1, 1971, 40,000 people packed Madison Square Garden in New York city to hear concerts by two members of the original Beatles rock group and other entertainers. The proceeds were donated to the united Nations to be used for the relief of the millions of suffering refugees in East Bengal.

At the concert, a petition was circulated and signed by more than 5,000 people. The petition urges the U. S. Government to protest the atrocities being committed at that time by the military Government of West pakistan and to stop all U. S. aid to that government. I introduced the petition under clause 1 of House rule XII for reference to the apropriate committee of the House, the committee on Foreign affairs.

A great deal has happened in East Bengal, of course since this petition was circulated. Peace has been largely achieved. But the refugee problem, to which the petition is also addressed, remains to be solved.

The text of the petition, and the names of all who signed it follow :

PETITION

In the name of humanity—Peace must be restored in East Bengal immediately Harassment and murder of defenseless civilians must stop and satisfactory conditions created for repatriation of refugees.

United States Government must—Protest Pakistan's military atrocities; stop support to Pakistan's military junta; and Stop military and economic aid to Pakistan. East Bengal's agony must be alleviated.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ একটি নতুন জাতি : সিনেটর চার্চ।	সিনেটের কার্যবিবরণী	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

S 1860 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE *December 17, 1971*

BANGLADESH : BIRTH OF A NATION

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the new nation of Bangladesh, pursuing its war for independence successfully, with the help of India, is coming into being. By all reports, its concept of government will be social democracy ; the future of its economy is uncertain ; however, according to one western observer, "economically Bangladesh will be better off than it ever was as part of West Pakistan."

যুক্তরাষ্ট্র

বেসরকারী দলিলপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে আমেরিকার জনগণের ভূমিকা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তান সংকটের পটভূমি।	রিপন সোসাইটি	৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

PAKISTAN : BACKGROUND TO A CRISIS

A Ripon Society Position Paper

April 3, 1971

This paper was reviewed for the Ripon Society by a committee consisting of :

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HISTORY OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMINATION OF EAST PAKISTAN

In many ways East and West Pakistan have never been one country. Even at its strongest, the bond between East and West Pakistan was somewhat tenuous. They are physically more than 1 000 miles apart, the people speak different languages, have different cultures and different economics. They have in common religion, a short history, and the same Central Government.

Since the formation of the state of Pakistan 24 years back, the East Bengalis have derived little benefit from the association other than a limited sense of security that the Hindu landlords would not be able to returns and repossess the land.

It has become increasingly apparent that the economic and political interests of the East Pakistanis have been systematically subordinated to those of West Pakistan. Even the Central Government's highest planning authority was forced to take official notice of the widening economic disparities between the two regions. A recent report[1] by a panel of experts to the Planning Commission of the Government of Pakistan showed that, while average (per capita) income in the West was 32% higher than in the East in 1959-60, the disparity had almost doubled to 61% ten years later in 1969-70[2].

The Central Government's instruments of tariffs, import controls, industrial licensing, foreign aid budgeting, and investment allocation have been used to direct investment and imports to develop high-cost[3] industries in West Pakistan whose profitability is guaranteed by an East Pakistan market held captive behind tariff walls and import quotas. Though 56% of all Pakistanis

live in the East, its share of Central Government Development expenditure has been as fluctuated between as low of 20% during 1950/51-1954/55, and realised of 36% in the period 1965/66-1969-70[4] East Pakistan's share of private investment has averaged less than 25%. Historically, 50% to 70% of Pakistan's export earnings have been earned by East Pakistan's products, mainly jute, hides and skin. Yet its share of foreign imports (which are financed by export earnings and foreign aid) has remained between 25% and 35%.[5] Basically, the East's balance of payments surplus has been used to help finance the West's deficit on foreign account leading to a net transfer of resources, estimated by an official report[6] to be approximately $ 2·6 billion over the period 1948/49 to 1968/69.

The subordination of the East's economic interests has been accomplished by the overwhelming concentration of Governmental authority in the hands of West Pakistanis.

After the military regime of Ayub Khan took power in 1958, the East has had little political representation in the Centre. Only co-operative Bengalis were appointed to political office, and in the powerful Civil Service, Bengalis held only a small fraction of the positions. Under-representation of Bengalis in the army was even more severe, believed to be 10% or less. Ayub Khan, against whom the Bengalis had voted heavily in 1965, was forced to resign because of widespread unrest in both East and West, culminating in in demonstrations and strikes in 1969. Since taking power in the Spring of 1969, Yahya Khan's Martial Law regime has always spoken of itself as an interim Government to be replaced after popular elections. In the economic and social spheres, the army made no innovations. However, the military did take one positive step: they held free and fair elections in December of 1970, both for a Constituent Assembly and for Provincial Assemblies.

These elections were based on "one man, one vote;" this meant that in the Constituent Assembly the East was allotted roughly 55 per cent of the seats. Two parties dominated the elections. In the East, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Party, the Awami League, won 167 out of 169 seats for the Constituent Assembly; in the West, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party won approximately 80 out of 140 seats. The Awami League actually had sufficient seats to be a majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The Awami League ran on a single issue, autonomy[7] for East Pakistan. Until the shooting began on March 25, they did not seek independence but a loose union with the West. While on paper they had the votes to dominate a strong Central Government they presumably felt they could not, in fact, dominate, given that the military, the civil service, and the large businesses were all in the hands of West Pakistanis.[8] Therefore, they opted for a form of Government which would give them control over what they considered their essential interests. The established interest groups in the West, particularly the military whose budget was threatened and large businesses who stood both to lose markets and the foreign exchange earnings of the East, opposed autonomy for the East.

When it was clear that the East would not compromise on its demand for autonomy, President Yahya Khan postponed the Constituent Assembly scheduled for March 3, resulting in demonstrations in which hundreds of people died in army firing on March 1. Despite this provocation, Sheikh

Mujib kept the door for negotiations open. General Yahya Khan appeared to respond by holding talks for two weeks with the Awami League leadership. In retrospect, this appears to have been a ploy, to buy time for reinforcing the West Pakistani armed froces in the East. On March 25, the military authority outlawed the Awami League, arrested its leaders, and opened fire with tanks, artillery, and automatic weapons (much of it supplied by the U. S.) on the defenseless and unarmed civilians.[9].

The military's approach appears to be to intimidate the urban population through a reign of terror. Killing and destruction apparently have been indiscreminate. Reports on the number killed in the first three days ranged from 15,000 up.

In the short run the army can intimidate the people of the major cities. But it cannot even now control any substantial part of the countryside. In the long run the military position is untenable. In a hostile environment and given the logistical problems, maintaining even the 60,000 West Pakistani troops now in the East, will be difficult. Moreove⁻, the military cannot possibly guard the borders or prevent the Bengalis from acquiring arms with which to resist.

The Bengalis have now declared themselves independent and have the will to fight. In the end, they will win ; the only question is time, how many deaths, and how much destruction must take place before they achieve their independence.

The recent elections provided East Pakistan with a political party capable of governing. Rather than a civil war, the present action is more of an invasion of one state by the military of another, with the aim of overthrowing a duly elected Government and subjugating the people.

II

AN INDEPENDENT EAST PAKISTAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Bangladesh, the name chosen by East Pakistanis for their desired nation, is bound to establish good relations with India. Apart from the cultural bonds of a common language-Bengali-between East Pakistan and the state of West Bengal in India, interest in strong economic ties coincides. The industrialization of East Pakistan would be greatly facilitated by the nearby supply of coal and iron ore in West Bengal. Even for agricultural growth, much of the investment to improve water control would have to be undertaken in India, presumably as cooperative ventures, likel, with World Bank support. India would benefit not only from water control but also from direct access to the East Pakistan market, and incidently by the improvement of access to Assam. Historically, in spite of evident mutual interest in regularizing cultural and trade relationships between India and East Pakistan, such a development was consistently discouraged and resisted by the West Pakistani-dominated Government. Specifically, the West Pakistanis believed that, short of war and victory, they have no other lever to force a settlement of the Kashmir claim but the economic interest of India in resuming trade in the East.

An independent Bangladesh may set up minor economic ties with China, but these are likely to be much less than the current scale of trade and aid between China and Pakistan. The chance of international links between China and Bangladesh are likely to increase the longer the independence struggle takes to achieve its goal, since its control may, over time, slip from moderate Awami League leadership to more militant, and leftist elements such as the National Awami Party (which did not contest the December elections).

In recent years U.S.S.R. has competed with China, for influence over the West Pakistani-dominated Central Government, using the levers of economic and military aid. In its newly established relationship the Soviet Union's contacts have been confined to the military regime in West Pakistan. Though it is hard to predict the Soviet attitude towards an independent Bangladesh, ties with the Soviet Union are unlikely to be any stronger than with China.

III

UNITED STATES POLICY : PAST AND FUTURE

The likely pattern of United States relations with Bangladesh depends crucially on U. S. policy in the current crisis particularly with regard to the decisions on economic and arms aid to the Central Government in West Pakistan. To appreciate possibilities for U. S. policy, a little history is helpful.

Since the early 1950's when Pakistan joined mutual security pacts of SEATO and CENTO, she has received massive economic and military aid from the United States. By 1969 economic aid amounted to about $ 3 billion and military aid, a classified number, has been estimated to have been between $1·5 and $2 billion. This assistance has included F-104 Starfighters, F-84 Sabre jets, C-130 transports, Patton tanks, armoured personnel carriers, heavy artillery, and automatic weapons. This arsenal of sophisticated equipment was explicitly intended for defence, and in terms of the context in which they were provided, the Communist Bloc was seen as the potential aggressor. After the 1965 Indo-Pakistan border war, when the U. S. imposed an arms embargo on both countries, the Pakistan Government turned for support to another adversary of India, *i.e.*, the People's Republic of China.

The Pakistani initiative was sympathetically received by China, presumably not so much because of the Sino-Indian conflict but because it represented a breach in SEATO and CENTO. The growth of Chinese military and economic aid spurred similar offers from the Soviet Union, anxious to get into the act of weaning Pakistan away from its military alliances with the Western powers. Perhaps because the United States still believed it could compete for influence with Pakistan through arms sales, or perhaps due to the sheer momentum of long and close ties between the Pentagon and the military superstructure in Pakistan, attempts to circumvent the arms embargo gathered strength in 1967. Attempts were made to persuade "third countries" West Germany and Turkey—to sell arms previously provided by the U. S. to Pakistan for nominal prices, with the assurance that the U.S. would replace these weapons with newer equipment.[10] Though this particular move of the Johnson Administration was frustrated by the unwillingness of any suitably equipped third country to go along with the arrangements, in October, 1970 the

Nixon administration offered to sell Pakistan certain items including a squadron of F-104 Starfighters, a squadron of B-57 bombers,[11] and about 300 armored personnel carriers.

Viewed from the United States, the emergencies of an independent Bangladesh friendly to India is likely to aid the long-terms U. S. foreign policy goal of reducing conflict and tension on the Indian sub-continent. The issue of Kashmir, a matter on which East Pakistan has never been aroused, will continue to divide India and West Pakistan. But as a separate entity, West Pakistan is unlikely to have the capacity to continue the long and costly confrontation with India, which has sapped the scarce resources of both these poor countries.

An independent East Pakistan will probably follow a moderately pro-Western policy, which may be consolidated with the provision of aid by U.S. and multilateral agencies. But if the struggle for independence is prolonged by the continuation of U.S. aid to the Pakistan government, the damage to the United States' image and the rise to power of leftist elements in the independence movement will both frustrate the development of friendly relations with the U. S. Eye-witness reports in the **Washington Post** and **New York Times** confirm that American arms are now being used, along with Russian and Chinese, to establish a reign of terror in East Pakistan. The American Government must not be party to the killing of defenseless civilians or the forcible repression of the struggle by East Pakistanis for control over their own lives. Since the agreements under which the arms were given limit their use for defensive purposes, the U. S. certainly has a basis to protest their use for massacring unarmed civilians.

Continuing military and economic aid is not neutrality in this matter. In the current situation, all aid is bound to flow to the government in West Pakistan. At the very least, the United States should prevent deliveries under the October 1970 arms offer, avoid all further arms deals, and cut off economic aid to Pakistan. Such action, together with moral and diplomatic pressure, could bring an end to hostilities and lead to early institution of democratic government.

NOTES

1. **Reports of the Advisory Panels for the Fourth Five Year Plan 1970—75,** Vol. I, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, July, 1970.

2. Planning Commission, op. cit., p. 2.

3. Soligo, R. and Stern, J. J., "Tariff Protection, Import Substitution, and Investment Efficiency." **Pakistan Development Review** Summer 1965. This demonstrates the inefficiency of nearly all industries.

4. Planning Commission, op. cit., p. 6.

5. **Foreign Trade Statistics,** various issues, Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan.

6. Planning Commission, op. cit. Appendix III.

7. The Six-Point autonomy program of the Awami League is—

(1) Establishment of a federation "on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and the Parliamentary framework of government with supremacy of legislature directly elected on the basis of adult franchise."

(2) Federal government shall deal with only two subjects; that is defense and foreign affairs and all other residuary subjects should rest in the federating states.

(3) There should be either two separate but freely convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency for the whole country, provided that effective constitutional provisions were made to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. There should be separate banking reserves and a separate fiscal and monetary policy for East Pakistan.

(4) It denies the centre the right of taxation and vests it in the hands of the federating states with the centre receiving a fixed share.

(5) Foreign trade: Five steps

(a) There shall be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings.

(b) Earnings of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan and the same for West Pakistan.

(c) Foreign exchange requirements of the federal government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ratio to be fixed.

(d) Indigenous products shall move free of duty within the wings.

(e) The constitution shall empower the unit governments to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in, and enter into agreements with foreign countries.

(6) Setting up a militia or para-military force by East Pakistan.

8. Papanek, G. F. **Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and** Private Incentives, Harvard University **Press,** 1967.

9. The **Washington Post,** March 30, gives a graphic account of the massacres committed with the use of armored units in Dacca, the regional capital of East Pakistan.

10. Bowles, Chester, **Promises to Keep: My Years in Public Life 1941—1969,** p. 521, Harper and Row, 1971.

11. Bowles, op cit., p. 522.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
"পূর্ব পাকিস্তান বায়াফ্রা নয়"।	গুস্তাভ এফ, পাপানেক, জন, ডব্লিউ টমাস	৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

EAST PAKISTAN IS NOT BIAFRA

The current struggle for independence in East Pakistan (or Bangladesh as its people now call it) is often evaluated in terms of the abortive secessionist movement of Biafra, in which the Federal Government of Nigeria ultimately prevailed. To base policy and predictions about events in East Pakistan on the Biafra model would be the diplomatic equivalent of the classic military error of preparing for the next war by being ready to fight the last one over again. There are six major differences between the two situations which suggest that sooner or later the independence movement will succeed in East Pakistan.

First, in Pakistan it is a majority of the nation's populace which seeks independence. The 75 million East Pakistanis, who gave about 85 per cent of their votes to pro-autonomy parties, constitute about 55 per cent of the population in Pakistan; in Nigeria the Ibos, the only major supporters of Biafra did not constitute even 20 per cent of the population.

Second, the 60,000 troops from West Pakistan fighting in East Pakistan are separated from their logistical base in the West wing by 3,000 miles of an air/sea supply route. In normal times the two wings are separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. With the Indian government's ban on Pakistani overflights, West Pakistan has to detour around the southern trip of India to fly supplies into East Pakistan. In Nigeria the Federal government could move troops and supplies overland with no major natural obstacle separating the front from the supply base.

Third, there is in fact no "front" in the accepted sense of the term. The front is everywhere, and cities with military bases are islands in a sea of hostile peasants. At the time this is being written, the military controls only the major cities, which in predominantly agricultural East Pakistan include less than 10 per cent of the population. Attempts to control the countryside by relying on bombing and strafing have been ineffective up to now, and cannot hope to succeed any more than American air power has been successful in controlling the countryside of Vietnam.

Fourth, in the absence of an external threat, the Nigerian federal government could devote *all* its military resources to the suppression of the Biafran secession. In contrast, the military in Pakistan deems it necessary to keep the majority of the army in West Pakistan to guard the frontiers against a hostile India.

Fifth, the Biafran military resistance was ultimately crippled by the absence of a significant supply of externally provided arms. East Pakistan's 1,000 mile-long border with India runs through marshes, hills and jungles, which for all practical purposes render the border unpoliceable. Even if the Indian government earnestly attempted to seal off the border to the inflow of arms, it could

not do so. Given the immense sympathy for the East Pakistani independence movement amongst fellow Bengalis residing on the Indian side of the border, there will be no dearth of private gun-runners—whatever the official Indian attitude.

Finally, the Pakistan economy, and hence the government's ability to finance a long military conflict, is much more vulnerable to conditions in East Pakistan than was Nigeria to Biafra's. East Pakistan's jute exports account for 45 per cent of Pakistan's limited foreign exchange earnings. With little jute likely to be planted in East Pakistan this year, the Pakistan government will be hard pressed to finance the foreign exchange requirements of both West Pakistani industry and the military. (The need for imports of aviation fuel is already soaring.) At the present moment Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves are precariously low, and the Pakistan government will not be able to prosecute the war without foreign aid to shore up its economy.

Taken together these factors point towards the ultimate success of the independence movement in East Pakistan. Historically, Pakistan's attempt to forge a successful nation out of two distant areas was a noble experiment, for which millions in both East and West Pakistan sacrificed much. But after the bloodshed of the last two weeks it is difficult to believe that East Pakistan would willingly remain part of Pakistan and, for the reasons listed, it is doubtful that it can long be forced to do so. The longer the struggle the more East and West Pakistan will be impoverished and the more blood will be shed. In this context it is worth stressing that the continuance of U.S. aid to the Pakistan government is *not* neutrality. It is taking sides just as much as would direct assistance to the independence movement.

Analogy is always a poor substitute for analysis. But Americans who insist on fitting the Pakistan conflict into a familiar mould would find our own independence movement a more helpful analogy than Biafra's.

April 8, 1971

Gustav F. Papanek
John W. Thomas.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তান সংকট—ঘটনা ও পরিণতি : এনো ব্রাউন টেলর-এর প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ অর্গানাইজেশন	১১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

CRISIS IN PAKISTAN : FACTS AND CONSEQUENCES.

Anna Braun Taylor

Bangladesh (the Bengali Nation) Organization.

April 11, 1971.

State Department spokesman Robert J. McClosky said that it was "impossible to estimate a reliable set of facts regarding recent events (in East Pakistan) and to assess their consequences."

This is not true. We may not be getting an accurate "body count", but we are getting a horrifyingly graphic "set of facts". Europeans and Americans evacuated from Dacca and Chittagong are giving eye-witness reports of mass-killings and atrocities. So are reporters who managed to sneak in over the Indian border or to stay on in Dacca after the army expelled the press. In the name of Allah, intergity and national unity. West Pakistani soldiers in Chittagong have hanged Bengali by their wrists from trees and left them to die of exposure, have forced Dacca University students to dig their own graves and then shot them, have burnt down whole shanty towns....Sen. Edward Kennedy's sub-committee on refugees has received reports of "indiscriminate killing, the execution of dissident political leaders and students and thousands of civilians suffering and dying every hour of the day."

Since the founding of Pakistan in 1947, the East has always been oppressed by the West wing. Separated by 1,100 miles of Indian territory, by language, culture and customs, the East has simply been a colony—a source of raw material (jute) and a captive market for West Pakistani goods. All positions of power in the government and the army were held by West Pakistanis. A disproportionate amount of American aid and foreign revenue found its way into the pockets of ruling West Pakistani families. The attitude of most West Pakistanis towards Bengalis was colonial, too—a mixture of ignorance and contempt.

This contempt was expressed in the brutality with which the West Pakistani army crushed the democratic machinery of the East, jailed and murdered its elected representatives, and is now exterminating its people. The ignorance of the West is likely to show in the long run. Ultimately, it cannot win. East Bengal is ideal guerrilla territory and hell for a conventional army. There are hardly any passable roads and during monsoon, every meadow and rice paddy becomes a lake. The West Pakistani army cannot paralyze the East by bombing its industrial centers for the simple reason that they are all in the West. Nor can they demoralize it by razing the towns of Dacca or Jessore. There is no way of bombing a village that covers 55,126 sq. miles, and that is what East Bengal is, actually. Resentment and hatred for the West are universal. Blowing up Dacca airport could virtually maroon the West Pakistani army in a sea of hostility.

America's present posture of neutrality and non-interference is a sham. It has tremendous power in Pakistan—about $ 5 billion's worth, to be exact. (By 1969, Pakistan had received about $ 3 billion in industrial aid and about $ 2 billion in military aid). Last October, the U.S. negotiated a sale of over $10 million dollars worth of arms. This shipment is due soon. Simply by putting an embargo on arms and aid, the U.S. stymied the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965. If America stops its aid now and the World Bank presses for payment of debts due June 30, Pakistan can become bankrupt within 2½ months (*Washington Post*, April 11). In short, all America has to do is to be neutral in deed as well as word.

And it can have its cake and eat it. It can stop the slaughter—and not lose West Pakistan to China. It didn't in 1965. China just could not aid Pakistan in the style to which it had become accustomed. Besides, China's flirtation with West Pakistan puts it in the awkward position of opposing a popular revolt in favour of "capitalist oppressors."

On the other hand, America has much to lose if, once again, in its myopic fearfulness, it backs the short-term winner—and long-term loser—by allying itself, tacitly or openly, with the West. It can create another Vietnam. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, head of the Awami League which won almost 98% of East Bengali votes in the recent election, is a pro-Western moderate. His Six Point plan would have redressed some of the political and economic wrongs suffered by the East, while preserving "the integrity and unity of the nation" so dear to the West. East Bengalis so far have been suspicious of communists : the leftist National Awami Party won very little support in the election and the Mao Naxalites of West Bengal have made no headway in the East. But failure and frustration can only radicalize the moderates. Mujibur Rahman jailed and martyred may well become another Ho Chi Minh.

These are some of the facts and consequences that Mr. McClosky and the State Department should consider—soon.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্ট-এর কাছে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের ওপর নির্যাতনের প্রতিবাদে আমেরিকান ফ্রেণ্ডস অব পাকিস্তান।	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	১২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN BY 'AMERICAN FRIENDS OF PAKISTAN', PUBLISHED ON APRIL 12, 1971

Your Excellency :

Reports that have reached this country leave no room to doubt that the Government of Pakistan has abandoned peaceful negotiations and democratic procedures in East Pakistan and is seeking to subjugate a majority of its own citizens by military force. To this end, it has loosed the terrors of modern wafare, including tanks, planes, and artillery, against unarmed people, killing literally thousands.

Outsiders can sympathise with the grave troubles and concerns of the Government of Pakistan, but they cannot remain silent when it is making war on its own people. We believe that no government has right to impose its will by force of arms on a populace that has spoken so unanimously as the people of East Pakistan and whose aspirations are so reasonable.

All of us have been actively concerned for many years with the problems faced by Pakistan and with the struggle of its people, in both the West and the East, for a better life. We have been hartened by the progress that was being made toward a more ample life and toward democracy. But we fear that the present course of the Government of Pakistan can lead only to disaster. We urge you, in the name of humanity and out of love for your country, to arrange for a truce before all is lost, and to restore legitimate and responsive government in East Pakistan with all possible haste.

Dr. Frank, C. Child.
Dr. Edwin H. Clark II.
Dr. Paul G. Clark.
Dr. James Coleman.
Dr. Edward C. Dimock, Jr.
Dr. Robert Dorfman.
Dr. Walter P. Falcon.
Dr. John C. H. Fei.
Dr. Richard W. Gable.
Dr. Robert Gomer
Dr. Gary Hufbauer
Dr. John Isaacs
Dr. Kiromitsu Kaneda
Dr. Mauric D. Kilbridge
Dr. Stephen R. Lewis, Jr.
Dr. Edward S. Mason.
Mr. John W. Mellor.
Dr. Gustav F. Papanak.
Dr. Hanna Papanak.
Dr. Stefan H. Robock.
Dr. Peter Rogers.
Dr. James A. F. Stoner.
Dr. John W. Thomas.
Dr. D. Wynne Thorne.
Dr. Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson).
Dr. Stanislaw Wellisz
Dr. Winston W. Wetzel
Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner
Dr. Wayne Wilcox

For inquiries, endorsements, contributions write to **AMERICAN FRIENDS OF PAKISTAN, 81, Kiburn Road, Belmont, Mass 02178**

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
যুক্তরাষ্ট্র নির্মিত পাকিস্তানের সমরাস্ত্র সম্পর্কে মিঃ চেস্টার বাউলস-এর বিবৃতি।	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

"PAKISTAN'S MADE-IN-USA ARMS" BY MR. CHESTER BOWLES,

New York Times, April 18, 1971

ESSEX, Conn.—The appalling struggle now going on in East Pakistan is a further testimony to the folly of doling out arms to "friendly governmen's" with little regard for whom they are to be used against or for what reasons.

The billion dollar military equipment program for the Government of Pakistan (meaning West Pakistan) between 1954 and 1965 enabled and encouraged the Pakistanis to attack India in 1965. Now (along with some Soviet and Chinese equipment) it is being used by the West Pakistan Government to beat down their fellow countrymen in East Pakistan who recently voted overwhelmingly for greater independence.

It is a particularly shoddy spectacle because there is no indication that our Government feels the slightest responsibility for how our weapons are being used. Indeed it has done its best to sweep the whole situation under the rug.

Even when the International Red Cross was refused entry into East Pakistan, when all foreign correspondents had been hurriedly ushered out of the country, and when daily on-the-spot reports from our Consulate General in Dacca had described in detail the massive military action by the West Pakistan Army against East Pakistan civilians, our Government persisted in saying it did not know what was going on and therefore was in no position to comment.

It was only when some 500 American refugees from East Pakistan began to give accounts to the press that our Government offered even a mild protest to the West Pakistan Government.

Two actions' it seems to me, should be taken at once. First, we should lodge a stron protest with the West Pakistan Government over the misuse of U.S. military equipment and all aid except medical supplies and food should promptly be stopped. Second, we should call for a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations to consider appropriate steps to deal with the threat to the peace of Asia which this conflict clearly has become. U.S. Government spokesmen have already ignored the first suggestion and rejected the second on the ground that the fighting in East Pakistan is an "internal question" in which we have no right to interfere. *But what about U. S. action in the Congo ? What about South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Cyprus ?*

When peace is threatened on such a massive scale the United Nations has an overriding obligation to do everything possible to settle the conflict before it gets out of control. This obligation is particularly clear when the "internal problem" is created by the efforts of a well armed minority to subdue the

overwhelming majority constituting more than one-half of a divided country, separated by more than 1,000 miles of alien territory, speaking different languages and with deep built-in-cultural conflicts and differing economic interests.

If we assume leadership in mustering world opinion to stop the fighting, the Soviet Union, which has limited its reaction to a mild plea for restraint, will almost certainly support our position. This is particularly so since China has seized upon the situation to stir up trouble between India and Pakistan even though this puts them in bed with the rightist military dictatorship of West Pakistan.

The upheaval in East Pakistan came at a moment when there was new hope for political stability and economic progress in South Asia. In December, the overwhelming victory of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami Legue in the first free election ever held in Pakistan had opened the door not only for the first genuinely democratic government but for greatly expanded trade with India and the easing of the conflict between the two nations.

Two months later, Mrs. Gandhi's landslide election in India provided her with a mandate not only for an all out effort to ease the poverty of the Indian masses but also to improve India's relations with its neighbors.

Tragically, the action of the West Pakistan Government has destroyed for some time to come the hope for a politically stable, united Pakistan living at peace with its neighbors. In all likelihood, the West Pakistani forces in East Pakistan ultimately will be driven out. Although their military superiority is substantial, the movement of food and military supplies in the coming monsoon through the aroused countryside will be extremely difficult. An independent East Pakistan appears to be in the cards.

But if the United States and the U.N. combine to look the other way and the present struggle is allowed to continue to its inevitable bloody climax, East Pakistan will become a political vacuum with 70-million embitterd people convinced that the only hope for support is from the most extreme elements in India. This is particularly likely if, as many observers believe, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who has been deeply committed to the democratic process, is already dead.

As this danger grows, Mrs. Gandhi's Government will be increasingly diverted from its programs of economic development to raise the living standards of the Indian people, instead turning to the political and military problems of securing its northern and eastern borders.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
"পূর্ব পাকিস্তানকে বাঁচানো সম্ভব"।	ফ্রেণ্ডস অব বাংলাদেশ	২০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

EAST PAKISTAN CAN BE SAVED

American money and arms are being used by the West Pakistani army to massacre East Pakistanis and their democratically elected leaders.

The State Department must *put an embargo on arms and aid to Pakistan* as it did during the Indo-Pakistani war. That embargo stopped the war. It can now stop the frantic and atrocious killing of civilians in East Pakistan.

What you can Do : For only 90% you can send a Public Opinion telegram of 15 words ; for $2.55 you can send a Night Letter of 100 words. Just tell the operator the name of the Senator or congressman—no address needed. Urge them to *STOP SENDING MONEY AND ARMS TO PAKISTAN*

WE MUST ACT NOW : Thousands of East Pakistanis are being slaughtered daily in a Gestapo-like orgy of killing. This disaster follows on the heels of the cyclone. The rice harvest is being neglected in the chaos of war and millions may die of starvation. Help us *Avoid another biafra, another Vietnam*. Write that telegram and get your friends to write, too.

Friends of Bangladesh, the Bangali Nation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাঙালীদের প্রতি অমানবিক আচরণের বিরোধিতায় সিনেটর জন পেস্টোর।	সিনেটরদের পত্রাবলী	২০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
Joint Committee on Atomic Energy
Washington, D. C. 20510

April 20, 1971

Mrs. Edgar F. Rohde
30 Apple Tree Lane
Barrington, Rhode Island 02806

Dear Mrs. Rohde :

Thank you for your letter of April 17. Coincidentally, Dr. William B. Greenough, III, Chief of Infectious Diseases Division of Johns Hopkins University, called at my office at the same moment that your letter was delivered.

Dr. Greenough told my staff that he was a close friend of your son, Jon, and the reason he called at my office was to advise me of the tragic conditions in Pakistan. My staff showed your letter to Dr. Greenough and he endorsed your son's comments and conclusions.

I merely want to tell you that I will do everything I can in opposition to the inhuman treatment and oppression of the Bengalis I have been contacted by Senator Case concerning his concurrent resolution to stop arms shipments to Pakistan and I expect to co-sponsor this resolution. I am also awaiting advice from Senator Harris concerning his proposal and I am keeping your letter and your son's memorandum as well as the material provided to me by Dr. Greenough available for use when the Senate takes these resolutions under consideration.

I am in complete sympathy with your views and thank you for sharing your son's observations with me.

Sincerely yours,
Sd/-
John O. Pastore
United States Senator

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাঙালী বুদ্ধিজীবী হত্যার প্রতিবাদে আই, সি, ইউ, ই।	ইন্টারন্যাশনাল কমিটি অন দি ইউনিভার্সিটি ইমার্জেন্সী	২২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

DETAIL PREMEDIATED MASSACRE OF SCHOLARS BY PAKISTANI ARMY

Dacca Affair Termed "Genocide", Scholars of 10 Countries, through ICUE, Seek to Forestall Further "Systematic Extermination"

New York, April 22— The Pakistan Army was charged today with the "premeditated massacre" of most of the leading professors, their families, and many students at the University of Dacca on the night of March 25-26.

Scholars from ten countries who raised the charge of genocide declared: "Having organized to defend the life of scholarship, we cannot remain silent when the very lives and minds of scholars are shattered in bloody massacre, and their distinctive culture threatened with obliteration."

The International Committee on the University Emergency, which provided first details of the massacre from an eye-witness, called upon their countries "to express their horror at this systematic extermination of scholars."

The ICUE stated that the Pakistani forces, acting from lists said to have been prepared last fall, brought senior professors out on campus and shot them, along with their wives and children. The scholars, Bengalis of East Pakistan, were apparently presumed by the West Pakistan forces to favour Bengali nationalism.

The eye-witness professor, returned of the United States after fleeing from East Pakistan and refuses to Identify himself for publication. He was interviewed extensively this week by Dr. Paul Seabury, Professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley, a founder of the ICUE.

Prof. Seabury is also a member of the Board of Trustees of Freedom House whose executive committee yesterday associated itself fully with the ICUE's expression of horror at the massacre.

The ICUE, sponsored by Freedom House at its inception last fall, is composed of about 100 leading scholars, including seven Novel laureates, in ten countries—Australia Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.

(Note : The printed list of ICUE members is attached; to it should be added Thorsten Husen, Teachers College, Stockholm; Oscar Handlin, Harvard; Werner Heisenberg, Nobel laureate, University of Munich; and Tsung-Dao Lee, Nobel laureate, Columbia).

The ICUE's steering committee which issued today's statement is composed of the following professors: Francois Bourricaud, Paris, Richard Lowthal, Berlin ; Donald MacRae, London; Giovanni Sartori Florence; Charles Frankel, New York; Seymour Martin Lipset, Cambridge, Mass; Paul Seabury, Berkeley; and Edward Shils, Chicago.

The full test of today's ICUE statement follows :

The Massacre of Scholars at Dacca

Statement by the Steering Committee of the

International Committee on the University Emergency

We speak as representatives of the community of scholars* who came together last fall to defend academic freedom and maintain the integrity of scholarship in our ten countries on four continents.

Having organized to defend the life of scholarship, we cannot remain silent when the very lives and minds of scholars are shattered in bloody massacre, and their distinctive culture threatened with obliteration.

A professor of the University of Dacca in East Pakistan who last week fled in terror has described to us the systematic extermination of scholars on March 25-26 by units of the Pakistani military force. According to this eye-witness, the army attacked on the night of March 25th. By one o'clock the next morning the university was blaze. Shooting continued for 36 hours. This professor made his way into the streets when the curfew was briefly lifted on the 27th. Screaming people were all about. The University looked like a graveyard with thousands of dead bodies in view. Freshly dug graves pockmarked the campus.

It was obvious that the university had been a major target. A premeditated massacre appears to have been conducted from a master list of victims prepared possibly as early as last fall. That list presumably contained the names and addresses of leading teachers and students as well as artists, musicians and writers associated with Bengali literature and culture.

The mass murder apprently proceeded on schedule; senior professors were brought out in the open and shot. Their families, including women and children, were also killed. The sudden attack obviously sought the extermination of the intellectual class, particularly the bearers of Bengali culture and a large part of its audience.

Shot and killed were the chairmen of the following departments: Philosophy, G. C. Deb; statistics, Dr. Maniruzzaman; history, Dr. M. Kabir; English, Dr. Guha-Thakurta; political science, Muzaffar Hussain; and the head of the Bengali Academy, Kabir Chaudhri. Many more senior professors, dorm proctors, lecturers and others were either killed or left injured in the campus area. Members of their families were not spared.

The eye-witness estimates that a high proportion of the Bengalis among the faculty and students and nearly all the senior professors were either killed or injured.

We do not presume to judge any aspect of the Bengali secession issue.

As human beings and as scholars, however, we call upon our respective countries to express their horror at this systematic extermination of scholars. It cannot be justified by any precedent of international or civil conflict. This was not death stemming form guerrilla action by civilians ; this was unprovoked assault on the bodies and minds of individuals who convey the culture of a distinct people. This was genocide in its cruelest and most abject sense.

Though our governments may believe themselves limited in actions they can take, there should be no further delay in public recognition than an inhuman deed was panned and executed at Dacca. Full opprobrium should be directed at those responsible. Though our governments may remain silent, we, as scholars, cannot. For whether or not the East Pakistani matter is a civil conflict, it remains our duty to fallen colleagues to express our sense of horror and perhaps, thereby, forestall a continuation or repetition of the ghastly affair.

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*The ICUE's Steering Committee includes Francois Bourricaud, Paris ; Richard Lowenthal, Berlin ; Donald MacRae, London ; Giovanni Sartor, Florence ; Charles Frankel, New York ; Seymour Martin Lipset, Cambridge, Mass. ; Paul Seabury, Berkeley ; and Edward Shils, Chicago. The 100 charter members of the group include scholars in Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United States and the United Kingdom.

..........April 22, 1971

Issued by the International Committee on the University Emergency 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York 10018-LO 5-3344

Signatures of the ICUE Statement :

John W. Aldridge, English, Univ. of Michigan ; David Armstrong, Philosophy, Sydney Univ. ; David T. Bazelon, Policy Sciences, SUNY, Buffalo ; Daniel Bell, Sociology, Harvard Univ. ; Saul Bellow, Social Thought, Univ. of Chicago ; Ronald Berman, English, Univ. of California, San Diego ; Hans A. Bethe, Physics (Nobel Laureate), Comell Univ. ; Alexander M. Bickel, Law, Yale Univ. ; Daniel Boorstin, Director, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution ; Franciois Bourricaud, Sociology, Univ. of Paris ; Vittore Branca, Literature, Univ. of Padova ; Robert Brustein, Drama, Yale Univ. ; Zbigniew Brzezinski, Director, Research Inst. on Communist Affairs, Columbia Univ. ; Jean-Claude Casanova, Political Economy, Univ. of Paris : Wolfgang Clemen, Literature, Univ. of Munich ; John Compton, Philosophy, Vanderbilt Univ. ;

Also, Sergio Cotta, Law, Univ. of Rome ; Nicos Devletoglou, Economics, London School of Economics ; Merle Fainsod, Government, Harvard Univ. ; Jacob Joel Finkelstein, Ancient Literature, Yale Univ. ; Luigi Firpo, Political Theory, Univ. of Torino ; Wolfram Fischer, History, Free Univ. of Berlin ; Franklin L. Ford, Arts and Sciences, Harvard Univ. ; Charles Frankel, Philosophy and Public Affairs Columbia Univ. ; Jhon Hope Franklin, History, Univ. of Chicago ; Frank B. Freidel, Jr., History, Harvard Univ. ; Milton Friedman, Economics, Univ. of Chicago ; Paul A. Freund, Law, Harvard Univ. ;

Also, Richard N. Gardner, Law, Columbia Univ. ; Theodor H. Gaster, Religion, Barnard College; Harry D. Gideonse, Economics, New School for Social Research ; Harry Girvetz, Philosophy, Univ. of California, Santa Barbara ; Nathan Glazer, Education. Harvard Univ. ; Hermann Hartmann, Chemistry, Univ. of Frankfurt ; Wilhelm Hennis, Political Science, Univ. of Freiburg ; Robert Hollander, Romance Languages, Princeton ; Sidnye Hook, Philosophy, New York University ;

Also, H. Stuart Hughes, History, Harvard Univ. ; Arturo Carlo Iemolo, Ecclestiastical Law, Univ. of Rome ; Henri Janne, Hon. Rector, Univ. of Brussels ; Harry G. Johnson, Economics, London School of Economics ; Jascha Kessler, English Literature, Univ. of California, Los Angeles ; William R. Kintener, Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, Univ of Pennsylvania; Irving Kristol, Urban Values, New York Univ. ; Helmut Kuhn, Philosophy, Univ. of Munich ; Paul Kurtz, Philosophy, State Univ. of New York, Buffalo; David Landes, History, Harvard Univ. ; Harold D Lasswell, Law and Political Science, Yale Univ. ; William E. Leuchtenburg, History, Columbia Univ.; Aaron Levenstein, Management, Baruch College, CUNY ; Gunther Lewy, Government , Univ. of Massachusetts ; Seymour Martin Lipest, Government and sociology, Harvard Univ. ; William W. Lockwood, Politics and International Affairs, Princeton Univ. ; Richard Lowenthal, Internaticnal Relations, Free Univ. of Berlin ;

Also, Herman Luibbe, Pholosophy, Univ. of Bielefeled ; Donald MacRae, Sociology, London School of Economics ; Yoichi Maeda, French, Univ. of Tokyo ; Hans Maier, Political Science, Univ. of Munich ; Martin E. Malia, History, Univ. of California, Berkeley (now at Paris) ; Nicola Matteucci, History, Univ. of Bologna ; James McAuley, English, Univ. of Tasmania ; Giuseppe Moruzzi, Physiology, Univ. of Pisa ; Philip E. Moseley, Director, European Institute, Columbia Univ. ; Ernest Nagel, Philosopy, Columbia Univ. ; A. F. Ken Nash, Sociology, Univ. of California, Santa Barbara ; Robert A. Nisbet, Sociology, Univ. of California, Riverside ;

Also, Ernst Nolte, Modern History, Univ. of Marburg ; Heninz Dietrich Ortlieb, Economics, Univ. of Hamburg ; Robert R. Palmer, History, Yale Univ. ; Henri Peyre, French, Yale Univ. ; Giampietro Puppi, Chairman, National Committee of Physics, Univ. of Bologna ; Lucian Pye, Political Science, Mass. Institute of Technology ; Isdor Isaac Rabi, Physics (Noble Laureate), Columbia Univ. ; Paul Ramsey, Religion, Princeton Univ. ; Edwin O. Reschauer, History, Harvard Univ. ; John P. Roche, Politics, Brandeis Univ . ; Roisario Romeo, Modern History, Univ. of Rome ; George K. Romoser, Political Science Univ. of New Hampshire ; Henry Rosovsky, Economics, Harvard Univ. ; Walter H. Ruegg, Sociology, Univ. of Frankfort ;

Also, Aldo Sandulli, Law, Univ. of Rome ; Giovanni Sartori, Political Science, Univ. of Florence ; Leonard Schaprio Political Science, Univ. of London ; Erwin K. Scheduch, Sociology, Univ. of Cologne ; Paul Seabury, Political Science, Univ. of California, Berkeley ; Edward Shils, Sociology, Univ. of Chicago ; Jhn R. Silber, Arts and Sciences, Univ. of Texas ; Fritz Stern, History , Columbia Univ. ; Gerd Tellenbach, History, German History Institutue, Rome ; Freiendiich H. Tenbruck, Sociology, Univ. of Tubingen;

Helmut Thielicke, Theology, Univ. of Hamburg ; Charles Townes, Physics (Nobel Laureate), Univ. of California, Berkeley ; Harold C. Urey, Chemistry (Nobel Laureate), Univ. of California, Berkeley ; Ernst H. Vander Beugel, Law, Leiden Univ. ;

Also N. E. H. van Esveld, Law, Leiden University ; Eugene P. Wigner, Physics (Nobel Laureate), Princeton Univ. ; Peter John de la Fosse Wiles, Russian Studies, Univ. of London ; David A. Wilson, Political Science, Univ. of California, Los Angeles ; James Q. Wilson, Government, Harvard Univ. ; William Barry Wood, Jr., Medicine, H Johns Hopkins Univ. ; C. Vann Woodward, History, Yale Univ. ; and Gordon Wright, History, Univ. of Stanford.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে আমেরিকার সামরিক সাহায্য স্থগিত প্রস্তাব সম্পর্কে সিনেটর এডমণ্ড মাস্কির চিঠি।	সিনেটরদের পত্রাবলী	৩০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington. D. C. 20510

April 30, 1971

Mrs. Edgar F. Rohde

30 Apple Tree Lane

Barrington, Rhode Island 02806.

Dear Mrs. Rohde :

Thank you for expressing your views with regard to the current situation in East Pakistan. I appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

I share your concern over the tragic events which have occurred in East Pakistan in recent weeks. You may be interested to know that I have joined in co-sponsoring a resolution which would suspend all U. S. Military Assistance to Pakistan until the conflict there is resolved. I am enclosing a copy of recent statement I have made on this subject which I hope will be of interest to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Edmund S. Muskie

United States Senator

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে পররাষ্ট্র সচিব উইলিয়াম রজার্সকে লিখিত মি: উইলিয়াম গ্রীনোর চিঠি।	উইলিয়াম বি, গ্রীনো, জন হপকিন্স বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

School Of Medicine

6 May, 1971

The Honourable William Rogers

Secretary of State

The United States of America

Department of State

Washington, D. C.

Sir,

The current situation in East Pakistan has been brought to my attention because of the involvement of several members of the faculty of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and hygiene who have been involved in research and training projects located in both Calcutta and Dacca over the past ten years.

First hand information from these individuals through their contacts in these areas amply documents the wel-planned and executed operation by the army of West Pakistan which has resulted in major damage to the physical plants of the major universities by bombing and artillery fire. Of greater concern, however, has been the systematic killing of professors and students. I believe you have rather complete documentation of this from Mr. Archer Blood, the American Consul General in Dacca. His information is believed to be entirely accurate and is well supported by independent observers reaching England and the United States.

Although the incredible wastage due to the slaughter of the limited educated population with leadership ability so necessary in a country like East Pakistan (much trained in the U. S. at the expense of U. S. dollars) is obvious and to be decried, the longer term issues are those on which we must now focus. I believe our own self-interest dictates a realistic appraisal of the situation and a decision not to commit our resources to a losing cause regardless of prior commitments. The ingredients that would seem to indicate that East Bengal cannot be operated by the West Pakistan army as a foreign occupation force is as follows :

(1) Before the present attack which has served to consolidate public opinion of Bengalis against the domination of West Pakistan a free election already indicated that 80% of the populace strongly favored the leadership of Sheik Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League. This majority is now increased and has crystalized in its attitude of non-cooperation and growing active resistance.

(2) The long border with India has never been closed and cannot be sealed with any reasonable number of soldiers. India is happy to provide sanctuary. Hence, around the entire permeter of the country lies training sanctuaries for guerillas who can operate on a hit and run basis without fear of reprisal.

(3) Recent evidence indicates that the army only controls the now-deserted urban centers and may of the roads and railroads but has no control and no functional administrative machinery in the remainder of the countryside. This means not only sanctuary for guerillas within all parts of the countryside but also no possibility of establishing a viable economy in the forseeable future.

(4) Failure of the economy of East Pakistan means and immediate loss of 50% of the foreign exchange which has been available to support the economy of West Pakistan and the army. This means a massive infusion of outside aid would be required just to maintain the previous status-quo. The additional economic infusion needed for the current Military operation if it is to be even superficially successful would be enormous.

(5) There is an organizing provisional government of Bangladesh which is in increasing contact with the rural leaders who have escaped the army and who are committed now to the goal of a free Bengal Diplomates and trained educated technical personal overseas are presently defecting to the aegis of this provisional government. The representatives of this government are both able and dedicated. Mr. Rahman Subhan, a chief advisor to Sheik Mujibur Rahman, is currently in this country and should be given an opportunity to give his information to persons at the highest level of our government.

(6) food supplies are running short. Evidence from the experience with relief funds after the cyclone in 1970 indicate that there was a considerable diversion of foreign exchange to Islamabad. At present there has been no food for those people in the cyclone affected area for more than a month. Grain stores destained for these areas are being held in Chittagong to feed the army. The stage - clearly set for a devastating famine that cannot but avoid catching worldwide attention with an anticipated loss of life that will make the toll of the cyclone appear trivial.

Without the foreign exchange generated by the contributions of the United States directly to Islamabad or indirectly through the World Bank or the aid consortium the current expenditure of the army would soon be intolerable and negotiations would be precipitated at an early date. This approach was soon to be highly effective in the Indo-Pakistan War in 19675.

The fear that China may replace our position with respect to West Pakistan is valid, but this would represent a colossal political and tactical blunder on her part and would for the first time find the U. S. in the position of supporting the aspirations of over 200 milion Bengali people against a repressive military regime that cannot in the long term win. The implications of the stand are valid and important.

The leadership of this country to precipitate negotiations and permit the early access to East Pakistan by international organizations will at least blunt the full weight of famine and avert the commitment of the entire population to a radical guerilla warfare allied with powers which would be hostile to ourselves.

The information on which these statements are made is extensive, first-hand and current. Some of the source material is enclosed for your perusal. Although I doubt that it will add to what you already have at hand from Consul Blood.

I hope you will be able to give this your closest attention as it clearly involves the balance of power between countries and peoples which represent in the aggregate the second largest in the world. The loss of millions of lives in a famine will inevitably focus world attention in this area. Immediate steps are needed to avert this and a wait-and-see attitude will lead to disaster. the track record of the West Pakistan Government after the cyclone and their current performance indicate that any aid given by this route will not be affective. International action seems mandatory.

Sincerely,
William B. Greenough, III, M. D.
Chief,
Infectious Diseases Division.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ওয়াশিংটনে পাকিস্তান চ্যান্সারির সম্মুখে অনুষ্ঠিতব্য বিক্ষোভের সংবাদ।	ফ্রেণ্ডস অব বাংলাদেশ	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

490 Franklin Street,
Cambridge, Mass. 02139
May 6, 1971

THE EDITOR, CITY DESK :

The enclosed material will explain the background of a demonstration to be held opposite the Pakistan Chancery at Sheridan circle, Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C., starting may 9 at 10 a. m.

The purpose of the demonstration is to protest the inaction of the U. S. Government in the face of the military carnage and atrocities committed with the help of American arms and aid money and the impending famine in East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

A fast and vigil of mourning will be led by Mrs. Anna Braun Taylor, a survivor of Belsen Burgen concentration camp, who spent three years in Pakistan and is now coordinator of "Friends of Bangladesh". The fast and vigil will last 10—15 days.

For further information, you can contact her at the YWCA on 17th Street in Washington or call Dr. David Nalin at 617-492-2445 or 424—5325 (Harvard Madical Service, Boston City Hospital).

Friends of Bangladesh
Boston.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ডঃ নালিন ও মিসেস এ. বি. টেইলর কর্তৃক প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সন-এর প্রতি পাকিস্তানে সাহায্য বন্ধের আহবান।	ডঃ নালিন, মিসেস এনা ব্রাউন টেইলর (হার্ভার্ড মেডিকেল স্কুল)	৮ মে ১৯৭১

HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL—DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE
BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL

818 Harrison Avenue
Boston. Massachusetts 02118
Area code 617
424

May 8, 1971

The President of the United States,
Richard M. Nixon,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President,

American aid money and arms are being used by the West Pakistani army to massacre East Pakistanis and their democratically elected leaders and, in the process, to destroy a billion dollar U. S. aid program. Death through famine now threatens the millions who survive the military carnage.

We appeal to you :

(1) To rescue democracy in Pakistan by putting an official embargo on all arms and aid as we did during the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965. That embargo stopped the war. It can now stop the frantic and atrocious killing of civilians.

(2) To avert famine by using American political and economic pressure to force distribution of available grain, Red Cross and Care supplies to cyclone victims and refugees.

(3) To initiate a discussion of the crisis in the U. N. We thank you respectfully for your attention to our plea.

Sd/—
Dr. David R. Nalin
Sd/—
Mrs. Anna Braun Taylor.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস প্রতিনিধি সিডনী শেনবার্গকে লিখিত মিঃ জন রোডের চিঠি।		১১ মে, ১৯৭১

4005 Everett St.
Kensington, Maryland
20795

May 11, 1971

Mr. Sydney Schanberg
New York Times
Dehli

Dear Sydney,

This seems a hell of a time to be writing in thanks for sending me your articles of last December on Manpura after the cyclone. You have the notariety of being the only Journalist who kept his word to us during that relief effort. The December 30 article will appear in tomorrows congressional Rocord as part of my testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee on the East Pak situation.

My reason for writing amidst these perfectly hectic times is to inform you of the impact of your current excellent journalism and to encourage you to keep sending all you can. You note the juxta sition of your writing next to malcolm Brown in NYT June 9. To our dismay there have been, of late almost no factual presentations of the real situation among the refugees and an absolute ZERO about East Pakistan situation. In Congress, people point to the line Browne is fed by the paks and tell us the thing is all over. As you probably know, there is almost no one here to speak the truth on the Hill all Govt. employees, have been told to keep still and that leaves very few of us who actually witnessed anything. Guys like Scott Butcher, who you talked with on the 25th are in no position to say anything on the Hill. Congress looks very closely at your reporting and that is one reason. I included your Dec. 33 article in my testimony in trying to prove that the paks cannot and DID not even give aid properly back then. My wife and I are pushing hard but it is a small lobby indeed. We have succeeded in getting legislation before both senate and House in the form of amendment to Foreign Assistance Act with bipartisan saxbe (R-Ohio) and Church (D-Idaho) sponsorship, but to our dismay the times did not even note the introduction of this legislation which will suspend all assistance to Pak until international relief EFFECTIVELY Working throughout E. Pak and Majority of refugees repatriated We need the press badly, Browne reporting the garbage of Pak govt. is no help.

We are getting a lot of first hand stuff out of Bengal and it has been helpful in getting our lobby this far but it needs general publication for impact. We figure we have less than a month to get ahead of a huge famine. I sincerely hope you will continue to send, frequently, graphic descriptions of the refugees and their reports of Army action in E. Pak that the Congress may at least be informed if the US then continues

Clearly it only takes seeing to react, for Congressman Gallaghor just went to West Bengal over June 2 and came back horrified at what he'd learned and seen and is working hard to get the US to take a stand. Unfortunately, the statements of this, the only US elected official to visit the area yet were not picked up and published although they were printed on the Router tape and a press release came out of his offices with a graphic story.

As at the time of the cyclone, your reporting can play a major role in the lives of the millions of East Bengal. I would only encourage you to continue the work you have done and realize that although you and I are fully aware of the tragic situation continuing there and even worsening that the Congress and public would just as soon not be reminded. Only by daily reporting will they begin to realize the extent of the problem and will find their way into Americas key role in trying to mitigate the tragedy so well under way already.

Candy and I send regards and hope that we can soon take you up on the offer of a visit with you in Dehli. Till then.

Regards,

Jon Rohde.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের প্রতি মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের নীতি পরিবর্তনের আহ্বান জানিয়ে এ.ডি.এ কনভেনশন।	আমেরিকানস ফর ডেমোক্রেটিক একশান	১৫ মে, ১৯৭১

No. 362

1971 ADA Convention
Americans for Democratic Action
1424 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

To: CONVENTION
From: Foreign and Military Policy Commission
Subjec.: PAKISTAN CIVIL WAR

Whereas, because the tragic situation in East Pakistan is till marked by Violence, martial law, and the systematic elimination of Bengali leaders;

Whereas, peace is threatened on such a massive scale in the Indian subcontinent involving Pakistan, India, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States; And whereas, the United Nations has an overriding obligation to do everything possible to settle the bloody conflict in East Pakistan;

Now, therefore, ADA urges the United States Government to alter its involvement in the Pakistan Civil war by immediately making several policy changes:

1. Stop completely all military assistance and sales, lethal and non-lethal, to the Pakistan Government, and do what is feasible to stop arms transfers from other Governments and sources;

2. Suspend all economic assistance, bilateal and multilateral, to the Pakistan Government, necessary because foreign assistance enables the Pakistan Government to conduct its present military operations in the East. When the violence and destruction have ceased and the Pakistan Army has returned to its pre-November 21, 1970, positions in East and West Pakistan, and duly and freely elected leaders of the East, such as Sheik Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League party have returned to Dacca to set up civilian rule and the National Assembly has met in the national capital of Islamabad, then the United States Government should reconsider and revaluate its economic assistance program to Pakistan, especially its humanitarian programs such as food deliveries and madical research and supplies;

3. Provide aid and comfort to those Bengali people who presently reside in America and who one day will safely return to participate actively in the affairs of their homeland;

4. Propose to the Secretary General that he establish a U.N. fact-finding team to go to the urban and rulal areas of East Pakistan to find out the extent of the damage, destruction, and violence which have occurred and report to the General Assembly on what they have observed.

(Representation of Japan. Indonesia, and Mauritius or other suitable parties should make up the team, led by the party of the groups' own choosing.)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব-পাকিস্তানের সাম্প্রতিক বিপর্যয়ের প্রেক্ষাপটে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের নীতি পরিবর্তনের আবেদন : মিসেস নিক্সনকে লিখিত এম. এফ. ডানহাম-এর চিঠি।		২৪ মে, ১৯৭১

Mary Frances Dunham
520 East 86th Street
New York, New York 10028

May 24, 1971

Mrs. Richard S. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Nixon :

Like funerals, the recent disasters in East Pakistan (the cyclone and revolution) have brought together Americans who once lived and worked there. We are deeply concerned that our country not repeat past mistakes and that we act more wisely and more firmly than we have in the past in view of the present tragedy.

Widely scattered geographically, informally silenced by organizations for whom we work, it has been especially difficult to make ourselves heard. Yet we have insights and information which only persons who have lived for some length of time in Bengal can have. We are educated and intelligent Americans, former employees of the U. S. Government, of International agencies, of a wide variety of missions, private foundations and companies--professors, doctors, specialists. Some of us have been taking time from our work and risking our chances of ever returning to Pakistan in our efforts to counter-balance the readily accessible representatives of West Pakistan in Washington. Bengalis themseves are not permitted to speak through official channels. Most official Americans who are specialists in Pakistan are, in effect, specialists in West Pakistan and ill-informed on the vastly divergent Eastern province. We who have lived in there have witnessed the chronic misunderstanding between the West and East Pakistanis and the over-simplified aid pattern from America which only encouraged an economic rift between them. We were not heeded in Pakistan, and we desperately want to be heeded now. The lives of many million people and one of the world's richest cultures hang in the balance.

Today, thanks to press coverage of the present tragedies, Bengal has appeared on the horizon of informed Americans. However, there very few foreigners who know this region well and still many who have difficulty in understanding the Pakistan consists of two different countries. Americans in charge of apportioning funds were generally stationed in Washington or in West Pakistan. They visited the East infrequently and briefly, and

were generally unaware or misinformed about conditions there which are too complex to appreciate in a short stay. Policies involving millions of dollars were formed in Washington or Islamabad on the basis of these brief and infrequent visits to the East. It has been obvious to us for the years in East Pakistan and to most others stationed there that this misguided use of aid was contributing to the forces leading to the present conflict and that we would be in part responsible for the eruption that was bound, sooner or later, to take place.

It is understandable that America may wish to return to the apparent stability that was superficially evident before March. Recognizing that our past mistakes and ignorance have contributed to the present troubles, we should realize that a restoration of those policies—even in the name of peace and humanity—will only prolong the basic conflict. No matter how much America may, desire to restore the deceptively simple aid pattern that preceded the present conflict, it will no longer be possible. Considerable knowledge and imagination will be required to develop a more productive policy. We would like the Bengalis themselves and those Americans who know the region best to be heard before decisions of the government become final. So often in the past decisions have been made for political and "economic" reasons in ignorance of the social and cultural factors. But these factors are vital components of an effective aid policy for Pakistan.

Now there is no way to revive the ricksha-wala who died on his gaily painted ricksha, who could sing some of the most beautiful songs to be found anywhere. We cannot revive the students who gave us their sweetest thoughts, their longings to see the outside world some day, their eagerness to acquaint us with their own country. It is too late to save the professors chosen for execuation who contributed their wit and individualism to the university communities in Pakistan and abroad.

Peace and universal love have been a tradition in Bengali culture from high to low, from great poets and philosophers to illiterate boatmen. The tremendous loses which East Bengal has suffered, is suffering, and will suffer for a long time are a loss to the world at large of a highly cultivated people. There are few areas that can boast the level of culture we are now in danger of losing even before it has been properly recorded.

We hope that the tragedies that the Bengalis have had trust upon them in the last months, sacrifices which have brought the condition of Bengal before the notice of the world, will not be brushed aside for temporarily expedient solutions. The concern that was exhibited by America generally and by people like yourself and the President after the tragic storm of November is once again required to mitigate the effects of the current complex situation. We feel sure that the U. S. will not regret a through and more realistic look at the problems of East Pakistan.

Until now the administration and its agencies have been extremel difficult for our group to reach directly. I make this personal appeal to you and your husband in your capacities as prime representatives of this

country abroad. We were greateful to you for your cyclone relief and I take advantage of this previous expression of sympathy to make this further appeal to change our policies. Without wisdom our generosity will *be misued again.*

The enclosed book, a guide book of Dacca, was compiled in 1963 by U.S.A.I.D. wives (p. 185). It has since undergone two more editions. It may give you an idea of East pakistan's capital as it was before the present conflict. We tried to present a brief picture of Bengali culture. This had to be done with some delicacy since the Hindu and Buddhist (pre-Pakistan) aspects of Bengali culture were not conforming to the state Islamization of the province. Nevertheless, you may be able to read between the lines enough to see that the heritage of the East Bengalis is rich and very different from that of West Pakistan. If nothing else, you may be interested in the book as an effort by American women to introduce new foreigners to their adopted city.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Frances Dunham

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আমেরিকার পাকিস্তা । নীতির ওপর নজর রাখার আশ্বাস : ডঃ নালিনকে লিখিত সিনেটর এডওয়ার্ড কেনেডীর চিঠি।	সিনেটরদের পত্রাবলী	২৬ মে, ১৯৭১

EDWARD M KENNEDY
Massachusetts.

UNITED STATES SENATE
Washington. D. C 20510

May 26, 1971

Dr David R. Nalin
Harvard Medical Unit
Boston City Hospital
818 Harrison Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Doctor Nalin.

Thank you for your thoughtful letter on the tragedy that has overtaken East Pakistan.

As Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, I have repeatedly addressed myself to the urgent humanitarian needs generated by the civil strife in East Pakistan. I very much share your concern and I can assure you that neither I nor the Subcommittee have said our last on this growing problem.

I appreciate your forwarding the background materials on the situation in East Pakistan. We will continue to investigate the circumstances and nature of American involvement in Pakistan.

Again, many thanks for writing. For your background information. I have asked my secretary to enclose copies of my statements on the East Pakistan problem.

Sincerely,
Edward M. Kennedy

Enclosures.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে সামরিক সাহায্য বন্ধের প্রচেষ্টায় সিনেটর ডব্লিউ. এফ. মণ্ডেল।	সিনেটরদের পত্রাবলী	৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

WALTER F. MONDALE
Minnesota

UNITED STATES SENATE
Washington, D. C. 20510

June 3, 1971

Dr. D. Nalin
Harvard Medical College
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Nalin :

Thank you very much for your letter regarding the tragedy in East Pakistan.

I am hopeful that there will be an early vote on the Resolution I introduced to bar further U. S. arms shipments to Pakistan until the conflict is resolved.

Equally urgent, however, is an emergency effort to forestall the still greater horror of mass famine in Bengal. I am shocked by the neglect of this problem, and am urging the administration to take immediate and strong measures to mount the necessary relief effort.

Thank you again for your expression of concern and support. I will be doing all I can in the months ahead to avert further catastrophe in East Pakistan.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,
Walter F. Mondale

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পররাষ্ট্র বিভাগের উপ-সচিবকে লিখিত মি: উইলিয়াম বি. গ্রীনো-র চিঠি : পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের বর্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে যুক্ত-রাষ্ট্রের নীতির অসারতা ব্যাখ্যা।	জন হপকিন্স বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়	৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

THE JOHN HOPKIN UNIVERSITY
School of Medicine

3 June, 1971

Mr. Christopher Van Hollen
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern and
South Asian Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Van Hollen :

I very much appreciate the trouble you have taken to answer my letter to Secretary Rogers with regard to the situation in East Pakistan. It is encouraging to know that you have personally taken considerable time not only to respond to my assessment but also to listen to the appraisals given by several others of those associated with the Cholera Research Laboratory, in particular Drs. Lincoln Chen and George Curlin.

First, let me be sure you realize that I am fully aware of the fact that you are in possession of virtually all of the information which I have at my disposal through your daily direct communications with Dacca. Hence with any factual or eye-witness information at my disposal, I am not pretending to convey any novel data to you. I, of course, as a layman cannot understand what has dictated your restricting access to this very comprehensive material that you have been receiving. In particular, I do not understand why you are not even permitting the use of this information for Congressional briefings. This is particularly worrisome to me since the bulk of information for our own legislators as to the actual situation in East Pakistan has come only through the many informal sources which we as private and concerned citizens have been able to muster. Fortunately these sources are multiple, accurate and confirm each other and are thus persuasive. I am not at all clear as to how our elected lawmakers can function in any sort of a responsible fashion without access to the facts available to our own Government. Perhaps you can clarify this for me.

With regard to the statements issued by the Department of State, of course everyone would have "hopes", "concerns" and "wishes" for a peaceful solution and expect that "discussions" would be in progress. This, however, is not news that has much clout when one looks at our actual involvement. The U. S. C-130 military transport aircraft (granted from Turkey) which provide the backbone of the logistics for supply of the army operations in East Pakistan and the modern Huey Cobra jungle warfare helicopters (latest U. S. equipment) which have been provided to the West Pakistan Army via Italy

through Iran speak more loudly than hopes and wishes for peace. Our direct involvement is so very obvious at every turn and so one-sided it is hard to understand any statement that suggests that we are not directly intervening, specifically on one side in this violent civil war. A simple rerouting of military assistance does not in any way reduce our responsibility.

There is of course no question that the Central Government of Pakistan experts De Jure control ; however, there is an enormous body of data that suggests De Facto control is entirely moot. Why are truckloads of dead West Pakistan Army troops still rolling back to Dacca under the cover of darkness ? How can the most established and safest of the large river steamships be taken over by the Bangladesh fighters, and last week shipments of Jute destroyed on the main waterways ? Why in over two months hasn't any shipment of foodgrain arrived in the entire area affected by the cyclone of last November ? Why is nothing moving through the main port city of Chittagong ? Why can't the Army drive vehicles from Dacca to Chittagong ? Why everyday are villages being burned and their occupants killed if control is a fact ?

Particularly maligant in this chaotic picture is the emergence of an openly avowed policy of disposing of all "Hindu miscreants" Isn't it clear that if such a policy persists that India will have to intervene if are unable to take a decisive stand ? Do we really want to foster a war between India and Pakistan ? These are clearly not times for "normal" diplomatic practices when these practices by default seem to be leading inexorably toward famine and a major war on the Indian subcontinent.

It is of course a totally inaccurate statement to say that economic aid does not support the military activities in freeing funds which would otherwise have to be used for civil needs, as you are very well aware. It is also public knowledge that there has been major diversion of humanitarian relief goods to military purposes. You know that the 50 assault craft that were to be used for relief of the cyclone-devastated areas are being used for military purposes. The Government of West Pakistan doesn't think this diversion important enough not to publish pictures of these boats in their newspapers showing Punjabi soldiers out to punish "Hindu miscreants".

With regard to humanitarian and relief activities, the testimony of USAID officials before the House of Representatives last week acknowledged that even with full international action now there will be one million starvation deaths within East Pakistan. People familiar with the patterns of behaviour in times of famine know that starving masses move toward food. Deaths along the roads during such movements characterized the Bengal famine of 1943. If the proposed infusion of aid to be thrust in on the Indian side of the border is carried out, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of Bengalis fleeing from the onslaughts of the army, later will come millions seeking food, India cannot and will not stand this for very sound reasons. This then seems a dangerous and unworkable solution. It makes little sense from any point of view to be on the one hand supporting the systematic annihilation of the 10 million "Hindu miscreants" within East Pakistan, while on the other hand offering "humanitarian" assistance to those shocked and battered survivors that make it across the border to India. It is obvious that with the support of The United States' "normal" diplomatic practices and infusions of economic and military assistance (via CENTO), the military regime of West Pakistan using the power of the gun and famine may indeed

succeed in disposing of nearly 10 to 15 million Bengalis and by this stirring communal rioting and finally stimulating India as a last resort to enter a bloody and destructive war. This scene seems abnormal enough to dictate use of more than the usual diplomatic maroeuvres. I believe that if the Department of State and the Executive Branch are not able to meet the evolving situation in the Ganges River Delta with less than armaments for West Pakistan and more than hopes and wishes for East Pakistan that Congress will have to take the initiative and legislate specific measures in the area of our relationships with these countries. If this is necessary, the results may not be as timely or well turned, as might be achieved with decisive action from your Department.

I have already commented in detail on some points raised by the statements of the Department of State in a prior communication to Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr., from Mr. David M. Abshire which covers most of the topics in the material enclosed with your letter. I enclose this correspondence and you will recognize why the communications from the Department of State and the Embassy of Pakistan have been seen in such a poor light beside the copious firsthand accounts which have appeared in the Congressional Record and the press. I sincerely hope that further communications with Congress would take the form of transmitting more of the excellent factual information in your possession with some evidence of a candid "hardheaded" analysis of the options.

Finally, I would utter a question which I recognize seems entirely to lack any force in determining our national policies yet perhaps viewed over the stretch of the last twenty or more years of our foreign policy has been an important cause of repeated debacles, such as Vietnam—why must we, a democratic country founded on the principles of individual rights and liberties, always back the force in other countries which are military, dictatorial and in the current case of Pakistan are carrying on policies totally antithetical to any of our own espoused—if not practiced—beliefs? Must we give tacit assent to genocide by famine and the sword of an innocent people? You and your superiors known this is indeed the current law of the land in East Pakistan? What is the nature of the myopia that prevents the many talented members of the Executive Branch of our Government from seeing our best interests over a longer sweep of history than the chaotic days we immediately must face?

I believe there is a growing forum which may dictate a change in our policies. I see this in taking with the elected representatives of our great nation. This forces me and others who know Bengal to speak out and, I hope in some small way, catalyze this badly needed change in course which is so clearly highlighted as the strife in East Pakistan pursues an apparently inexorable course toward greater targedy.

Respectfully yours,

William B. Greenough, III, M. D.
Chief, Infectious Diseases Division.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাঙালীদের অধিকার স্বীকার করে নেয়ার সুপারিশ : সিনেটর এইচ. এইচ হামফ্রের চিঠি।	সিনেটরদের পত্রাবলী	৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
MINNESOTA

UNITED STATES SENATE
Washington, D.C. 20510

June 4, 1971

Dr. David R. Nalin
872 Mass. Ave.
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Dear Dr. Nalin :

I, too, am deeply disturbed by the latest events in East Pakistan. While I am only one man and not the Government of the United States, I feel the same as any sensitive human being to the injustices being committed to the Bengali people. I have expressed my deep concern to the Secretary of State and other officials in Government circles with the hope that the United States can use its good offices to reach an equitable solution which recognizes the rights of the Bengali people, affirmed in recent elections. I also have made some suggestions to these people to be taken as a guideline of what constructive action can be taken. I await the Secretary's reply.

Everyday that is expended means a tremendous loss of human life. I pray that an end is in sight. Thank you for contacting me and sharing your thoughts on this tragic situation.

Sincerely,
Hurbert H. Humphery.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তান সংকটে আমেরিকান সাহায্যের ভূমিকা : এনা ব্রাউন টেইলর-এর একটি প্রতিবেদন।	এনা ব্রাউন টেইলর	১৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

THE EFFECT OF AID ON THE PAKISTAN CRISIS.

Economic and humanitarian considerations cannot be separated from political considerations. The United States and the Consortium countries should review the whole situation and all its implications before granting aid of any kind to Pakistan.

Politically, Pakistan is now a totally non-viable country. Not only are the two wings separated by 1,000 miles of hostile Indian territory, by different culture, language and customs, but now fear and hatred are added to the old mistrust between East and West.

There is trouble in the West wing, too, where political dissention and economic discontent are gathering force. Although government bulletins reiterate with monotonous regularity and lack of imagination that "things are going back to normal," the opposite is true according to letters we have received from Americans still in East Pakistan and Bengalis who just escaped *via* Karachi, were they had contracts. They corroborate the news that there is trouble in Baluchistan, the Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, some of whose leaders were recently jailed. (It should be remembered that Tikka Khan was known as the "Butcher of Baluchistan" before he made a name for himself in Bengal). Hospitals in Pindi and Lahore are filled with wounded soldiers. The businessmen and industrialists who supported the generals are now angry and desperate as the country hurtles towards bankruptcy.

The attitude of the West wing towards the East has always been characterized by a mixture of ignorance and contempt. This contempt burgeoned into the monstrous brutality with which the army crushed the democratic machinery of the East, jailed and murdered its elected representatives, and is now exterminating its people. The ignorance showed itself in a series of colossal miscalculations :

The military would never have countenanced a democratic election if they had been able to predict Sheik Mujibur Rahman's overwhelming victory in the East, which gave him a decisive majority in the National Assembly. They were taken completely by surprise because they had no idea of the obvious prevalence and force of the resentment towards the West wing after 24 years of exploitation.

They then thought that they could terrorize East Bengal into submission in a blitzkrieg of murder and atrocity. (Yahya Khan is said to have given Tikka Khan permission to use any method, as long as he brought the East wing to heel within 48 hours). This time, the military underestimated the resistance, the logistic problems and the cost of such a war. East Bengal is ideal

guerrilla territory and holl for a conventional army. There are hardly any passable roads, and during monsoon every field and rice paddy becomes a lake. Bombing is not an effective tactic since there are no industrial centres and the few towns are not essential to the survival of a country which is one huge village covering 55,126 sq. miles. According to our sources, sabotage and guerrilla activities are increasing. Blowing up Dacca airport could virtually maroon the army in a sea of hostility.

It would seem then that the military leadership has given ample proof of its criminal brutality and stupidity. The Consortium countries and the United States now have the power to perpetuate this leadership, to give them the impunity they gave their own murderous soldiery.

The answer we are given to this charge is that the only aid contemplated is supervised aid. This reads very well on paper but is rather hard to put into practice. What does "supervised aid" really mean ? It means this : a handful of foreigners, diplomats and technical experts, will be sent to Dacca ; they will be quartered at the Intercontinental Hotel where they will be pleasantly wined and dined ; they will speak no Bengali ; they will be wholly dependent on the army for transportation and protection from Bengali guerrillas, who will obviously consider them allies of the Punjabis.

Even with the presence of intelligent, well-meaning foreign supervisors, aid cannot be effective as long as the army remains in East Bengal. It is enough to remember how callous the West wing was to the suffering of the cyclone victims last November to realize how Punjabis feel about Bengalis at the best of times. One can imagine how likely it is for Tikka Khan to turn suddenly into Florence Nightingale—for soldiers who just spent nine weeks butchering people to now minister to these people's needs. If only commodity aid is granted, this is still tantamount to financing and perpetuating the slaughter. Commodity aid will simply enable the West to use its dwindling funds on arms. Even food will become a lethal weapon in these circumstances—a way of cowing people into submission with the threat of starvation. A letter we got from an American in East Bengal quotes a West Pakistani officer who said : "We'll do what the British did. We'll just starve the bastards to death." The East Bengalis realize this will happen and have repeatedly begged our American source to urge the United States and the Consortium countries **not** to send any aid—not even food—because they prefer starvation to the perpetuation of the nightmare of terror in which they live.

After all, it was aid, hedged about by all sorts of conditions, and entrusted to these same military leaders that made this holocaust possible. Surely this experience should make the donors pause and reconsider their methods of ensuring the welfare of the poor in developing countries. The tragedy of this catastrophe will be horribly compounded if the Western countries fail to learn anything from this experience and proceed to commit the same mistakes again.

One of the conditions always put on aid since the days of Foster Dulles has been that military aid could only be used against outside communist aggression. Between 1956 and 1965, Pakistan received approximately 2 billion dollars in military aid. The only use it has made of this aid has been in the war with India in 1965 and now against 75 million Bengalis and their democratically elected leaders. West Pakistan is on friendly terms with China, and

when America's electronic surveillance station became an embarrassment to the latter in 1968, the Americans were thrown out of their Pakistani based installation.

It is commonly acknowledged that a disproportionate amount of aid and foreign revenue found its way into the pockets of West Pakistan's ruling families. The theory was that this was all right because they would plough the money back into their business and it would thus eventually percolate down to the level of the needy. The theory did not work, and the gains were ploughed instead into Swiss Banks and the shops of Hong Kong. After receiving about three billion dollars in economic aid over an eleven year period, the average West Pakistani enjoys a **per capita** annual income of approximately $ 75 and his East Pakistani counterpart an annual income of approximately $ 45, according to Professor Dorfman of Harvard. Perhaps the time has come to reconsider the whole issue of aid to Pakistan and its effectiveness

In 1965, the U.S., the World Bank and the Consortium countries put an embargo on arms and aid and brought the Indo-Pakistan war to a halt in a matter of days Pakistan is on the verge of bankruptcy now. If America and the Consortium countries suspend all aid, and the World Bank presses for payment of debts due June 30. the slaughter will end. the army will be forced to leave Bengal, the exodus of refugees will cease, and a political settlement will become possible.

And there seems little danger of losing West Pakistan to China After all, it did not happen in 1965. China has made extravagant omises to help Pakistan before with only token payment. It cannot afford to keep Pakistan in the style to which Western aid has accustomed it.

On the other hand, we have much to lose if. in myopic fearfulness, we back the short-term winner and the long-term loser by allying ourselves, tacitly or openly, with the blundering and brutal military leaders of West Pakistan simply out of habit. It can create another Vietnam. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, head of the Awami League which won 98% of East Bengali votes in the recent election, is a pro-Western moderate. His Six Point plan would have redressed some of the political and economic wrongs suffered by the East, while preserving the "integrity and unity of the nation" so dear to the West wing. East Bengalis so far have been suspicious of communists: the leftist National Awami Party won very little support in the election, and the Mao Naxalites of West Bengal have made no headway in the East. But the slaughter of Awami League representatives leaves room for more extreme elements to take over and failure and frustration can only radicalize the moderates.

If the Consortium countries and the United States shore up the West Pakistan economy now and enable the army to remain in East Bengal, the exodus of refugees will continue. There are already 6 million of them in India, and they are arriving at the rate of 100,000 a day (which makes West Pakistan claims that "everything is going back to normal" sound rather hollow). India can hardly afford the financial drain or the population increase. So far, it has behaved with admirable political restraint. But unofficially, Indians in

Washington say that if the West doesn't put a brake on Pakistan, it may be financially and politically imperative for India to march into East Bengal. This in turn may draw China, the United States, and Russia into the foray. If would then take extraordinary wisdom and restraint to avoid that great holocaust which hangs overall of us as the ultimate threat.

It seems to us so much easier and safer to use a medicum of wisdom and restraint now to remain neutral in deed as well as in word and simply to suspend aid, as we did so effectively in 1965.

A. Braun Taylor
Cambridge, Mass., June 14.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে সামরিক ও আর্থিক সাহায্য স্থগিত প্রস্তাবের সমর্থনে সিনেটর হ্যারল্ড হিউজেস।	সিনেটরদের পত্রাবলী	২৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on Armed Services
Washington, D.C. 20510

June 24, 1971

David R. Nalin, M.D.
Miss Anna Braun Taylor
James O. Taylor, M.D.
818 Harrison Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Friends :

Thank you for your recent letter on East Pakistan. I share your concern about developments there and have co-sponsored legislation to stop American military and economic aid until the situation is resolved and adequate relief provisions are made.

It is tragic that our government has paid so little attention to this problem and that it prides itself in giving relief supplies which amount to only about half of what we spend each day on the war in Vietnam. When any of the legislation I have co-sponsored or any other related measures come before the Senate, you can be sure that I shall keep your views in mind.

With sincere best wishes,
HAROLD E. HUGHES

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব পাকিস্তানীদেরকে আর্থিক সাহায্য প্রদানের আবেদন।	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান রিলিফ ফাণ্ড	জুন, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL

Much is still confused and uncertain about recent events in East Pakistan. But several points seem clear to most observers in the United States.

1. In the 1971 Pakistan election the great majority of East Pakistanis voted for candidates favoring much greater autonomy for East Pakistan.

2. The Government of Pakistan, largely controlled by West Pakistan military officers, refused to accept the implications of the election and instead used force to subdue the growing movement for autonomy in East Pakistan. American equipment unfortunately played an important part in this military action.

3. Great devastation has resulted in East Pakistan with many lives lost, much destruction of property, and considerable displacement of persons from cities to countryside and from East Pakistan to eastern India. East Pakistan was already one of the poorest areas in the world, and its southern districts were only beginning to recover from a disastrous cyclone in 1970. This new man-made destruction promises suffering and perhaps starvation for many of East Pakistan's 70 million persons.

This is an appeal for funds to be used to provide food, medicine, and other non-military supplies for East Pakistani victims of this latest disaster. Money collected will be kept in an American bank until it is practical to channel it through a legitimate and effective relief organization to East Pakistanis in need. No money will be used for weapons, and no money will be sent directly to the government of Pakistan or to any other government directly involved in the conflict. We expect to use organizations like the Red Cross, the American Friends Service Committee, or other neutral groups.

The need is great. Please send your donation to the East Pakistan Relief Fund, Ann Arbor Bank, South University Branch. Contributions are tax deductible.

Howard Schuman
Chairman,
East Pakistan Relief Fund.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের সমর্থনে বিক্ষোভে যোগদানের আহ্বান।	সেভ ইস্ট বেঙ্গল কমিটি	জুন, ১৯৭১

MASSACRE –GENOCIDE—BLOODBATH—TERROR

AND NOW

STARVATION

'ALL PART OF A GAME'
THE TRAGEDY OF EAST PAKISTAN
(BANGLADESH)

As a result of devastation and dislocations caused by war, floods, cyclones, in—addition to the persistent food shortages between 10 & 30 million of East Pakistan's 75 million inhabitants face starvation within the next few months. Contrary to bland assurances which continue to emanate from West Pakistan spokesmen, **the situation is unquestionably desperate and will require a large-scale international relief effort, if a tragedy of major proportion is to be averted.**

The months required to return the system to normal would probably exceed the time during which the food reserves could sustain the population. The factors that determine mass famine are irreversible after a certain point. Ween the first stories and photographs of starving families are published, it will be too late to protect thousands of others. **International action, immediate and storng, is perhaps the only defence the people of East Bengal now have.**

On May 12. President Yahya Khan of Pakistan refused U. N. Secretary-General's offer of aid for East Pakistan.

After having unleashed one of the most brutal bloodbaths in all history, he is now planning to starve out the resistance.

In November it was a cyclone that took a tool of lives. That was nature. In March Bangladesh was hit by another disaster, systematically eliminating the country of its young men, intelligentsia and millions of innocent victims. This time the perpetrator is YAHYA KHAN.

BANGLADESH NEEDS OUR HELP RALLY : SATURDAY, JUNE 12.

Meet at noon at Columbus Circle March to Pakistan Consulate on 2E/65 St. then on Madison Ave, 42 St. to UN Plaza at 1st Avenue, and 47 Street.

***Speakers* : Congressmen and other leading citizens.**

BANGLADESH NEEDS YOUR HELP MEETING : Thursday, June 10 at 8 p. m. Community Church, 40E/35 St.

***Speaker* ;—Jay Prakash Narayan**

Subject :—Moral and Human Aspects of Struggle in Bangladesh.

Write to your Congressman, Senators and the President to help Bangladesh. Ask suspension of military and economic assistance to Pakistan until the terrorized and starved people of Bangladesh get relief and freedom.

Your donation will help East Pakistan. It is tax deductible. Please make check payable to East Pakistan League of America. With your name and address, mail the check to: Save East Bengal Committee 3J. 50 Kenilworth Place, Brooklyn, New York, NY 11210.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানী সমরাস্ত্রবাহী জাহাজের প্রতি বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শন ও শ্রমিকদের অসহযোগের সংবাদ।	....	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

'ARMS SHIP' PROTESTS SET IN BALTIMORE

Baltimore (AP)—Demonstrations were to continue today to try to stop the docking in Baltimore of the Padma, a Pakistani freighter alleged to be carrying arms and other cargo to its war-torn homeland.

Police arrested six persons last night as they attempted to block the arrival of the ship using three canoes and a kayak.

All were charged with obstructing the free navigation of a vessel, an officer said. He added that "they were arrested more for their own safety."

Meanwhile, the debate continued on whether cargo scheduled to be loaded on the Padma here would be placed aboard.

The International Longshoremen's Association reportedly ordered its Baltimore local not to load the freighter, which protesters claim is carrying U.S. military equipment to Pakistan despite a bean on such shipments.

An official of the ship's U.S. agents, East-West Shipping denied that any military cargo was to go aboard. [WASHINGTON STAR, *Friday, July 16, 1971*]

DOCK UNION REFUSES TO LOAD ARMS-LADEN PAKISTANI SHIP

By Antero Pietila

The Pakistani freighter Padma is expected to leave Baltimore for Mobile, Ala., today after longshoremen here refused to load the ship, which is carrying an arms shipment to its homeland.

Members of Local 829 of the International Longshoremen's Association were instructed not to work on the ship at Port Covington by Thomas G. Gleason, the union president, who said the union wants to stay "neutral" on the Pakistani civil war.

That war, according to the State Department estimates, has caused the deaths of at least 200,000 East Pakistanis, while six million refugees have fled to India.

In Washington, the East-West Shipping Agency, the United States agents for the National Shipping Company of Karachi, Pakistan, sent a telegram to the Federal Maritime Commission, charging that the longshoremen's action constituted "direct interference with the commerce of the United States."

The telegram asked Mrs. Halen Delich Bentely, the commission's chairman to intervene in the dispute.

A spokesman said, however that the commission would not take any action immediately but would study the situation.

In its communication to the regulatory agency, the shipping agency said the Padma's cargo includes the following shipments by the Agency for International Development: pharmaceutical supplies, pesticides, firefighting equipment, and electric generators.

The State Department, however, confirmed that the cargo included an arms shipment for which an export license was issued before the March 25 ban on such shipments for Pakistan became effective.

The following is an enumeration and valuation of the military shipments in the Padma's cargo as given by the State Department: aircraft spare parts $924,329 spare parts for military vehicles, $184, 187; electronic spare parts, $25, 417; spare parts for vessels, $45, 117 and artillery spare parts, $2, 830.

All the military material, which included 2, 200 rounds of 22-caliber ammunition as part of the artillery supplies, was loaded on the Padma in New York late last month, the State Department said.

The ship then sailed for Montreal, where it was to receive 46 crates of spare parts for the United States-supplied Sabre jets. The loading of the crates was prevented by the Canadian government.

In Baltimore the Padma, which is riding high and appears half-empty, was scheduled to load non-military goods, its shipping agents said.

These goods included an unknown amount of electrolytic tinplates, which now stand in a warehouse on the pier bearing the familiar AID symbol of crossed hands on their packages.

Another shipment of steel products awaits the ship in Mobile, maritime sources said.

About 30 members and sympathizers of the Philadephia-based Friends of East Bengal yesterday continued their protest of the arms shipment, picketing the gate of Port Covington and holding their signs from a small flotilla of canoes near the ship.

Night In Jail

When the Padma—the name means "lotus" in Urdu—arrived at Port Covington Wednesday night, city police in two boats arrested three canoes full of demonstrators.

After spending the night in a Southern district lockup, six of them—all of Philadelphia—received probation without verdict for interfering with naval passage and disobeying a policeman's order. One other demonstrator was not charged.

In a press conference near the gate to Port Covington yesterday, the demonstrators said they were planning to expend their protest action.

[The Baltimore Sun, July 16, 1971]

6 FREED IN BLOCKING OF SHIP FOR PAKISTAN

Baltimore—Six Philadelphians, arrested here after they used canoes and kayaks to block the loading of a cargo ship with arms for Pakistan, were released with a warning yesterday.

Dr. Charles Khan, a teacher at the University of Pennsylvania and leader of the group, said his followers would try again to prevent the loading of the ship, Padma, when it arrives in Philadelphia.

The other Philadelphians arrested with Dr. Khan Tuesday were Richard Taylor, of Sedgwisk st. near Green Malcolm Scot, of Hortier stt. near Pelham; Sally Willough by and Stephanic Hollyman. of Pine st near 44th; Charles Goodwin, of Willows are ave. near 50th, and Wayne Lauser of Media They were held in jail overnight.

[THE EVENING BULLETIN, Philadelphia—*Friday, July 16, 1971*]

শিরনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পররাষ্ট্র সচিবের মাধ্যমে শেখ মুজিবের প্রতি অনুকম্পা প্রদর্শনের জন্য যৌথ আবেদনের আহ্বান : কংগ্রেস সদস্য মি: ব্রেডফোর্ড মর্স-এর চিঠি	প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের সদস্যদের পত্রাবলী	২৩ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D. C. 20515

July 27, 1971

Dear Colleague .

The Pakistan government will shortly place the East Bengali leader, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, on trial, according to news accounts which cite a recent interview with President Yahya Khan. A military court will reportedly meet in secret to pass sentence on a charge which will carry the death penalty

Attached is a letter to the Secretary of State asking that he express to the Pakistan government the hope of members of Congress that compassion will be shown in the trial of Sheik Mujibur.

If you would like to join with me in sending this letter to Secretary Roger, I would appreciate your contacting Bill Mayne in my office by Friday, July 30 (ext. 53411).

Sincerely,

F. Bradford Morse
Member of Congress

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের জন্য তহবিল গঠন ও চাঁদা আদায়ের আহ্বান : বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশনের পক্ষে জনাব মুহিতকে লিখিত এফ. বি. মালিক-এর চিঠি।		২৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Department of Physics
Swain Hall, West 117
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

July 26, 1971 **Tel. No. 812—337-3709**

Dear Muhith,

You are undoubtedly aware of the incredible things happening in East Pakistan. Literally millions have been driven away from homes and thousands of villages have been razed to the ground. There are over seven million refugees in India, many of them have already died of cholera. Ten to thirty millions are facing starvation. Even this quiet mid-western community has become very concerned and a local committee which includes the chancellor, a number of deans and three or four departmental chairmen has lunched a large scale drive to raise money from the community, the students and the faculty. Our appeal letter and the format of our newspaper advertisement are enclosed. Newspapers have donated space.

I wonder if it would be possible to organize a similar committee and a fund raising drive in your community. It is essential to raise enormous amounts of money for food and clothing and to stop this famine of colossal magnitude. If you want to help please organize a similar thing and feel free to use our appeal letter and solicit funds through the mail, newspapers and church organizations. The Bangladesh Association is a completely non-profit organization registered with the Internal Revenue Service of the U. S. government. It has direct contact with

(i) Oxfam, the British relief organization

(ii) the government of India

(iii) the provisional government of Bangladesh which is exploring the means of directly sending aids within East Pakistan. Its account is legally open for inspection.

If you can organize a fund raising campaign this associaton would supply with an appropriate receipt book. I personally know this organizaton very well.

Sincerely yours,
Sd/-
F. Bary Malik

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কিছু সংখ্যক মার্কিন নাগরিক কর্তৃক পাকিস্তানকে সামরিক সাহায্যবাহী জাহাজ অবরোধের উপর প্রতিবেদন।	রিচার্ড টেইলর, দি প্রগ্রেসিভ	জুলাই, ১৯৭১

BLOCKADING FOR BANGLADESH

Richard Taylor

"What can I do ?" Expresses the common lament of countless citizen who recoil from the magnitude or bad news but feel helpless to "do something." In this article Rechard Taylor tells how he and a few like-minded citizens fought non-violently and defeated official armed forces that towered above them in an episode of world significance. Mr. Taylor is a former member of the national staff of the Southern Cristian Leadership Conference and is now working with the Movement for a New Society. He is co-author of a forthcoming book, "Revolution : A Quaker Prescription for a Sick Society."

– The Editors

For most Americans the India-Pakistan conflict is 12,000 miles away, but for a small group of us it was as close as a canoe bobbing in the Baltimore harbor, a sewer pipe refugees camp across from the White House, and the Niami convention of the International Longshoremen's Association.

Before last summer, we hardly knew where Pakistan was, much less what was happening there. But July 14 found us spending a warm evening carrying NO ARMS TO PAKISTAN signs and paddling a fleet of canoes and kyacks through the murky waters of Baltimore's harbor. Our goal: to try to block the docking of the *Padma*, a Pakistani ship which had been thwarted in picking up jet fighter parts in Montreal, and which was now bearing down on us led by police and Coast Guard cutters.

"For your own safety, we're ordering you to get out of the way," shouted a police sergeant, leaning over the rail of a large police boat named *Intrepid*. "The wakes of these freighters are enormous—you can be flipped over and chopped up by their propellers."

"You have to do what you have to do," we shouted back, paddling toward the docking pier, "but we're here to block the *Padma*. We're concerned about the lives of twenty million Pakistanis who may die if we don't do something," we yelled, paddling ahead doggedly and making the *Intrepid* gun its engine and come about.

Looking beyond the police boat and over the harbor waters, we could see silhouetters of freighters, docks, and cranes against the far shore and, just to their left, the smaller outline of the *Padma* and its escort steaming up the channel. Across the oil slicks in the other direction stroked the determined bunch who made up the fleet we had dubbed "The Francis Scott Key Armada," in honor of the Star Spangled Banner's author, who panned the anthem more than a

century ago on the deck of a British ship in this same habor. Just around the corner was the famous Fort McHenry which, since it was after seven p. m., would soon be bathed in "the twilight's last gleaming." School employees, several teenagers, a doctor, a draft resister about to go to jail, a peace worker, a college student—we all wanted the United States to end its support of the Pakistani military dictatorship.

"You're violating harbor regulations by blocking a shipping lane," came a more impatient bullhorn voice. "You'll be arrested if you don't get out of the way."

A large white yacht, loaded with reporters and television cameras, roared up. A smaller inboard, steered by a television reporter with her camera crew in the back, sped in for a closer look. A second police boat closed in and two Coast Guard thirty-footers edged between us and the *Padma,* which had now moved to within 200 yards. The freighter's horn let loose a deafening blast and its tugboats added some piercing whistles of their own.

When a voice said, "O. K., arrest'em," we knew that we wouldn't be able to accomplish the goal, but we kept threading our way between the boats, shouting things like; "We appeal to you to hlep prevent the death of millions of Pakistanis." Skillful Coast Guard piloting and the use of grappling hooks, however, soon had all of us loaded aboard the larger boats.

A city policeman politely but firmly escorted us into the front cabin of one of the craft, and we watched the *Padma* now towering above us, slip into Pier 8. In the hot and crowded cabin, our only consolation came from the young Coast Guard steersman, who leaned over to whisper, "We have to do this job, but we're with you 100 per cent. You're doing the right thing." Soon we found ourselves in the Baltimore city jail, sharing narrow wooden bunks and reflecting on how we had gotten into this situation.

Many of us had spent the spring and early summer of 1971 working with peace activities in the Philadelphia area to help form a new organization called "The

"With increasing study, the complicity of the United States in Pakistani events became evident. This was not simply a tragedy far from our shores in which we had no involvement, but one that our own Government was helping to create".

Movement for a New Society" (MNS). It is similar to the "New American Movement," recently described in these pages (Jeremy Rifkin, "The Red, White, and Blue Left," *The Progressive,* November. 1971), but with a more explicit emphasis on the role of nonviolent direct action in building a movement for fundamental change in the United States.

One MNS effort was a small study-action team called the "Overseas Impact Group," whose members tried to understand the actual effect on other nations of U.S. Government policies and business relationships. Toward the middle of the summer we began reading newspaper accounts of massacres in East Pakistan and the large-scale exodus of refugees into India. Knowing almost nothing about Pakistan, we began to study the country and the role of the United States in its development.

A popular American college text (Loucks and whiteby's comparative *Eco nomic Systems*, Harper, 1969) describes Pakistan as "one of the primary capitalist countries of the world," praises its "democratic political system," and concludes that its economic development has been "remarkably successful." Other accounts, however, showed Pakistan ruled by a military dectatorship (with General Yahya Khan at the helm), that West Pakistan treats East Pakistan as a colony, and that capitalist-oriented development has created an immensely wealthy ownership class, while leaving the majority of the population in poverty.

Contemporary events seemed to cut through at least some of these contradictory descriptions. The facade of Pakistani "democracy" came apart when General Khan, in response to the popular election won by East Pakistan's Awami League, ordered the military suppression of the East. The shockingly brutal military action which followed sent millions of refugees fleeing in terror to India.

With increasing study, the complicity of the United States in Pakistani events became evident. Thus was not simply a tragedy far from our shores in which we had no involvement, but one that our own Government was helping to create.

Although some of the Pakistani army's military equipment came from other countries, a major percentage came from the more than $ 1 billion of U. S. military aid—Sabrejet fighters, light tanks, bombers, C-130 transport planes, guns and ammunition—supplied to Pakistan since 1955. An arms embargo was imposed on both Pakistan and India from 1965 to 1967, because of Indo-Pakistan border conflict, but many millions of dollrs more of U. S. military aid were sent after the embargo was eased.

U. S. economic assistance was also abundant, amounting to more than $4 billion since 1954. The yearly total of U. S. economic aid (about $200 million) provided roughly half of the country's total foreign aid, including that which was channeled through a ten-nation World Bank development consortium. The United States, reported *The New York Times* (May 30, 1971), is heavily committed to every phase of Pakistna's development, "as well as sustaining the nation's budget and currency."

Even after the facts of West Pakistani military suppression and terrorism were well known in Washingthon, military and economic aid continued. At first, the State Department tried to obscure the fact of continuing shipments, but when the sustained aid flow was documented in Congress and the press, the Government began to talk about the need to continued aid so as to apply "leverage" to the Pakistani government. In April, the State Department admitted that U. S. tanks and F-86 fighters were being used in East Pakistan ; it became clear that U. S. arms were helping to crush the Bengalis and that U. S. assistance would continue to flow, if at a somewhat reduced rate.

The "send aid to apply leverage" argument sounded like the line taken by our Government in relation to Greece, and we suspected that it would have about as much impact in Pakistan, particularly since no one in the Executive branch was saying anything publicly to suggest criticism or disapproval of what was happening. But what could be done by ordinary citizens to counter such a policy ?

Newspapers and contacts with Congressional offices indicated that Pakistani ships were plying our East Coast, picking up shipments of military and

economic goods. One way to express our concern and to put the spotlight of publicity on the situation, we reasoned, would be to attempt to block these ships as they landed to pick up the material.

Knowing that some Philadelphians were already concerned about Pakistan, we joined a local group called the Friends of East Bengal and became its Direct Action Committee. We were completely ignorant of port operations, but library research and telephone calls soon gave us a picture of the key sources of shipping information. In time we had a complete "intelligence apparatus," involving a nun who kept watch on newspaper reports of ship arrivals, sympathetic workers at the Longshorement's and Bay Pilots' Associations, and, when necesary, spotters, with binoculars along shipping lanes. (The veil of secrecy which suddenly closed over both governmental and private sources of information on the movements of Pakistani ships is another story, too long to recount here.)

On July 8 we heard that the *Padma* had attempted to pick up spare parts for jet fighters in Montreal. *The Montreal Star* (June 28-30) reported that the shippers claimed only cobalt and foodstuffs were to be loaded, but, when demonstrators insisted that the cargo be inspected, forty-six crates of Sabrejet spare parts were discovered. The Canadian government suspended the shipper's license and the *Padma* headed for Baltimore, minus the jet parts. Thus the project, "The Pursuit of the *Padma*," which led to a night in Baltimore's jail and a sentence of thirty days probation on charges of "disorderly conduct" and "unlawfully casting loose setting adrift or placing an object, to wit: a canoe, by obstructing navigation of the *S.S. Padma*."

Our discouragement at not being able to prevent docking of the *Padma* was more than counterbalanced by the elation we felt at the excellent nation-wide coverage of the blockade on television, radio, and in the press. When the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported out a bill cutting off aid to Greece and Pakistan, a Congressional source and a well-known *New York Times* reporter told us that our Baltimore action was a major factor influencing the Committee to take this unprecedented action.

The need to work closely with the longshoremen was underscored by the Baltimore union's decision to load the ship, in spite of our appeals to the contrary. We therefore put together a team of two Bengalis and two Americans and rushed to the International Longshoremen's Association convention at Miaami's DiLido hotel. There we explained our position to members of the ILA and, after meetings with top leaders and a speech on the convention floor, received a commitment that the ILA would not load military equipment bound for Pakistan.

Our most significant contact, it turned out, was Richard Askew, president of Philadelphia's ILA Local 1291. He expressed immediate sympathy for the Bengalis and stated his conviction that a small group was trying to suppress the majority. As a black leader, he understood the plight of downtrodden people who are victimized for simply trying to express their democratic rights. Whereas the International ILA promised not to load *military* materiel for Pakistan, Askew indicated that his Local might not load economic aid as well, in the belief that *any* support for the dictatorship would only increase the amount of suffering in East Bengal.

While the small team worked in Miami, the rest of the Direct Action Committee urged groups in other port cities to encourage blockades there, and also began marches and picketing at the offices of the Philadelphia agents for Pakistani ships.

In early August, we learned that another Pakistani ship, the *Al Ahmadi*, was headed for Philadelphia. On August 12 we set up a blockade at Philadelphia's Pier 80 to meet it, but it turned around in the Delaware River and went to Baltimore. We chased it there and met it with pickets on land and water, then found that it was heading back for Philadelphia.

On August 17 we arose at four in the morning to get our boats in the Delaware in time to meet the *Al Ahmadi*, which was expected at seven a.m. Four canoes and one kyack paddled about three miles to Pier 80 while thirty pickets formed in front of the gigantic warehouse on the dock side. We erected a thirty-foot mural depicting U.S. arms being shipped to Pakistan, and soon were embroiled in intense discussions and negotiations with longshoremen, teamsters (whose trucks were backed up by our pickets), and officials of the shipping company, who complained that we were shutting down their entire operation and causing the man to lose their pay. We finally agreed to leave one gate (where a Japanese ship was moored) free of pickets.

The tiny nonviolent fleet looked like five slivers of darkness on the glistening water, bouncing 200 yards away at the riverside entrance to the dock. Several police boats kept a close watch. The warehouse blocked the picketers' view down-river, but they knew that the confrontation was imminent when they saw two of the canoeists suddenly raise cardboard signs above their heads and point them in the direction of the outgoing tide.

In a few moments the enormous prow of the *Al Ahmadi* edged past the warehouse, nudged by two large tugs. Our small boats paddled straight for the bow, but the police, apparently with orders not to make arrests, pulled alongside, grabbed them, and dragged them across the mouth of the ship and out of the way. As soon as they released us, however, we paddled right back, fighting through tugboat wakes and turbulence to get in the freighter's path. For a good twenty minutes the fleet charged and was dragged back, while longshoremen, teamsters, demonstrator, newspaper reporters, television cameramen, and Pakistani crewmen leaning over the rail watched transfixedly. Finally, the *Al Ahmadi* was able to snag a hawser on the dock's mooring.

The longshoremen held the final card ; we were in suspense to see if they would load or not. None had crossed the picket lines so far, and the next work gang was scheduled to pass through the gates at one p.m. At 12:30 they started coming and the picketing was intensified. At 12:45, Richard Askew drove a large black car into the middle of the growing crowd in front of the warehouse gate. He got out slowly and was immediately besieged with microphones and questions by reporters.

Speaking deliberately, he said : "I'm not here to tell the men what to do. I think they've already decided what to do. I'm here to express my own convictions. This company should be ashamed to have this ship tien up at its dock. West Pakistan is committing genocide on East Pakistan." If we load this ship, it would be as through we were helping to commit genocide.

A reporter asked the question that had been thrown at the demonstrators all morning : "Mr. Askew, aren your men losing money by not loadng this ship ?"

".......these actions made an important contribution to public knowledge about the U. S. role in Pakistan. They also provided an example of how ordinary citizens can move beyond a sense of helplessness and into meaningful action.........."

Without the slightest hesitation he replied : "If I know in my heart that the money I'm earning is blood money, then I don't want to have anything to do with it," and he piled back into his car and drove off.

Not a single longshoreman crossed the picket line, either then or during the next twenty-eight hours, during which time a continuous day and night demonstration was organized. Fewer and fewer longshoremen responded to the shipping company's repeated calls for work crews, and the next after no on the *Al Ahmadi* sailed away, leaving more than a thousand tons of equipment on the dock.

Apparently, this action completely closed the port of Philadelphia to Pakistani shops, for later the Direct Action Committee received calls from a manufacturer and a lawyer, asking that the action be stopped so that they could make shipments to Pakistan. A group in Boston also organized a nonviolent fleet and discouraged a scheduled Pakistani ship from using the harbor.

In October, we built eight replicas of sewer pipes (similar to those used for housing by Bengali refugees in India) and placed them in Lafayette Park, across from the White House. A team from the Direct Action Committee lived in them for more than a week, fasting or eating the meager diet of Bengali expatriates, to represent the plight of the refugees. From this lase, we organized a march on the Pakistan Embassy, a lobbying day on Capital Hill, an inter-faith religious service attended by Bangladesh representatives to the United Nations, and a refugee meal for Government employees.

Because of the effective mass media coverage, these actions made an important contribution to public knowledge about the U. S. role in Pakistan. They also provided an example of how ordinary citizens can move beyond a sense of helplessness and into meaningful action to counter an obvious evil.

Contacts in India told us that actions such as these were thoroughly described in the Indian press and were much appreciated as signs that, although the U. S. Government was unsympathetic, some American people were willing to take steps to protest against support for mass murder. Indian and U. S. delegates in the United Nations not now on speaking terms might well remember the moment on Pier 80 when longshoremen and demonstrators joined forces and removed thier *own* support for dictatorship and massacre on the other side of the world.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে 'ফ্রেণ্ডস অব ইস্ট বেংগল'-এর ভূমিকা।	ফ্রেণ্ডস অব ইস্ট বেঙ্গল	জুলাই, ১৯৭১

FRIENDS OF EAST BENGAL

General Information

Purpose : The Friends of East Bengal has been established as a non-profit organization dedicated.

(1) To help relieve the immense suffering imposed by military action against the people of East Bengal,

(2) To further the freedom and political self-determination of the people of East Bengal,

(3) To exert influence on the U. S. government to direct its policies toward these goals.

Activities to date : Lobbying in Congress—Members of the group have visited the U. S. Congress in Washington to see many Senators and Congressmen, The lobbying effort has been directed primarily toward the Gallagher Amendment in the House and the Church-Saxbe Amendment in the Senate. Both amendments would suspend economic and military aid to Pakistan until the repression of East Bengalis by the Pakistan government is stopped.

Demonstrations—Because the U. S. Government is allowing the shipment of arms licensed before the war of repression began, there have been several demonstrations designed to stop the shipment of arms to Pakistan. The demonstrations were at Pakistani ships loading at U. S. ports and have stopped or delayed some of the ships' loading. In some ports loangshoremen have agreed not to load ships.

Public Opinion—The organization has prepared several leaflets and news sheets about the tragic events in East Pakistan and the work of groups in this country. These leaflets have been distributed at places like the University of Pennsylvania campus and the Temple University Music Festival. A larger packet of information is being prepared as an information source, containing news articles, editorials, etc.

Fund Raising—Monies required by these activities have come from the sale of buttons and posters and from small donations. While not a relief agency itself, the Friends of East Bengal has investigated the agencies that are seeking donations to directly aid the East Pakistanis. A list of several agencies has been drawn up and the checking is continuing.

Future Activities : Lobbying—Because the Church-Saxbe Amendment has yet to come before the Senate, lobbying will continue. In addition, the need for government—sponsored relief is great.

Demonstration—More ships are scheduled to carry arms and other goods to Pakistan ; demonstrations are planned for these.

Teach—in and Speakers Bureau—A teach-in is planned for the University of Pennsylvania for September and other schools will follow. While some speakers are already available, future efforts will include setting up a speakers bureau to provide programs for organizations and other pubic groups.

Information contact : Dr. C. H. Kahn, 4621 Larchwood Ave., Phila. Pa., GR 2-3969. Judith Beinstein, 345 S. 18th St., Phila. Pa., KI 5- 1907.
Chuck Goodwin, 5001 Willowns Ave., Phila. Pa., GR 6-4437.
Dick Taylor, 4719 Cedar St., Phila. Pa., SA 4-7398.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শরণার্থী সমস্যার ওপর ডঃ কার্ল ই. টেইলর-এর প্রতিবেদন।	ডঃ কার্ল ই. টেইলর	জুলাই, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY DR. CARL E. TAYLOR ON

STATEMENT BY DR. CARL E. TAYLOR ON

At the suggestion of Dr. William Greenough I am writing a brief report on a recent trip to India to work with our research projects. I was born in India and have spent approximately half of my life there, mostly in research, teaching and service in the villages. On this trip I was immediately caught up in a wave of discussion built on long and intimate friendships with many officials at all levels.

I have never seen the intensity of anti-American antiagonism that wet have now generated. Even more than usual, the highest officials are trying to be polite in order not to aggravate an already explosive situation. I admire the caution and considered restraint which the Indian government is maintaining in the face of growing pressures from the people and the parliament and in spite of what seems to them to be callousness and misunderstanding from abroad.

It is my considered judgement that present U. S. policy is dangerous and short-sighted. We are contributing to producing another chronically ulcerating center of war and disrüption in Asia. United States military and economic support fór Pakistan is pushing India into some sort of military action. It is obvious that direct military invasion of Bangladesh would make India subject to international blame for having accelerated the splitting of Pakistan. The hattred of West Pakistan among Bengali Pakistanis is matched only by their terror of the ruthless "burn and kill" activities of of the Amry. Official Pakistan policy is to shift the blame for the present trouble to India and the 10 million Hindus in East Pakistan even though the now outlawed Awami League was Muslim led and gained over 98% of the elected positions in the winter elections. If Pakistani officials succeed in shifting the blame this will provide a rallying point to prevent the breaking up of the provinces of West Pakistan. Since Indian officials seem wise enough not to be seduced into direct military action, they are forced into indirect measures to relieve the present intolerable situation. A stricking feature of the refugee camps is that they contain mostly older people, women and children. The implications for prolonged guerrilla warfare are staggering. Because of Chinese commitments to Pakistan for once the USA cold have been on the side of freedom rather than supporting the status quo of of a military oligarchy.

Most resented in Delhi is the hypocrisy of the present U.S. posture. They ask bluntly how we think we can fool both sides by declaring a ban and then continuing arms shipments. When the $70,000,000 emergency relief grant for refugees in India was announced the day after the news broke on the sailing of the first two ships loaded with munitions, the general reaction was "do they think they can buy us off ?" Then quickly they presented

simple arithmetic of the inadequacy of our relief gesture. Indian officials estimate that just feeding the 6 plus million refugees is costing at least 11/4 million dollars a day. This means feeding a family of five for a dollar a a day. If all of the $70,000,000 was used for food, rather than just the $20,000,000 portion now allocated, it would still feed the refugees for less than two months. In addition, of course, there is the total social and economic disruption that is being caused by efforts to resettle these numbers. The average daily wage has fallen in some areas from 3 rupees to 1 rupee a day (13 cents a day). Having to cope with these new numbers represents a total disaster for the gradual but encouraging movement of economic development on the Indian subcontinent.

More than anything else, the resentment rises from the blatant genocide of the 10 million Hindus who were in Est Pakistan. How long officials will be able to hold off retaliation against the much larger numbers of Muslims in India is somewhat doubtful. What hurts most is the obvious callousness and unconcern of the rest of the world to a tragedy involving much larger numbers of people than even the Nazi "final solution." Americans must be made aware of both the realities and their own responsibilities to help, if possible, but at least not to aggravate tensions and prolong the crisis by supporting a repressive military regime.

CET : ckc

July, 1971

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশী শরণার্থীদের জন্য অক্সফাম আমেরিকার চাঁদা সংগ্রহের প্রচারপত্র।	অক্সফাম আমেরিকা	১২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

OXFAM AMERICA
Incorporated

August 12, 1971

1028 Connecticut Ave. N. W.
Suite 509
Washington, D. C.
20036

Dear Friend,

Suppose you and 7 million other Americans (almost a whole New York City) suddenly had to flee across the border into Mexico, with no possessions but the clothes on your back. Could you stay alive without help? And would you expect Mexico to be able to take care of you and the others?

Just such a situation exists today among the East Pakistani refugees in India. The Indian Government is doing its best to handle the burden that has been thrust upon it of providing food, shelter, and emergency medical care to this desperately needy group, but it cannot do the job alone

We in the richer nations are the only hope of keeping thousands of innocent children and adults from dying of starvation or disease. Many Americans, Canadians and Britons already have rushed their contributions through the efficient channels of OXFAM. A nonpolitical organization which has helped disaster victims since 1942, OXFAM will see to it that your dollars do the maximum good in this crisis.

Please send your cheque—which is tax-deductible—to OXFAM-America, Suite 509, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

You literally hold the power of life and death in your hand —take your pen and write a vote for life!

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Theodora C. Foster
Executive Director

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কানাডায় অনুষ্ঠিত দক্ষিণ এশীয় সম্মেলনে মার্কিন নাগরিকদের বিবৃতি।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	২১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY AMERICAN CITIZENS ATTENDING THE SOUTH ASIA CONFERENCE IN TORONTO, CANADA—AUGUST 21, 1971

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States in attendance at the South Asia Conference in Toronto (August 19 to 21, 1971), condemn the United States Government for its continuing delivery of military arms and related spare parts, along with economic assistance, to the Pakistan Government. This aid only contributes to further violence in South Asia. It contradicts American national interest. It violates world morality.

We urge our Government to alter its present course and to follow the recommendations of the Toronto Declaration of Concern—

Signatories.

Mr. Thomas A. Dine, Executive Assistant to U.S. Senator Frank Church.

Prof. Robert Dorfman, Harvard University.

Dr. John Rohde, Harvard Medical School.

Mrs. Cornelia F. Rohde, International Rescue Commission.

Dr. Hannah Papanek, Harvard University.

Prof. Stanely Wolpert, University of California.

Prof. Gustav Papanek, Harvard University.

Mr. Homer Jack, Secretary, International Religions for Peace.

Mr. Horman Dahl of Ford Foundation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সমর্থক আমেরিকানদের তৎপরতা।	বাংলাদেশ ডিফেন্স লীগ	আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

OHIO : FRIENDS OF EAST BENGAL

B. Chandrasekaran reports from Ohio :

We are proud to report to you the starting of an organization in columbus called 'The Friends of East Bengal'.

About 15 interested persons, mainly students and faculty members of the Ohio State University, got together the 29th of July to discuss our responses to the tragedy in Bangladesh. We had a larger meeting organized as a result of our decisions at this first meeting. The second meeting, which was actually the charter meeting of the Group, had an attendance of more than 60 people, this time representing a larger cross-section of the Community and was held on 5 August. We were fortunate in having as our main speaker Dr. J. K. Bhattacharjee of Oxford, Ohio who has been very active for the cause of Bangladesh, and has been in contact with many similar organizations. The meeting was a great success, in the sense most of the attendees have agreed to serve on one committee or another as volunteers.

We have already organized signacampaigns for petitions to Congressmen and the President to end military and economic aid to W. Pakistan. As a result of our appeals to the local Unitarian and Catholic churches, over 100 telegrams were sent over the last weekend, urging local Congressmen to vote in support of the Gallagher Amendment. Displays and information boths in many centers in Columbus are planned. We are planning to concentrate on the local church groups in the beginning for collecting funds for refugee relief. Public service sports on television and radio for this purpose are also planned.

At the moment, there are three major committees in operation:

1. relief 2. publicity and information and 3. organization of charity shows, large meetings, etc.

The address of the group is :

Friends of East Bengal

P.O. Box 3035

Columbus, Ohio 43210

Arizona: Friends of East Bengal

Jon Markoulis writes from Arizona:

We have started a "Friends of East Bengal" group in Tempe, Ariz. So far we have called a press conference and held a vigil in front of the Federal Building in Phoenix. The object was to educate the public in this area because the local papers are not carrying the story. The TV coverage we got was not very good. As a group we asked that the US stop aid to West Pakistan and use its troops in Asia to get food and medical supplies to the people in need, in East Bengal. So far we have collected about $100 which we gave to UNICEF.

The peace centers in Tempe and Phoenix, The Catholic center for peace and Justice, WILPF and UNICEF make up our group. In September we are going to hold a panel discussion on the situation in East Bengal. The address of the group : Friends of East Bengal 1414 S. McAllister Tempe, Arizona.

Milwaukee *August* 12, 1971

Ron DeNicola writes from Milwaukee Peace Action Committee : The meeting Tuesday nite was relatively a success. Twenty people showed up including several Marquette Indian students from the International student Club.

We split the group into two caucusses, one on relief and the larger on political action and education. Next Tuesday at 8-00 p.m. we will have our second meeting which basically will deal with an internal workshop. This meeting will be most important as its objectives are to educate ourselves to the utmost. I hope you or a BDL representative can attend.

Wednesday we had our press conference in which we made a public statement to the effect that relief and educational efforts on East Pakistan will be centered at the PAC in Milwaukee and asking the community for support. There was good coverage on only one TV station, channel 6.

Bangladesh Association of Canada

Tronto

'Crisis in Bangladesh' was the theme of a symposium held on August 5, 1971 at 7-30 p.m. in the University of Toronto campus under the auspices of the Bangladesh Association, University of Toronto. The following were the speakers :

1. Mr. Andrew Brewin, Member of Canadian Parliament,
2. Mr. Frederick Nossal, Associate Editor of Toronto Telegram,
3. Mr. Paul Ignatieff, Director of UNICEF, Toronto,
4. Mr. Leslie Smith of Food and Drug Directorate, Department of National Health and Welfare.

Mr. Brewing was one of the three members of the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation which, on the invitation of the Governments of India and Pakistan, visited recently the refugee camps in India and also Bangladesh. He reiterated his earlier stand that any political solution in East Bengal must reflect the wishes of the people expressed in the last December election.

Mr. Ignatieff emphasized the need of a massive relief for the refugees in India which he called 'a crisis inside a crisis Mr. Smith gace his eye-witness accounts of the difficult situations the refugees are passing through. A documentary film which Mr. Smith took was also shown.

California :

Joan Baez Benefit Concert

Famous folk singer Joan Baez gave a concert on July 24, at the Stanford University campus for the benefit of the 7 million refugees of Bangladesh. The

concert was attended by over 12,000 persons from the San Francisco Bay area. It was organized by Mrs. Ranu Basu and others from the Stanford India Association. The members of the American League for Bangladesh, the peoples Union and the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence helped tremendously in publicizing and staging the concert.

At the concert, members of the American League for Bangladesh and of the Stanford India Student Association distributed over 8,000 leaflets which exposed the U.S. complicity in the genocide in Bangladesh. The leaflet pointed out recent U.S. shipment of arms to the brutal Pakistan Military Junta and the Administration's declared policy of continuing to do so. Mrs. Joan Baez Harris condemned the Administration's immoral and shameful policy and asked the 12,000 member audience to sign a petition which urged the U.S. Government to stop all aid to the repressive regime in Islamabad. Several thousand of the audience signed the petition.

New York : Friends of East Bengal

The Friends of East Bengal (New York) held a mass rally in New York on August, 14, in co-operation with the Bangladesh League of America. About 500 people participatded in the rally that took place at the U.N. Plaza from mid-day to about 3 p.m. The rally was addressed by Dr. Alamgir of the Bangladesh Leauge. Dr. Eqbal Ahmad and Fjaj Ahmad two noted scholars from W. Pakistan, and by Mr. S. J. Avery of the Quaker project.

The speeches were followed by several small workshops on the Bangladesh crisis.

An eighty-page booklet containing a historical summary of the Pak-Bangladesh conflict since 1947 put together by the Friends of East Bengal was distributed at the rally together with many other pamphlets. The address of the Friends of East Bengal (New York) is : 13 E. 17th St., 6th Floor, N. Y., N. Y. Phone (212) 741—0750.

Announcements :

(1) We are enclosing the Bangladesh Emergency Welfare Appeal brochure with this newsletter as a specimen copy. Please let us know how many you want to distribute to prospective donors in your area.

(2) Those of you who have requested us for the "Why Bangladesh" booklet, please allow us another week before we can mail them to you.

(3) Please send us a report of your group activities for publication in our newsletter. Send us paper clippings too from your local newspapers.

(4) We have reprinted a large number of bumper-stickers : "Stop Pakistan Genocide in Bangladesh." We will supply them to Bangladesh groups at cost.

Issued by : Bangladesh Defense League, 5245 South Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. 60615.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উপমহাদেশীয় পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সনকে লিখিত খোলা চিঠি।	ইন্টারন্যাশনাল স্টুডেন্টস কালচারাল অরগেনাইজেশন	আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

AN OPEN LETTER
TO
PRESIDENT NIXON

International Students Cultural Organisation

By your statement of August 4, defending continued aid to Pakistan, you not only challenged the recent decision of the House of Representatives and the strong protest against that aid by the group of Pakistan diplomats who had just resigned in disgust with the Islamabad junta's reign of terror, but also the rising tide moral revulsion in this country and around the world.

This raises the question of the sincerity of the Administration's position in this matter, in that you had not arranged to have a single defender of your stand on aid to Pakistan, even from your own party, rise to oppose the stopping of that aid, when the House debated the Foreign Assistance Bill the previous day. Was this an admission that continuation of such aid is so indefensible that public debate by the people's representatives was avoided, with the intention of getting the unsavoury job done by Executive action?

Least appeal be made to Executive omniscience as justification for Executive omnipotence let us go into the marits of the case. This is by no means as as simple a matter to decide as your summary public treatment of it asumes, nor should we be content to leave it to Mr. Kissinger's inscrutible wisdom. America's and the worlds conscience has been outraged in East Bengal, and we must have an open trial of the case. Too much is at stake for the human family to acquiesce in furtive maneuvers and bureaucratic blunders as excuses for further arms shipments to that brutal regime.

The massive moral issue apart, your statement that the suspension of aid is likely to aggravate the problem of relief for Pakistan refugees, hampering Pakistan's ability to work with the United Nations, "as it presently has indicated it is willing to do in distributing the food supplies," and that the aid to Pakistan is "the way to influence the course of events in the Indian subcontinent" is fallacious.

There is no solution to the refugee problem so long as we try to bypass the problem of the political settlement in East Bengal. And there can be no political settlement which is not based on the fact that it has become psychologically, morally and practically impossible for East Bengalis to go on tolerating the blatant fiction of the alleged unity between themselves and their genocidal tyrants and exploiters, East and West Pakistan, two distinct peoples with entirely different cultures—once a thousand miles apart and now unthinkably far!

As Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of the provincial government of Bangdesh, said in his appeal "To the People of the World" on April 17, "Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the army in Bangladesh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the People of Bangladesh. By resorting to pre-planned genocide Yahya must have known that he was himself digging Pakistan's grave. The subsequent massacres perpetrated on his orders by his licenced killers on the people were not designed to preserve the unity of a nation. They were acts of racial hatred and sadism devoid of even the elements of humanity. Professional soldiers, on orders, violated their code of military honour and were seen as beast of prey who indulged in an orgy of murder, rape, loot, arson and destruction unequalled in the annals of civilization. These acts indicate that the concept of two countries is already rooted deeply in the minds of Yahya and his associates who would not dare to commit such atrocities on their own countrymen."

Mr. President, do you not see how morally obtuse it is to go on pretending and presuming that, after what these people have been through, they are to go back and put themselves in those bloody hands trusting themselves to the tender mercies of those who have treated them with studied brutality and have never shown the least sign of a change of heart? And it is four and one half months since the reign of terror began; As the defecting diplomats have declared, with their intimate and through knowledge of the whole situation, far greater than yours or mine, "There absolutely cannot be any question of economic or military assistance to West Pakistan now. Such assistance will only have the effect of perpetuating genocide."

For us who have been brought up to applaud Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death," is it unconceivable that those who have seen their fathers and sons slaughtered, their daughters mass-raped, their homes looted and put to the torch, their industries and services destroyed, their educated leaders systematically killed off, should prefer death to tyrant-governed relief, even if overseen by a handful of UN observers? Have you the audacity to ask them to return to such a regime?

Dare we go on acting as if an American military ally must never be disowned, no matter what unspeakable atrocities he commits? You say, "We are not going to engage in Public pressure on the Government of West Pakistan." (Does this expression mean that, although you do not recognise Bangladesh, you do, at least unconsciously, recognise that the government is now that of West Pakistan?) You add, "That would be counter-productive. These are matters that we will discuss only in private channels."

So, regardless of the fact that this ally has engaged in tops of thousands of the most offensive public acts against human decency against civilization itself, we must avoid any public wounding or his sensibilities! After all, the reasoning goes, he might favour China, instead of us, with his readiness to accept such tokens as of undying friendship and loyelty as tanks, jets, fleme throwers, machine guns, and be no longer a staunch ally and bulwark against Communism!

Speaking of staunchness, Mr. President. have you really been using your influence with the genocidal tyrant, "through private channels," as you insist, the past four months? If so, you can see by now how effective such considerate mathods are! It would be difficult to imagine, considering the catalogue of attested crimes against humanity in the Yahya Khan, Tikka Khan

recording during this very period, how the conduct of this regime could have been worse? Better try another method of persuasion, Mr. Nixon ;

Unless you do, your foreign policy may reach its nadir over your wrong relation to Bangladesh, with is extraordinary moral and humanitarian significance. What then becomes of your dream of being remembered as a creative peacemaker ? Has the time not come, in light of Bangladesh, for a foreign policy with a human face ? Is it not time to turn away from the professional power politics chessboard ? Ego-blindness is the archenemy of world peace. The Pentagon Papers disclosures were a timely warning against those who do not hesitate to master-mind the lives and destinie of others, who form brain-trust coteries and pay with global chessboards. How often Life laughs at their clever stumbles ! Too often they are so knowledgable, so full of information, that there is no room left for wisdom. There is a canny instinct in the people's distrust of brain-trusters.

Public confidence in a government in the only justification for its existence. By this test Yahya Khan, Tikka Khan, their junta and their minions have forfeited any further right to be in East Bengal. And if you, Mr. President, incredible as it is, have uttered no word of public criticism of that regime during all these months of its terror and, on the contrary have come to its defense—and action in harmony with it, despite Congressional criticism—are you not adding dangerously to the growing cridibility gap in these stormy times ? What will our new 18—25 voters think of all this ?

And now comes tyrant Yahya Khan's amazing announcement to the world that is was the slaughter of 100,000 of their fellow-citizens by the Bangladesh Awami League and their followers that forced him to declare martial law to put down the bloody rebellion ! The refutation of this grant lie is simple. How is it that the many foreign and Pakistani reporters in East Pakistan before the reign of terror that began at midnight on March 25, failed to report this horrible news, and that Yahya himself, far from telling the world this story, gave every appearance, until that date, of negotiating in good faith with Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League, having publicly referred to him as the "coming Prime Minister of Pakistan ?" We know now that Yahya's negotiations were a blind for the army's preparations for the genocidal eruption—and so soon after Pakistan had solemnly signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights !

A piece of this deceit was Pakistan's twice (in 1948 and 1965) attacking India with armament obtained under the assurance that it was for her own defense only, especially against any Communist aggression. Can this kind of ally contribute to America's or the "Free Wrold's" security ? If ever a regime has murdered a people, betraying democracy, and violating all criteria or humanity, it is the regime you, Mr. Nixon, are trying to defend and support. If a ruler grossly misgoverns his own people and, refusing to be their protector, becomes their torturing dictator, dare you, even then support him on the grounds that he is "essential to America's seceuity ?"

Apart from the moral issue, as we consider the vast changes in armament and all the other developments in such military alliances as SEATO since they were formed, is it not wise, at a time like this, to face afresh the question : Is the Administration simpley repeating an old stance ? Is Pakistan really so important to the USA as to justify paying any such price as you would pay for its professions of allegiance, at the risk of alienating

Bangladesh's 75,000,000 and India's 550,000,000, and American and world moral standards? What does "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" dictate in such a case? And what does the faithfulness to one's vows and standards as a Christian require in such a situation if one is to have more than a political membership?

One more major question, Mr. President. Both you and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi give us the impression that fear of what China may do in the Bangladesh situation weighs heavily with you, not so? You assume that if, for example, in the absence of any other valid solution, India were to be driven to go to the rescue of Bangladesh, having declared is as her strictly limited purpose to make it possible for the Bangladesh people to create their own government and enable the millions of miserable escapees to return home as free me · China might intervene.

Evidently you and Mr. Kissinger, despite his scholarly expertise in other directions, share the general dangerous misconception of the nature of the Peking regime. It is widely assumed that Mao's regime has followed the Russian, even the Stalinist pattern of readiness for ruthless repression, even invasion.

But there is abundent docementation for the following understanding of Mao's way : Since the beginning of his movement in the 1920's, culminating in the Cultural Revolution, and emerging into the world's consciousness in the present new diplomacy, Mao has thoroughly taught all his people that, on the one hand, they may need to deal with regimes with which they differ, however strongly — this being a matter of temporary tactics—while, on the other hand, "whoever opposes imperialism or makes revolution has out support," as Peking declared in its editorial on Army Day, August 1.

Red China has a massive record of standing for the liberation of struggling peoples, but by measures short of invasions, despite her entering North Dorea when she felt her own borders threatened and her later taking possession of certain disputed areas on her borders with India. Concerning her attitude to the Pakistan—India—Bangladesh tangle, while China, by virtually warning India, "Hands off East Bengal," to this extent supports Yahya Khan against India, she could not go much further in abetting a tyrannical Right reactionary regime without committing ideological, moral, political suicide. We need therefore not fear a Chinese invasion of the South Asian subcontinent. But Mao's tactical stance in the present situation means that he wants to wran off India from going to the rescue of Bangladesh so that not only East Bengal but West Bengal will become desperate and deteriorate into another Vietnam, for which the stage is all set, as the writer has developed the picture in "China's Strategy, a New Vietnam."

When that Bangladesh desperation comes—and both Washington's pro-Pakistan stance and Delhi's dangerously delaying Bangladesh policy directly contribute to it—the well prepared and powerful pro-China Communists of West Bengal, expert in capitalizing on chaos, and other elements of that "Northeast Volcano" will find Red China supporting them as they have massively supported the Vietnam struggle, and Mao will then repudiate Yahya and Co.

Enough of this point for now, but Mr. President, you and Mr. Kissinger had better go deeper in your China study and see that you are now on the wrong track, so far as your South Asia chessboard goes, definitely backing the very wrong horse. What a price a "lift" to Peking for Henry? If by your present course you weaken

the Bangladesh cause and tempt China to encourage and support a new and far worse Vietnam, with another quarter of the human race, in South Asia, at stake, will that not give a serious setback to our hopes of seeing the real China in the United Nations as a responsible member of the world family?

As for the justification for India's going to Bangladesh's rescue, she would only be responding, at long last, after dangerous delay, to the horrible and massive aggression of Pakistan's reign of terror regime against the people of Bangladesh, who will form the eighth largest nation of the world; aggression also against India, far more serious than an ordinary violation of a border or most of the other accepted causes of war, historically. Above all, this deliberate genocidal aggression has been a gross attack on the very fabric of civilization, of decent and human and trustable human relations, a return to far worse than the law of the jungle.

The Humpty-Dumpty that was Pakistan—the weird political contrivance for two very different peoples, a thousand miles apart and supposed to be united only by a common religion, a relationship that has given the majority the 75,000,000 of East Pakistan a far worse colonial status than ever they had under the British—this put Humpty-Dumpty together again—not even with the aid of the Pentagon and the State Department.

No, you cannot solve the refugee or aid problem without solving the political problem. This is the basic stubborn fact from which true statesmanship must fashion a new policy.

Jay Holmes Smith

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS CULTURAL ORGANIZATION
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605 West 115th Street
New York, New York 10025

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের অনুকূলে জনমত সৃষ্টিকারী মহলের উদ্দেশে নির্দেশাবলী।	ফ্রেণ্ডস্ অব বাংলাদেশ	১৬ সেপ্টেম্বর ১৯৭১

HINTS FOR LOBBYISTS (Revised 9/16/71)

1. The following materials are available for your use in the office in preparing for Hill encounters :

a. Card file summarizing our contacts with each member of the House and Senate to date.

b. Profile of their voting records on certain indicative issues.

c. Pamphlet for lobbyists put out by Quakers.

d. List of Congressmen alphabetically including state, party, office room number and telephone (see also July newsletter).

e. Text and list of co-sponsors of Saxbe-Church Amendment (Senate) and Gallagher Amendment (House) to the Foreign Assistance Act.

f. Congressional Directory (biographies, committees, etc. etc.)

g. Press file containing editorials, letters to the editor, news stories, etc., hopefully from your congressman's district

h. Reprints of materials useful for your information and for handouts to Congressmen's offices.

2. Plan your schedule with some thought to building locations (the numerous office building are large !).

3. Punctuality within five to ten minutes of the time set is expected. Should you be delayed, a prompt explanation (preferably by phone in advance of the appointment but as soon thereafter as possible) will be more warmly received than a later personal appearance. You can reschedule at the time of your phone call.

ASK FIRST to see the Congressman or Senator about the situation in East Pakistan and about the Saxbe-Church (Gallagher) Amendment to the Foreign Aid bill ; if he is unable to see you, THEN ASK to speak to the PERSON WHO HANDLES THE CONGRESSMAN'S LEGISLATION ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

5. Obtain the name (do not be shy to ask for spelling) and position of the person you see and include this information in your report (questionnaire) to us so that we can build continuity.

6. Introduce yourself to your contact briefly clear name, where in the U. S. you come from and what you are doing (e. g. teaching in a university).......reside.......vote in a Congressman's district or Senator cate, make......his point clear (he will realize you can in,.....voters).

7. Ask the staff member how familiar he and/or the Congressman is with the situation in East Pakistan and with the saxbe-church (Gallagher) Amendment to Foreign Assistance bill. Conscientious offices welcome the opportunity to learn from sincere, informed, concise persons to the extent they have time available. Staff are often overworked, so that lobbyists are valuable sources of information to them-often the only sources consulted Thus when you exchange information you are rendering them a service, not asking a favor. After determiring his depth of knowledge, explain why it is important the U. S. assume a neutral position in the Pakistan "civil war."

8. Ask if the Senator (Congressman supports the Saxbe-Church (Gallagher) Amendment—not "will he support" because this asks him to commit himself in the future when circumstances might have changed. Most people ; are sympathetic to the suffering of the Bengali people ; however, they may feel they must vote against the bill for other reasons. If the person opposes or is non-committal, ASK WHY. This is not an embarrassing question, since Members of Congaress and their staffs always expect to explain their positions on critical issues. You can be most persuasive when you understand their reservations.

We need to know what positions has been taken so we know if we must do further work. Let us know the areas of disagreement or concern so we can approach him the next time prepared. (Note these on questionnaire. Your recollections are......shdst if noted briefly before continuing on to your next appointment.) Any material you can supply verbally or written to inform and persuade your contacts will be most valuable.

9. Be sure to differentiate between aid's opinions and Congressman's position.

10. While feeling symprthy for the Bengal tragedy, many members feel an obligation always to support the Administration position on foreign/security matters or may have reservations on other issues of substance. Explaining some of the following points may have an impact in such situations :

a. The intent of House and Senate legislation proposed is to keep the U. S. from favoring one side over another in yet another Asian civil war (disengage from our aid involvement in another potential Viet men), especially where the separation of the country is now regarded as inevitable by knowledgeable observers in and out of the government.

b. The bureaucracy has urged the President to follow the above policy—for example, Assistant Secretary of State Sisco told the Foreign Relations Committee that Pakistan has less than a 50% chance of surviving as a unified nation. However, the President rejected that position because of his use of Pakistan as a conduit for Kissinger to fly to Peking—yet we could use other avenues to Peking (e. g., we' ve used Warsaw for years, Rumania is another possibility, as are Hong Kong or San Francisco ;).

c. The only ones to gain in the present con......are 'Mao tse-Tung and chaos—whereas......osers will be U. S., India, Russia, and moderate democratic Awami League leaders.

d. The conditions which force o it millions of refugees fuel the war machines of India and P ki ' n ; chances of another needless Indian-Pakistan war are high.

e. Withdrawing aid—especially including economic aid—will make continued occupation of the East extremely difficult financially for the West.

f. It is dubious how "friendly" an ally Pak has ever been or how much "leverage" American aid has ever bought us with Pakistan (for example, they kicked us out of Peshawar intelligence base in 1969) ; Chinese potential is overrated, as has been shown by their promise of small amounts of aid, and their inability to afford giving very much (e. g. gave very little to North Vietnam). West Pakistan is likely to follow its own interests, not China's, as it has in the past.

g. Pakistan defaulted this summer on its repayment of debts to us for past aid loans. It seeks further relief permitting rescheduling payments due October 31 and beyond. Stress that this form of economic assistance underwrites its occupation of terror in Bangladesh, and that as a matter of good economics we shouldn't stand for this threat to our aid program's viability.

h. Relief : UN supervisory prospects and State Department assurances are totally inadequate to prevent misuse of food as a weapon while the present military and civilion regime continues. Until a genuinely representative political settlement is achieved, nothing short of an airlift is likely to reach villagers impartially and effectively. Over 10% of the population has fled to India, hopefully some what reducing demand. Need is likely to be greatest in province adjacent to India due to the Pak army military measures there. It is essential we offer PL 480 food shipments to India for refugees, and these supplies could possibly spill over the border.

11. If an aid Congressman wants more particular information on legislation or the Pakistan situation which you are unable to provide, let us know both verbally and on the questionnaire so that appropriate follow-up can be expedited. If at all possible obtain the information yourself and see that it reaches the person who asked for it.

12. Please send us copies of any material you feel is useful in responding to the concerns of Hill offices.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশকে সমর্থনদানের কারণ ব্যাখ্যা : বাংলাদেশ ইনফরমেশন সেন্টার কর্তৃক প্রকাশিত প্রতিবেদন।	বাংলাদেশ ইনফরমেশন সেন্টার	সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SEVEN REASONS FOR SUPPORTING BANGLADESH

The gruesome terrorism which the West Pakistani Army has been practising against the mass of the East Pakistan population since March is now fairly well known.

According to the U. N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the number of those who have fled East Pakistan for India has reached nine million. Whether we believe the number of Bengalis killed so far to be 50,000 or 2 million, the holocaust is of a scale which calls for comparisons with Vietnam and with the Indonesian massacres of 1965-66.

Public figures here and abroad have condemned the West Pakistanis, many have demanded that they exercise restraint henceforth, and some that they should create conditions which would make it possible for the refugees to return. The World Bank team which visited East Pakistan in early June reported that the situation there would not return to normal "until there is a drastic reduction in the visibility and preferably even the presence" of the West Pakistan Army. But the case for an independent state of Bangladesh has hardly been considered.

As I See it, there are *seven* major reasons why the cause of an independent Bangladesh deserves support.

Firstly and of central importance is that continuing attempts to suppress the Bangladesh movement are likely to be as futile as they are bloody. The men who lead this movement were shown to have overwhelming support in East Pakistan last December when the Awami League obtained 160 of the area's 162 seats in a free and fully contested election. And the attempt to break the back of the movement by what was hopefully intended as a short sharp crackdown has signally failed, with the Bengali units in the armed forces mutinying almost to a man Since then Yahya Khan has repeatedly invited elected M. P's of the banned Awami League to associate themselves with his regime by agreeing to take up their seats in the Pakistan Parliament, but only 22 of the 160 have accepted his offer.

The reports of the few independent observers who have been allowed into East Bengal in the last few months agree that the military rulers of the area are continuing to find it necessary to act with the greatest harshness. In the words of Sydney Schanberg of the New York Times, who was in East Pakistan at the end of last month, they are trying to make their occupation stick "in spite of the region's crippled economy, the collapse of the Government administration, intensifying guerilla activity by Bengali separatists, mounting Army casualties and an alienated sullen

population." In these circumstances assurances by the Pakistani military authorities that they are seeking ways of making it possible for the refugees to return to East Bengal can only be regarded as either wishful thinking or windowdressing of the most hypocritical kind. (See the New York Times, September 23, 1971)

Secondly, the cause of an independent state in East Bengal makes good historical sense. The circumstances which led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947— essentially the widespread fear in the Muslim communities of British India that they would suffer discrimination and persecution in a Hindu-dominated independent India— did not necessarily point to the establishment of a single Muslim state. The famous Lahore Resolution of 1940, in which the All-India Muslim League committed itself to the idea that the sub-continent should undergo partition, did not in fact call for a single state of Pakistan, demanding rather that the "North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States'. But the Muslim League's leaders, mainly Westerners, were able to use the intensity of anti-Hindu feeling which Prevailed in East Bengal in the following years to win the adherence of some crucial Bengalis for the idea of a single Muslim state, and it was to this demand that Britain finally acceded in 1947.

There were, however, vast contrasts in historical experience and cultural disposition between the two halves of the new country, the one half oriented to the Middle East, the other throughly Indic in basic culture and finding its inspiration as much in the Hindu Bengali poet Tagore as in the writings of the great muslims. The power of Islam to create a sense of common identity between them waned quickly once Pakistan had actually come into being, and it was not long before many Eastern leaders realized that they had been led into a tragic mistake.

The dominance of Westerners in the newly formed Pakistan Army, combined with the shortage of senior administrators in East Bengal (this latter mainly a product of the partition time emigration of Hindus) combined to make it possible for West pakistanis to assume a role of political dominance in the Eastern province soon after independence, and this situation remained essentially unchanged until early this year. Not only have central governments been dominated by Westerners since 1947, but the same has been true in large measure of the higher civil service in East Bengal and this despite the fact that there are 75 million people in the Eastern region and only 58 million in the Western.

One consequence has been a massive shift in the economic balance between the two halves. Foreign exchange from East Pakistan's raw materials exports, especially jute, has been used to buy capital goods and consumer items for the West, and the West has received almost 70% of Pakistan's overseas aid. Largely as a result of this, economic growth has been more rapid in West Pakistan, and East Bengal's sense of cultural distinctness and political subordinacy has been compounded by a sharp sense of economic grievance.

Thirdly, an independent Bangladesh state would meet most tests of viability. It would certainly need international aid in generous quantities to repair the terrible devastation of the last several months. But in the long run it would be able to meet a large part of its import requirements from the foreign

exchange earned by its jute and tea exports. It would benefit markedly from expansion of its trade with India, trade which would be on terms more favourable than those which have prevailed between East and West Pakistan. And it would draw considerable strength from its cultural homogeneity.

A fourth argument for an independent Bangladesh is that in East Pakistan, unlike almost every other area claimed by a secessionist movement, a break could easily be "clean." Because the Eastern and Western parts of today's Pakistan are separated by more than 1,000 miles, there would be no doubt about where the lines of a new partition would run. This is in sharp contrast to the situation po sed by the break away movement of Biafra.

Fifthly, the success of secessionism in East Pakistan would not be internationally disruptive. It would indeed be the first major case in any of the new states which have emerged from colonial rule since World War II where a secessionist movement has succeeded in changing territorial boundaries. But the likelihood that this would activate currently dormant secessionism elsewhere is not great— again in contrast with the case of Biafra. This is partly because political boundaries correspond better to ethnic and cultural configurations in Asia than in Africa. And it is also because the Bangladesh movement is unique among would-be breakaway movements in newly independent states in speaking for an area which is situated far away from its metropolitan "mother country." It is indeed an anti-colonial movement in every major sense (except is not being directed against a European power.)

Sixthly, the destabilizing consequences for India would be far smaller than if Bangladesh remains a guerilla cause. The successful establishment of a sovereign Bangladesh would certainly lead some groups of West Bengalis to hope that their province would one day merge with Bangladesh to form a greater Bengal state. But the great political heterogeneity of West Bengal and the important rules which millions of West Bengalis play in the economic, social and political life of other provinces of India make it unlikely that West Bengali pressures for secession from India would ever be very powerful.

In Bangladesh itself, there is no indication of any political move for a greater Bengal. The origins of East Bengali nationalism have their roots in the resistance to Calcutta's hegemoney over Bengal and there is no basis for believing that the 75 million people of Bangladesh who have sacrificed so many lives to establish their national identity would wish to merge it with West Bengal inspite of the universal urge for closer cultural and economic ties. It should indeed be noted that Bangladesh is one of the few countries whose nationalism is territorially defined in its national flag.

Conversely, the present situation is a major threat to the stability of India. The refugees are not only a heavy burden on India's economic resources. They are also a source of acute social and political tensions, locally and nationally. And it is quite fanciful to suggest that even a significant minority of them will return to their East Bengal homes while the Pakistan Army is there. So long as Indian nationalist passions are inflamed by Pakistani oppression of Bengalis (and the singling out of Hindus as special targets of persecution) it is most unlikely that Mrs. Gandhi's government will be able to concentrate on the domestic programs for which its recent electoral victory was achieved.

Finally, West Pakistan itself would certainly be better off once it had divested itself of the burden of the rebellious East— despite the economic advan-

tages which it has derived from its overlordship there. This is not only because it would not have to bear the costs of a long-sustained military operation against the Bangladesh nationalists but also because it would be markedly easier to maintain stability in the new rump state than in Pakistan as it has been constituted to date.

It is true that any settlement in which Bangladesh independence was conceded would leave Pakistan weakened *vis a vis* India. But this would not threaten the rump state's survival, for which it could safely rely on the strength of its armed forces. And Pakistan can surely afford some weakening in its position *vis a vis* India at the present time. The announcement of President Nixon's visit to Peking has after all given it windfall advantages in that relationship.

Options For The World

There is in fact no real alternative to Bangladesh. It is surely a fate akin to that of vietnam, an ultimately impossible attempt to maintain rule by naked violence in a country where hardly one political leader of stature will compromise himself by association with the governing power. Will it take five or ten years of terrorism from above and below, with great powers fishing in troubled waters, before the attempt is abandoned? Such senseless violence is surely avoidable if the outside world is prepared to press Yahya hard now.

International pressure could well be effective in forcing the Yahya government to a complete withdrawal from the East. With the East Bengal economy in ruins, and huge resources required for the military campaign, the Islamabad government is in desperate need of economic support from the outside world. If such support is consistently refused Islamabad may well agree to abandon the Eastern area.

Islamabad's initial responses to western pressure of this kind are likely to be extremely hostile, involving more threats of pakistan's moving into closer alliance with China. But the aid which China can give, over and above what it is currently providing, is very limited. As for concern lest western humiliation of the Yahya government should expand the Chinese sphere of influence, it is surely likely that Peking would draw greater benefit from a long war between the west pakistan government and the Bangladesh guerillas, inasmuch as this could lead to the Bangladesh cause becoming much more radicalised. In any case the social character of the Yahya regime sets limits to the extent to which Peking will support West pakistan. It is unlikely that they will over-commit themselves to a regime dominated by generals, landlords, bureaucrats and plutocrats when the potential for influence is so much more attractive in the East.

The Islamabad government could be made to cut its losses, possibly quite soon, if the pressure of world opinion is persistent and if it is radically skeptical of Yahya's windowdressing arrangements.

West pakistani leaders have known for a long time that their rule is hated in the East. The idea that it might be sensible to allow the unappreciative Bengalis to go their own way is by no means a new one.

And there are of course precedents. The Dutch gave up their control of Indonesia in 1949 in roughly similar circumstances. In December 1948 they had made a desperate attempt to strike a knockout blow against the Indonesian Republic. By the following March it was clear that they had failed to break the Indonesian nationalists' spirit and the U. N. then insisted that they disengage completely rather than fight a long war against determined guerillas. Ten years later France withdrew from Algeria when it became clear that its military might would never prevail against Algerian nationalism. It did so despite the fact that a million of its citizens lived there and despite the long-proclaimed contention that Algeria was part of France. And it is not difficult to see analogies with the way in which the U. S. is being forced to swallow its pride in Indo-China today.

International pressure could be effective in moving the Yahya Khan government, particularly if it is pressure for the actual relinquishment of the Eastern area. But let it be stressed that it is not enough for outside powers to advise the West pakistan authorities to move towards the restoration of democracy and civilian government in the East. That may well lead simply to more windowdressing there.

The hard fact is that, for a government whose hold on power is as tenuous as that of Islamabad in post-March 1971 East Bengal, the only alternatives are more of the massive repression being perpetrated today and complete disengagement.

Bangladesh Information Center
418, Seward Square, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003
(202) 547—3194.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
হোয়াইট হাউসের সামনে পূর্ব বাংলায় পাকিস্তানী সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে আয়োজিত বিক্ষোভে অংশ গ্রহণের আহ্বান।	বাংলাদেশ ইনফরমেশন সেন্টার	৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH INFORMATION CENTER
418 SEWARD SQUARE
WASH., D. C. 20003
TELE. 547—3194

Protest Against Pakistani Campaign of Terror in East Bengal

Thursday, October 7, 1971

A refugee camp similar to tne ones in India—where nine million Bengali refugees are now subsisting—will be set up in Washington, D. C. from October 14—24 to bring home to the American Public the plight of the people of Bengal.

A core group of Bengali and American sympathizers will live in the camp (which will be constructed out of drainage pipes) and will eat a subsistance rice died.

Every weekday during the ten-day period delegates will be sent from the camp site to the east gate of the white House where they will ask to speak to the president.

A large rally and march from the drange pipe location to the Pakistan embassy is planned for Saturday, october 16 to protest the Pakistan government's of channelling of U. S. aid funds into the military occupation of East Bengal.

A religious memorial service, led by notable bishops, rabbis and priests will be held on Sunday, October 17th. The following day a group will march to the Senate office buildings and will appeal to their lagislators to support the pending amendment to the Foreign Asistance act which would cut off all aid to Pakistan.

All who are outraged by the Pakistan government's premeditated campaign of extermination and the use of U. S. arms and aid in the current struggle are invited to participate.

The philadelphia Friends of East Bengal is currently negotiating with the national parks police for use of the southern edge of lafayette park facing the white House as the site of the camp.

We cannot allow the U. S. government to continue shipping arms and aid to the ruthless military junta in pakistan. The mistaks of Vietnam will be repeated on a much larger scale if we do not act immediately. We need your help.

For more information contact: Dick Taylor, Bangladesh Information Center.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব বাংলায় "ফ্যাসিস্ট সামরিক শাসকের" অধীনে কাজ করতে বিশ্বব্যাংক স্থপতির অসহযোগ ঘোষণা।	বাংলাদেশ নিউজ লেটার	২৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

WORLD BANK ARCHITECT REFUSES TO WORK FOR PAKISTANI REGIME

Stanley Tigerman, 40, a Chicago architect assigned by the World Bank to work on its projects in East Bengal declared on Sept. 28 that he could no longer work under "fasc'st military rulars" of Pakistan. Full text of the architect's statement at a press confernce is given below :

I am an architect. I am not a political person.

Five years ago, in 1966, the Government of pakistan in coperation with the world Bank commissioned me to design five polytechnic institutes at Barisal, Bógra, Pabna, Rangpur and Sylhet in what was then East Pakistan. In order to rationally establish design criteria (which was not avaiable at that time) my firm developed an extensive master plan organising data on climatology, sociology, meterrology, seismology. Natural resources, construction methods, building codes and standards, labor and material rates, etc. Thus I came to know the country very well. Over this five years, in conjuncttion with my work, I made sixteen trips to Dacca and other parts of the country, developing many lasting friendships with the people of the country.

As of March, 1971 all five projects were substentially under construction. The events of march 25th and subsequent to that time caused me to have personal doubts as to my continued involvement with the work. I conveyed these doubts to the World Bank. However, I wished to witness, first hand, the conditions to properly assess whether or not I cold countinue. Since I felt it necessary, I went to Dacca Sept. 18th and spent one week reviewing the conditions and attendant problems to the Develoment of the polytechnics. Dacca is not the same city I knew it to be. There is a level of fear that makes it difficult to discuss even the most mundone technical problems. The martial Law authoities have created an atmosphere through threats searches and check points, that, in combination with the presence everywhere of police and the army, is tentamount to a "police state."

The polytechnic projects are very dear to me. Nonetheless, it seems to me that some level of moral judgment must be exercised with respect to offering my professional services to a government that forces people to work by threatening them that they will be an enemy of the government, with its attendant implications, if they do not work. This is not my idea of "normalcy."

I have, this day, cabled the goverment of Pakistan and the world Bank that, under the terms of my contract, I am exercising the termination clause therein. I do not wish, nor have I the right to ask people to supervise and engage in the construction of building I am responsible for and risk there physical well being, indeed their very lives in the process.

I have no intention of working for a military goverment with its attached Implications. Moreover, I will never again travel to East Pakistan. Lastly, When the country is free and self-determing I would wish to visit and hopefully work in Bangladesh for I have come to love these people and their country very much.

I am an architect. I am also a human being

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাইপের শহরে দশদিন।	বাংলাদেশ নিউজ লেটার	২৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

TEN DAYS IN PIPE-CITY

Lafayette Park in Washington D. C. has got an opportunity to experience a mock-up of the greatest misery of our century. A miniature refugee city has sprung up in the Park to cffer the citizens of Washington a closer view of the refugee camps in India. Organized by the Philadelphia Friends of East Bengal and supported by a number of Bangladesh groups in the region, a series of drain-pipe shelters have been set up for a period of ten days beginning form Oct. 14. This dramatization of the refugee situation has attracted the attention of public and the press in Washington. Scores of volunteers form New York, Philadephia, Baltimore and Boston have arrived in Washington to join the participants in this ten-day program.

The program includes a March to the Pakistan Embassy on Saturday (Oct. 16.), a religious memorial service on Sunday and a mass lobbying in the Senate on monday.

This ten-day "refugee camp" is run by "camp director" Dick Taylor who organized the "naval blockade" of the arms carrying Pakistani ship PADMA. Dick Taylor is assisted by David Hartsough and bill Moyer.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের জন্য অর্থ সংগ্রহের ওপর একটি প্রতিবেদন।	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান ইমার্জেন্সী রিফিউজী ফাণ্ড	১ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

November 1, 1971

East Pakistan Emergency Refugee Fund
3308 S. Cedar Street — Suite 12 B
Lansing, Michigan 48910
(517) 393-7666
Person to contact : Mr. Kamlesh Parekh

Progress on National Fund raising Drive for Pakistani Refugees Announced

The East Pakistan Emergency Refugee Fund is making progress towards raising substantial sums in private donations to aid the more than nine million East Pakistani refugees, it was announced here today by Mr. Shrikumar Poddar, Chairman of the organization.

Every major relief agency aiding the homeless in India and East Pakistan has been invited to join the effort. Three major groups — CARE, UNICEF, and International Rescue Committee — have already named their representatives to the planned National Advisory Board of one hundred members.

Funds will be distributed through these internationally recognized organizations in addition to such other agencies as American Red Cross, Church world Service, Catholic Relief Services, and the Prime Minister's (Indira Gandhi's) Relief Fund.

Other sponsors of the new group include :

1. Hon. Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India
2. Rep. Drinan, Massachusutts
3. Rev. Homer Jack, World Conference of Religion for Peace
4. Mr. Henry Niles, Chairman, Baltimore Life Insurance Company
5. Mr. William Plymat, Chairman, Preferred Risk Insurance Company of Des Moines, Iowa
6. Mr. Morris Dees, a Montgomery, Alabama attorney
7. Mr. Maxwell Dane of Doyle Dane Bernbach, a New York advertising agency
8. Mr. Thomas Collins of Rapp & Collins, a New York direct response advertising agency
9. Prof. Noam Chomsky of MIT University

Over $300,000 has poured into a bank account in Washington in response to a mailing to individuals across the country. Money is still coming in at the rate of several thousand dollars each day.

Individuals and groups wishing to make a contribution should send it directly to the Fund's bank. Checks should be made payable to the

East Pakistan Emergency Refugee Fund, Post Office Box 1776, Washington D. C. 20013.

New direct mail appeals are being sent to schools and higher education officials, organization leaders, charitable and civic groups, as well as individuals asking them to lead the fund raising drive in their communities. But what can we do that will achieve this goal when the best brains in the world have not been able to figure out a solution ?

Our approach to this problem is public education in the United States which will be a by-product of our campaign to reach 10 million Americans who will make the commitment of saving one refugee child or mother or father, which is the least we can do to keep Bengali people alive and in the process learn something more about the Bengali people, thir culture and their land.

In addition to this campaign, we are considering endorsing the idea of a national fast every Wednesday sponsored by project Relief and Oxfam America, which is becoming popular on college campuses and high schools.

There is no reason why American families, everywhere could not fast every Wednesday and donate $1 each week which will feed up to 10 Bengali refugees.

Imagine if 200 million Americans were to give up just one meal once we could feed 10 million refugees for 200 days or 6 months.

The personal involvement of the idea of the fast is so very important that if we can get only a million people to participate, its effect in terms of public education can for outweight any other public project.

With just the above two concepts, we can advance the goal of immediately ending the agony of 75 million people of Bangladesh and thus truly launch the greatest rescue operation in human history.

Therefore, I am asking your own personal commitment for both the sacrifice of $10 a month for at least the next 6 months and fasting every week for just one meal on Wednesday for the beautiful people of Bangladesh, some of whom we have had the privilege of knowing personally.

I hope you will drop me a note to let me know of your decision.

Cordially yours,
Shrikumar Poddar, Chairman
East Pakistan Emergency Refugee Fund

SP : km

P. S. You may give your contribution to any relief organization you think meets your personal requirements for reaching the people it is intended for.

This organization does not have any field operations in India or in Bangladesh, but channels funds through internationally recognized relief organizations mentioned in our news release or Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Relief Fund, which has been the largest recipient of our funds ($100,000)

The Finance Committee announced its first cash grants of $100,000 allocated as follows:

1. $20,000 to UNICEF
2. $20,000 to CARE, Inc.
3. $20,000 to International Rescue Committee
4. $10,000 to American Red Cross
5. $10,000 to Church World Service
6. $10,000 to Catholic Relief Services
7. $10,000 to Prime Minister's Relief Fund

An outstanding New York advertising agency, Doyle Dane Bernbach, has prepared a public service campaign for radio, television, newspapers and magazines.

The campaign is being presented to network and magazine representatives across the country. The organization is asking for sustained coverage over a thirteen week period on all media.

Refugees continue to pour into India at the rate of 30,000 each day. Unless relief is provided for them on a massive scale, hundreds of thousands will die of starvation and disease.

·or only 33c a day, it is possible to pick up one Bengali child, give ..imfood and cholera vaccine, carry him to high ground and assure his survival.

This amounts to only $10 a month for the next six months.

During this period, it is expected that a peaceful solution will be reached which allows the refugees to return in safety to their homeland.

"We want to develop a people-to-people campaign." Mr. Poddar stated. "If we can find at least one American family to make a commitment to care for just one Bengali baby, or child, or mother, or father, it will be the greatest rescue operation in human history."

Concerned citizens should organize fund raising efforts in their local areas. They can begin by calling a meeting of prominent church, civic, and educational groups to form the leadership for a community-wide drive. Individuals should contact their local media to request free time and space for the national media campaign.

The national headquarters in Lansing can furnish individuals and groups with the names of key supporters in their area, as well as professionally prepared materials to assist local fundraising efforts.

Important Information

Q. Is the contribution tax-deductible ?

A. Yes. Save your cancelled check as your receipt.

Q. Who determines the allocation of funds ?

A. A Finance Committee consisting of Mr. Bowles, Rep. Drinan, Rev. Jack, Mr. Plymat, and Mr. Poddar allocates funds according to need and capability of use.

Q. What are the administrative expenses and cost of raising funds ?

A. Administrative overhead is less than 2% of Funds raised. The national headquarters in Lansing is staffed largely by volunteers and the total cost of raising funds is kept under 10%.

Q. Will certified financial statements be made available ?

A. Yes. Any contributor of $25 or over can request a copy of a certified financial statement.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের অভ্যন্তরে গৃহীত চলচ্চিত্রের উপর একটি প্রতিবেদন।	এন-বি-সি নিউজ	৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

NBC NEWS

[Press Department/National Broadcasting Company/30 Rockefeller Plaza/ New York, N. Y. 10020/**Broadcastings Largest News Organization**]

November 8, 1971

Comprehensive Film Report On Man-Made Disaster In East Pakistan Will Be Presented By NBC News' "Chronolog" Nov. 26

The first comprehensive film report on just what is going on in East Pakistan —and why—will be presented by NBC News' "Chronolog" **Friday, Nov. 26** (8-30—10-30 p.m. NYT, in color) on the NBC Television Network.

Bob Rogers, who produced the report, spent nearly two months in India and Pakistan filming the story.

"What began as a political crisis in East Pakistan last March has escalated into a major human tragedy," Mr. Rogers said. "East Pakistan has historically been the scene of natural disasters—floods, cyclones and famine. This time the disaster is strictly man-made and it is likely to surpass all of nature's efforts in the magnitude of death, distruction and human suffering."

Mr. Rogers filmed the refugee camps in India, where more than nine million Bengali citizens of East Pakian are reported to have fled from the Pakistani army, which is made up mostly of West Pakistanis.

"We also slipped across the border and accompanied a column of several hundred refugees on their risky flight to India, "Mr. Rogers said. "By boat and foot, we made another clandestine entry into East Pakistan and obtained an exclusive film report on the Mukti Fauj, the guerrilla army of the Bengali independence movement. We spent four days with a battalion-sized guerrilla force which is controlling a large area of East Pakistan, despite the efforts of the West Pakistani army to drive them out.

On a separate trip to East Pakistan, Mr. Rogers and his film crew covered the efforts of the West Pakistani army to "restore normality" in the country, visiting troop installations and accompanying troops in the field "Despite the denials of atrocities by the army, we also managed to film Bengali villages that had been freshly destroyed by the army," he said.

The report also traces the events which led to the present tragedy.

"In ten years of covering the violent side of international affairs, "Mr. Rogers said, "this is the most gruesome situation I have encountered. And the saddest part is the world seems to be just sitting back and letting it happen.

Bob Rogers has produced a succession of highly-acclaimed reports' for "First Tuesday" (now "Chronolog"), including stories on the Israeli Air Force, the Soviet buildup of Egyptian air defenses, the international weapons trade, and Castro's Cuba.

Additional stories will be announced for the Nov. 26 edition of "Chronology." NBC News correspondent Garrick Utley is the program's anchorman Eliot Frankel is the executive producer.

NBC—New York, 11-8-71

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানে সাহায্য বন্ধের জন্য প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সনের কাছে আমেরিকার বুদ্ধিজীবী মহলের আবেদন।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

AMERICAN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY'S APPEAL TO PRESIDENT NIXON TO WITHDRAW U. S. SUPPORT FROM PAKISTAN

November 12, 1971

Following is the appeal from hundreds of members of the American academic community in more than twenty Universities across the country :

Singers included Nobel Prize winners Paul Samuelson and Salvador Luria of M.I.T. and Simon Kuznetz of Harvard; major academic specialists Gabriel Al mond (Stanford), James Tobin (Yale), Talcott Parsons, Wassily Leontief, Daniel Bell, Seymour Lipset (Harvard), George Rathjens, Franco Modigliani and Robert Solow (M.I.T.); prominent Asian specialist Henry Rosovsky, Jahn Montgomery, Benjamin Schwartz (Harvard), Lucian Pye, Myron Weiner, Harold Isaacs, Paul Rosenstein Rodan (M.I.T.), Alex Inkeles, John W. Lewis, Robert C. North (Stanford), Richard L. Park (Michigan), David Mandelbaum, Leo Rose, Gerald Berreman, Ralph Retzlaff (Berkeley), and others.

To President Richard M. Nixon, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and Members of the Congress of the United States :

The civil war in Pakistan and the threat of War between India and Pakistan impose a heavy responsibility on the United States. Last March, the Pakistani army began a massive attack on the population of East Bengal which only a few months earlier had overwhelmingly supported a political party favouring regional autonomy within Pakistan. Some 300,000 Bengalis have been killed. Some nine million East Bengali refugees have been forced to flee across the borders into India. The refugee flow continues at the rate of about 30,000 a day. It lays an impossible burden on India which cannot afford to feed, clothe, and keep such a huge influx ofhelpless people. The Indian government has shown the utmost restraint in its effort to deal with this crisis thrust upon it by West Pakistan's attack on Ea t Pakistan. It is West Pakistan which now threatens the peace of South Asia and war in South Asia threatens to involve not only India and Pakistan, but China, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The United States is a military ally of Pakistan and the United States has followed a policy of supporting the military-led government of Pakistan. We continue to provide economic assistance to Pakistan. Despite an announced embargo, we continue to supply military aid. This policy has been justified by the argument that only in this way could we influence Pakistan and restore peace. But this policy has served only to alienate India and the people of Bangladesh and it has not succeeded in inducing the Pakistan Government to cease its campaign of terror and to seek a political settlement. This policy places the United States on the side of a government which is deliberately flouting the results of a national election, denying East Bengal the most elementary rights of self-determination, and committing wanton massacres against an unarmed people. Nor can U.S. policy be justified on the grounds of hard national interests. It is utter folly to support an authoritarian military regime in a brutal and bitter struggle against the majority of its own people, a struggle it cannot win. Every consideration of

justice, humanity, and national interest plainly calls in this case for another application of the demonstrated capacity of the United States Government to be flexible in the making of radical shifts in policy.

We propose that the United States Government :

1. Inform the Pakistan Government that the United States will not provide military or economic assistance, will not continue aid currently in the pipeline, nor postpone debt repayment, until there is a political settlement with the elected Awami League leadership of East Bengal.

2. Transfer such aid as would have been given to Pakistan to East Bengal refugees now in India until such time as the refugees are able to return to East Bengal and significantly increase aid to India to provide for the cost of refugee relief.

3. Provide economic assistance to the people of East Bengal under the auspices of the United Nations.

4. Inform Pakistan that in the event of a war with India, Pakistan should not assume that the United States would necessarily suspend assistance to India as we did in the 1965 war.

5. Indicate to concerned Muslim-majority states, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, Iran and Turkey that we would welcome any effort on their part to encourage the Pakistan Government to negotiate a political settlement with Awami League leadership of East Bengal.

Both our political self-interest and our moral concern should lead us to deny support to the military-led Government of Pakistan, demonstrate our appreciation of the Bengali claim, and assist India on a far larger scale than we have thus far to handle the refugee burden. The United States is now engaged in an historic process of re-arranging our relations with China. Conditions also demand that we re-examine and revise our current policies in South Asia where an immediate threat to peace now confronts us.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শরণার্থীদের জন্য অর্থ সংগ্রহের উপর আরেকটি প্রতিবেদন।	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান ইমার্জেন্সী রিফিউজী ফান্ড	২৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

EAST PAKISTAN EMERGENCY REFUGEE FUND

SOUTH POINTE PLAZA, LANSING, MICHIGAN

November 23, 1971

You are invited to attend

Urgent Strategy Session of National People-To-People Campaign

Almost 4,000 children, mostly babies, died today in refugee camps in India. (Source: Senator Kennedy's Speech, November, 4th).

Less than $30 million of actual aid has reached India from all the nations of the world out of a total of $ 135 million pledged according to Mrs. Gandhi's speech in Brussels on October, 26th. India has already spent an estimated $ 350 million and will have to spend an additional $ 500 million by next March.

It is questionable if the Malnutritioned aud exhausted children of Bengal will survive while the House Ok's the Senate's $ 250 million refugee relief bill and the administration decides to send cash to Relieve the Bengali lives in Time.

While we must seek for substantial and immediate release of the above funds for aiding the refugees in India and uncontested area of Bangladesh, we cannot look the other way while millions of our fellow human Family members are in such anguish and dying a slow death.

Therefore your participation in this nation-wide peole-to-people campaign strategy session is vital if we are to avert a major disaster of catastrophic Proportion.

Bengalis have already paid far too great a price in first the worst cyclone of the century last year and then the man-made disaster which superseded it in its toll of over one million innocent lives.

People-to-People campaign is being launched with the co-operation of several Groups and thousands of invdividuals in America with the sole objective of helping to end the terrible agony of the people of Bangladesh.

We want to call an urgent meeting with all the active individuals and organizations to discuss our national strategy and launch this campaign.

The goal of this campaign is to find 10 million Americans who will agree to give 33c/day for the next six months or $ 10/Month for six months.

Imagine if we could only find 5% of the total U. S. population of over 200 million to "Adopt" one refugee child, mother or father and make the commitment to save just one life. We could launch the greatest rescue operation in human history.

"For five bucks you can Disprove the Myth that Americans don't care if Asians life or Die."

We do not underestimate the sacrifice this will mean for many families, but we feel that at least 5% of the people will respond to this campaign.

Families, church groups, students in colleges and high schools can fast every Wednesday (or any other day) and donate their lunch money for **"Wednesday's People"**—The people of Bangladesh.

This campaign translates the enormous human tragedy (with which most people can sympathize but do not feel they can do much because it is so massive) to the level where an average person can do something. He can identify with one child.

The idea of a fast gets the individual involved in a personal way and in the process he can enrich himself by learning something about Bengali culture and life.

You can play an important and crucial role in this campaign at the local and national level.

The steering committee of the national People-to-People campaign would like to discuss with you the strategy of spreading this idea all across the country and seek your guidance, assistance and co-operation.

The enclosed agenda gives you an idea of what ideas you can come up with and what you may find useful for your local community effort.

We expect to have literature, slides, movies, posters, Bangladesh christmas cards, books, etc., available in quantity. But please bring along any materials that you may have.

Please confirm your attendance no later than Wednesday, December 1st.

—E. P. Emergency Refugee Fund

Other sponsoring organizations :

Bewa, Project Relief, BDL, Oxfam, BIC.

Directions for coming to lansing :

From Detroit Metro Airport.—By car 1 hour and 15 minutes. Take E. Lansing, Mich. State Univ., Trowbridge Rd. Exit. Turn left at first light. Turn left into shopping center and go right to church parking lot in back.

Also try Commuter airlines Air Michigan and Trans Michigan from Chicago and Detroit.

AGENDA

Friday, December 3rd

9 A.M.—12 A.M.	**Registration**	
12 A.M.—1 P.M.	**Luncheon :**	Welcome Speech, Report on Current Situation.

1 : 30—3 : 30 P.M. **Group Discussion : Topics to be covered.**

1. U. N.'s role
2. Relief effort
3. War
4. Will refugees go back ?
5. U.S. Policy
6. Famine in B.D.
7. Future of B.D. and Mukti Bahini

4– 5 P.M. **Reports of Group Discussion :** Summary of Activity in U.S.

7– 9 P.M. **Strategy of people-to-people campaign and Wednesday's Fast :**

S. Poddar—Chm. of E.P.E.R.F.

Sheila Doam and Ron Inden—National Fast Committee

Discussion, Question—Answers.

Saturday, December 4th

9—10 A.M. **Implementation of national campaign & specific projects**

10 : 30 –12 : 30 P M. Workshops : **Media, Youth, Public Education, Lobbying, Fund-raising techniques.**

1 : 30—3 : 00 P.M. **Workshop reports and Discussions**

3 : 00– 5 : 00 P.M. **Assignment of Responsibility : Time table, Coordination of National campaign**

7 : 30—9 : 30 P.M. **Bangladesh Night :** Cultural entertainment program.

Sunday, December 5th

10 A.M.—12 P.M. **Open session**

Some of the Invitees Are as Follows :

Senator Edward Kennedy

Mr. V. K. Ahuja, Consul General of India, N. Y.

Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, Minister of Political Affairs, Indian **Embassy**

Mr. M. S. Siddiqui, Bangladesh's Ambassador to the U. S.

Mr. Chester Bowles, Former Ambassador to India

Honorable Robert Dirinan, U. S. Congressman-Mass.

Dr. Homer Jack, World Conference of Religion for Peace

Mr. William Plymat, Chairman, Preferred Risk Life Insurance Co.

Mr. George Wald, Nobel Prize Winner, Harvard Univertsity

Mr. Henri Niles, Chairman, Baltimore Life Insurance Co.

Mr. Thomas Collins, Executive Vice President, Rapp & Collins

Mr. Maxwell Dane, President, Doyle, Dane & Bernbach

Mr. Robert Rees, Doyle, Dane & Bernbach

Mr. Eqbal Ahmed

Mr. Kenneth Smith, Legal Advisor, East Pakistan Emergency Refugee Fund, Inc.

Mr. Stanley Burke, OXFAM-Canada

Mr. Robert Fink, OXFAM-America

Miss Shiela Dahm, Project Relief

Mr. Richard Fernandez, Clergy & Laymen Concerned abut Vietnam

Dr. W. B. Greenough, Dr. Lincoln Chen, & Mr. David Weisbraod, Bangladesh Information Center

Mr. Ron Inden, Bangladesh Emergency Welfare Appeal

Mr. Richard Weiner, Richard Weiner, Inc.

Rev. W. J. Day, Chairman, Lansing Area Emergency Refugee Fund

Mr. Islam Tarafdar, Bangladesh Emergency Welfare Appeal

Mr. Tinoo Puri

Mr. Subrata Ghosh

Mr. Hacque

Mr. Shamsul Bari, Bangladesh Defense League

UNICEF

CARE

American Red Cross

International Rescue Committee

Catholic Relief Service

Church World Service

Americans for Children's Relief

Save the Children Federation Emergency Fund

Place : United Ministry on Higher Education

1118 S, Harrison Rd., East Lansing, Mich. 48823

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে কবিতা পাঠের আসর।	বাংলাদেশ নিউজ লেটার	১০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

POETRY READING BY GINSBERG, ANDREI VOZNESENSKY

New York: For the first time, Allen Ginsberg and Andrei Voznesensky, the distinguished Russian poet, will give a poetry reading together. The reading to be held on Saturday, November 20th, at 7 p. m., at St. George's Church, 207 E. 16th Street, is intended to raise the public level of consciousness about the problem of Bangladesh and what the American people can do to alleviate it.

To quote Mr. Ginsberg, who has recently returned from a tour of the refugee camps in India:

Millions of brothers in woe,
Millions of sisters no where to go,
Millions of children in the rain.,
Millions of mothers in pain—
September flood over Jessore road.

Joining them will be Kenneth Koch, Ed Sanders, Gregory Corso, Peter Orlovsky, Anne Waldman, Michael Brownstein, Dick Gallup, and Ron Padgett.

The reading is sponsored by Americans for Bangladesh, a group of concerned citizens working to educate the public about Bangladesh and to raise relief funds for Bangladesh.

POETRY READING IN ENGLAND

Glenda Jackson, the actress, read a Bengali poem as well as passages from Shakespeare and Yeats at a Sadlers wells Theatre concert on Nov 14, 71 to raise funds for refugees from Bangladesh. Bengali artists included well known folk singers and Birender Shankar, nephew of Ravi Shankar, the celebrated sitar player.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ডঃ হেনরী কিসিঞ্জারের বক্তব্যের উপর একটি প্রতিবেদন।	বাংলাদেশ ইনফরমেশন সেন্টার	১৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH INFORMATION CENTER

423-5th Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. 202—547-3873

Washington, December 13, 1971—The Bangladesh Information Center, representing a group of Americans concerned about the crisis in South Asia, issued the following statement in response to Dr. Henry Kissinger's December 7th white House press briefing, (The entire tex of Dr. Kissinger's briefing was placed in the December 9th Congressional Record by Senator Barry Goldwater.)

Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger at a December 7th press briefing presented for the first time the White House version of the role played by the United States in the South Asia crisis.

The Kissinger statement came in the wake of two previous State Department announcements charging that India "bears the major responsibility" and is the "main aggressor" in the current conflict on the Indian subcontinent. It demonstrates the Nixon Administration's refusal to perceive the flight of 10 million refugees and the Pakistan Army massacre of a reported 1 million civilians inside East Bengal as the root causes of the war.

In pointing to seven "accomplishments" which he claims the U. S. involvement helped bring about, Kissinger displays not only a shocking misunderstanding of the facts of the crisis but reveals the shortsighted bias of the United States' diplomatic effort on the subcontinent.

Kissinger claimed that U.S. involvement helped achieve the following results :

KISSINGER CLAIM : All of the relief supplies in East Pakistan were distributed through international agencies.

REALITY : As of the middle of November and less than one week before its entire force was withdrawn from East Pakistan, the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO) had not yet even started any actual distribution of relief supplies, according to a press release issued by the U. N. on November 19th.

Most of the aid contributed by the United States was in the form of PL 480 food grains Sold to the Government of Pakistan which in turn distributed the grains mainly to those loyal to the martial law regime. (See New York Times, November 17th and 20th, Baltimore Sun, Nov. 11)

No food grains or other assistance was distributed in areas controlled by the Mukti Bahini freedom fighters.

KISSINGER CLAIM 2: The Government of Pakistan announced a time table for the return to civilian rule.

REALITY: In the new "election" scheduled for late .. a majority of seats won by the Awami Leauge in the December, election was declared invalid because the holders were charged with treason against the Government of Pakistan. John E. Woodruff of the **Baltimore Sun** reported from Gopalganj, East Pakistan on November 12, that of the 78 National Assembly seats that were to be at state "only about 20 will probably be decided in voting contests".

A coalition of six right-wing splinter groups was planning to divide among itself all of the remaining seats by uniting on the candidacy of one man in each district who would then run unopposed.

KISSINGER CLAIM 3: The Government of Pakistan agreed to replace the military governor in East Pakistan with a civilian governor.

REALITY : Tikka Khan, military governor of East Pakistan from March through September, carned the title "butcher of Baluchistan" for his ruthless suppression of popular demonstrations in the Baluchistan province of West Pakistan.

Khan was replaced in September by the Bengali civilians governor Dr. A.M. Malik but this cannot be interpreted as a softening of the Pakistani stance since the army campaign of terror did not subside and conditions within East Bengal continued to deteriorate as witnessed by the incessant flight of thousands of refugees each day from the province.

Although Dr. Malik did not have the fear-inspring reputation of his predecessor, he possessed few qualifications for holding office in a democratic society :, Dr. Malik, (a) had never hald an elected office in his life, (b) was hand-chosen by Yhya Khan, (c) was governing East Bengal under martial law and (d) was denounced by his own daughter as a traitor to this Bengali countrymen.

KISSINGER CLAIM 4: The Government of Pakistan announced a declaration of amnesty.

REALITY : In the continuing atmosphere of terror the announcement of ammnesty was an empty gesture which inspired few, if any, refugees to return and contributed noothing toward casing the tensions inside East Bengal. Pakistan Army soldiers did not cease burning villages and committing the innumerable atrocities which by now have been exhaustively documented by the world press.

KISSINGER CLAIM 5 : The Government of Pakistan was willing to talk to Bangladesh representatives "even if there might have been some dispute about who they were".

REALITY : The Government of Pakistan, despite what now seems to have been considerable U.S. prodding, at no point agreed to negotiate with any Bangladesh government representatives. Although Dr. Kissinger first notes in his brief......that the Government of Pakistan "accepted" the U.S.-suggested negotiations with Bangladesh representatives, he later qualifies that by a saying that the Government of Pakistan agreed to "talk only to those Bangladesh people who were not charged with any particular

crime". By this definition all of the Bangladesh Government leaders, including Sayed Nazrul Islam, the acting President and Tajuddinn Ahmed, the Prime Minister, would be excluded.

Later in the briefing Kissinger contradicts all of this by noting: "we did not get the agreement of the Government of Pakistan.... I am just saying what we were trying to do".

KISSINGER CLAIM 6: The Government of Pakistan allowed the U.S. to establish contact with Mujibur by talking to his defense attorney.

REALITY : Rather than a concrete accomplishment of U.S. diplomacy this point indicates a resounding failure.

After continuing to send military equipment to the Pakistan Army in order not to lose its leverage, and after strictly maintaining a posture of public silence in the face of untold barbarism, it is a commentory that United States representatives were still refused permission to confer with Mujib.

Our diplomatic efforts have therefore failed to produce even fragmentary evidence as to whether Mujib is now dead or alive.

KISSINGER CLAIM 7: The Government of Pakistan indicated that substantial political autonomy would be granted to East Pakistan.

REALITY : This claim demonstrates not only a deep misunderstanding of the crisis but an inability to appreciate how a nation will respond to the kind of butchery imposed by the Pakistan Army.

Kissinger places the blame for the breakdown of the President's negotiation scheme on the Indian government which "wanted things so rapidly that it was no longer taking about political evolution but about political collapse."

For so fine a master of real politic, it is surprising that Kissinger did not realize that the collapse of Pakistan was already sealed when the Army unleasshed its fury its own people.

Dr. Kissinger's failure to understand this in April or May can perhaps be explained as human shortcoming; his refusal to visit the refugee camps during his trip to India in June at a time when 4 million refugees had already crossed the border, demonstrates a more serious recalcitriance; but his continuing to respond in the same fashion after eight months when no signs of the abatement of Pakistan terror were forthcoming and after repeated Congressional and public warnings, is entirely inexcusable.

Up until General Yahya Khan unilaterally ended the negotiations with Mujib last March an agreement between the East and the West on the basis of autonomy could still have been reached.

But once the troops moved, once the army was released to begin its work of destruction and the genocide began, all hopes of a united Pakistan were crushed.

After March 25, there was never any doubt that independence and not autonomy was the issue.

সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন

সরকারী ও বেসরকারী দলিলপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের ভূমিকা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে সামরিক বলপ্রয়োগে সোভিয়েত প্রতিক্রিয়া : ইয়াহিয়ার কাছে সুপ্রীম সোভিয়েত সভাপতি-মণ্ডলীর সভাপতি নিকোলাই পদগোর্নির বার্তা।	প্রাভদা। উদ্ধৃতি : সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা—'বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রাম ও সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের ভূমিকা।'	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের সর্বোচ্চ সোভিয়েতের সভাপতিমণ্ডলীর সভাপতি নিকোলাই পদগোর্নি পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খানের কাছে নিম্নোক্ত বার্তা পাঠিয়েছেন।

"মাননীয় প্রেসিডেণ্ট মহাশয়, ঢাকার আলোচনা ভেঙে যাওয়ার খবর এবং সামরিক প্রশাসন চূড়ান্ত ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন প্রয়োজন মনে করে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনসাধারণের বিরুদ্ধে সামরিক বলপ্রয়োগ করেছেন—এই মর্মে খবর সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে গভীর উদ্বেগের সঞ্চার করেছে।

"এই ঘটনার ফলে পাকিস্তানের অগণিত মানুষের প্রাণহানি, নিপীড়ন ও দুঃখকষ্টের খবরে সোভিয়েতের জনগণ বিচলিত না হয়ে পারে না। মুজিবর রহমান এবং অন্যান্য রাজনৈতিক ব্যক্তিদের বন্দী করায় এবং নির্যাতন করায়ও সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন উদ্বেগ বোধ করছে। এইসব নেতারা হালের সাধারণ নির্বাচনে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের মানুষের বিপুল সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশের সন্দেহাতীত সমর্থন লাভ করেছিলেন। সোভিয়েত জনগণ সর্বদাই পাকিস্তানের মানুষের মঙ্গল এবং সমৃদ্ধি কামনা করেছে এবং গণতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতিতে দেশের জটিল সমস্যার সমাধানের তাদের সফলতায় আনন্দিত হয়েছে।

"পাকিস্তানের জনগণের কঠিন পরীক্ষার দিনে খাঁটি বন্ধু হিসাবে আমরা দু-একটি কথা না বলে পারি না। আমরা বিশ্বাস করি যে পাকিস্তানে বর্তমানে যে জটিল সমস্যার উদ্ভব হয়েছে, বলপ্রয়োগ না করে রাজনৈতিকভাবে, তার সমাধান করা যায় এবং করতে হবে। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে দমননীতি এবং রক্তপাত যদি চলতে থাকে তাহলে নিঃসন্দেহে সমস্যার সমাধান আরো কঠিন হয়ে উঠবে এবং তাতে পাকিস্তানের সমস্ত মানুষের মৌল স্বার্থেরই বিরাট ক্ষতি হবে।

"প্রেসিডেন্ট মহাশয়, সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের সর্বোচ্চ সোভিয়েতের সভাপতিমণ্ডলীর পক্ষ থেকে আপনাকে কিছু বলা আমাদের কর্তব্য বলে মনে করি। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে রক্তপাত বন্ধ করার জন্য, সেখানকার মানুষের উপর নিপীড়নের অবসান ঘটানোর জন্য, এবং সমস্যা সমাধানের একটি শান্তিপূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক উপায় উদ্ভাবনের জন্য অত্যন্ত জরুরি ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে আপনাকে সনির্বন্ধ অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি। আমরা বিশ্বাস করি যে পাকিস্তানের সমস্ত মানুষের স্বার্থ এবং সে-অঞ্চলের শান্তিরক্ষার স্বার্থ এর ফলে রক্ষিত হবে।

"উদ্ভূত সমস্যার শান্তিপূর্ণ সমাধানকে সমগ্র সোভিয়েত জনগণ সন্তোষের সঙ্গে গ্রহণ করবেন।"

আপনাকে আবেদন জানাবার সময়ে আমরা মানবাধিকার সংক্রান্ত সর্বজনীন ঘোষণায় লিপিবদ্ধ সর্বজনস্বীকৃত মানবিক নীতির দ্বারা এবং পাকিস্তানের বন্ধু জনগণের কল্যাণের জন্য উদ্বেগের দ্বারা পরিচালিত হয়েছি।

"প্রেসিডেণ্ট মহাশয়, আপনাকে এই অনুরোধ জানাতে আমরা কোন নীতি দ্বারা পরিচালিত হয়েছি, আশা করি আপনি তা সঠিকভাবে বুঝতে পারবেন। আমাদের একান্ত কামনা যে অবিলম্বে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে শান্তি এবং ন্যায়বিচার প্রতিষ্ঠিত হোক।"

ক্রেমলিন, মস্কো, ২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১ — প্রাভদা, ৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীতে উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ: সুপ্রীম সোভিয়েতের নির্বাচনের প্রাক্কালে প্রধানমন্ত্রী কোসিগিনের বক্তৃতা।	প্রাভদা। উদ্ধৃতি: বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস।	১০ জুন, ১৯৭১

Extracts from Prime Minister Kosygin's election speech delivered on the eve of elections to the Supreme Soviet of U. S. S. R.

Kosygin noted the favourable development or relations of the Soviet Union with its great southern neighbour, India.

The State of Indian-Pakistani relations means a great deal for peace in South Asia. The increase of tension in the relations between these countries, due to the known events in East Pakistan, evokes the anxiety of the Soviet government. The situation in East Pakistan has forced millions of people to leave their land, homes and property and seek refugee in neighbouring India. The masses of refugees, despite the aid given them are in an extremely grave position.

These events evoke profound alarm of the world public. All who treasure the principles of humanism must demand that conditions be created for the refugees returning to their homes, that their personal safety and opportunity to live and work calmly in East Pakistan be guaranteed. It is our opinion that such measures must be immediately taken by the Pakistani authorities.

As in the Past we come out for the peaceful solution of all problems arising in the relations between India and Pakistan and are convinced that such a policy would be in accord with the national interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan and the cause of preserving peace on the Hindustan peninsula. A different development of events would play into the hands of those internal and external forces which operate to the detriment of the interests of both India and Pakistan and pursue their own selfish arms.

(PRAVDA—June 10, 1971)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
[সোভিয়েত পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রীর ভারত সফরশেষে প্রকাশিত সোভিয়েত-ভারত যুক্ত বিবৃতি।	বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেন্টস।	[১২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১]

Indo-Soviet Joint Statement at the conclusion of U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister Mr. A. A. Gromyko's visit to India.

August 12, 1971

On the invitation of the Government of India, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., His Excellency Mr. A.A.Gromyko, paid an official visit to India from the 8th to 12th August, 1971.

During his stay in New Delhi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. called on the President of India, Shri V.V. Giri, and was received by the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He also met the Food & Agriculture Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the Finance Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan and the Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram. He had several meetings and talks with Sardar Swaran Sing, Minister of External Affairs of India.

The meetings and talks were held in an atmosphere of warm friendship and cordiality. It was noted with deep satisfaction that the friendly relations and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India in the political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields are developing successfully and hold great promise for further expansion. The political and legal basis for this co-operation is further strengthened by the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and India, which was signed in New Delhi by Mr Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of India and Mr. A.A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Both sides consider that the conclussion of the Treaty is an outstanding historic event for their two countries. The Treaty is a logical outcome of the relations of sincere friendship, respect mutual trust and the varies ties which have been established between the Soviet Union and India in the course of many years and have stood the test of time. It corresponds to the basic interests of the Indian and Soviet peoples and opens up wide prospects for raising the fruitful co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and India to a higher level. Alongside other provisions concerning bilateral Soviet-Indian relations, the Treaty provides for the two sides maintaining regular contacts with each other on major international problems and holding mutual consultations with a view to taking appropriate effective measures to safeguard the peace and security of their countries.

The Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and India is a real act of peace, expressing the community of policy and aspirations of the U.S.S.R. and India in the struggle to strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world and for safeguarding international security. All provisions of the Treaty serve these purposes. The Treaty is not directed against anyone; it is meant to be a factor in developing friendship and good-neighbourliness, in keeping with the principles of the U.N. Charter.

The Governments of India and the U.S.S.R. are confident that the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation will meet with complete approval on the part of all those who are really interested in the preservation of

peace in Asia and throughout the world and on the part of the Governments of all peace-loving States.

In the course of the meetings and talks, both sides noted with satisfaction that their positions on various problems discussed were identical or very close. The Minister of External Affairs of India explained the heavy burden placed on India's resources due to over 7 million refugees who had entered India. Both sides, after a detailed discussion, reiterated their firm conviction that there can be no military solution and considered it necessary that urgent steps be taken in East Pakistan for the achievement of a political solution and for the creation of conditions of safety for the return of the refugees to their homes which alone would answer the interests of the entire people of Pakistan and the cause of the preservation of peace in the area.

The Indian side expressed its gratitude for the understanding of the problem shown by the Soviet Union as was evident from the Appeal addressed on 2nd April, 1971, to the President of Pakistan by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Mr. N. V. Podgorny.

Both sides held the view that outside interference in the affairs of Indo-China should immediately cease. They consider that it will be futile to attempt to impose any settlement not acceptable to the peoples of the area. They welcomed the recent 7-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam as a concrete step forward which could form the basis of a peaceful political settlement.

On West Asia, both sides were convinced of the urgent need for the implementation of the Resolution of the Security Council of November 22, 1967, so that the consequences of aggression are liquidated.

Both sides considered that all international problems, including border disputes must be settled by peaceful negotiations and that the use of force or the threat of use of force is impermissible for their settlement.

Both sides declare that they are strongly in favour of an early agreement on general and complete disarmament, including both nuclear and conventional weapons, under effective international control.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. expressed his gratitude for the cordial reception given to him by the Government of India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের পূর্ণাংগ সভায় সোভিয়েত পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রীর ভাষণ।	সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা।	২৮ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

১৯৭১, ২৮ সেপ্টেম্বর রাষ্ট্রসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের ২৬শ অধিবেশনের পূর্ণাঙ্গ সভায় সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী এ. এ. গ্রোমিকোর ভাষণ থেকে

"....ভারতীয় উপ-মহাদেশে পরিস্থিতি যথেষ্ট পরিমাণে ঘোরালো হয়েছে। একথা স্বীকার না করে উপায় নেই যে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের ঘটনার গতিতে ভারতের উৎকণ্ঠা প্রকাশের কারণ আছে। ভারতে শরণার্থীর স্রোত গুরুতর অসুবিধা ও সমস্যার জন্ম দিয়েছে, সেগুলির প্রকৃতি শুধু অর্থনৈতিক নয়। আমাদের স্থির বিশ্বাস, পাকিস্তানে উদ্ভূত প্রশ্নাদির রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসার মাধ্যমেই সেই শুধু এই এলাকায় সমগ্রভাবে উত্তেজনার প্রশমন ঘটানো যায়। আর সেখানে অবস্থিত সমস্ত রাষ্ট্রেরই এতে আগ্রহী হওয়া উচিত। শরণার্থীরা যাতে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে ফিরে যেতে পারেন সে ব্যবস্থা অবশ্যই করতে হবে। আর এটা সম্ভব হবে কেবলমাত্র সেখানে তাঁদের জন্য নিরাপত্তা সুনিশ্চিত হবার পর। বর্তমানে এই অঞ্চলে পরিস্থিতি উত্তেজনাপূর্ণ আর এটা শুধুমাত্র একটা অভ্যন্তরীণ প্রশ্ন নয়। সোভিয়েত সরকার এই আশা প্রকাশ করতে চায় যে ব্যাপারটা সামরিক সংঘাত পর্যন্ত গড়াবে না এবং সংযম ও যুক্তিরই প্রাধান্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হবে।...."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সোভিয়েত-ভারত যুক্ত বিবৃতি (মস্কো থেকে প্রকাশিত)।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	২৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

At the invitation of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, paid a state visit to the U.S.S.R. from September 27 to 29, 1971.

The Head of the Government of friendly India and her party were accorded a warm welcome testifying to the profound feelings of sincere friendship and respect of the Soviet people towards the great Indian people and India's leaders.

During her stay in Moscow, the Prime Minister laid wreaths at the Mausoleum of V.I. Lenin and the Tomb of Unknown Soldier.

At a solemn meeting of Indo-Soviet Friendship, the Soviet public warmly greeted the Head of the Indian Government. The Lomonosov State University of Moscow conferred on Shrimati Indira Gandhi the Degree of Doctor of Science, *Honoris Causa.*

The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, had talks and discussions with the General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L.I. Brezhnev, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., N. V. Podgorny and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. N. Kosygin.

Taking part in the talks were :

On the Soviet side : N. S. Patolichev, S. A. Skachkov, V. V. Kuznetzov, N. P. Firyubin, N. M. Pegov and A. A. Fomin.

On the Indian side : D. P. Dhar, T. N. Kaul, K. S. Shelvankar, R. D. Sathe, K. P. S. Menon, A. P. Venkateswaran, A. K. Damodaran, K. K. Bharagava, S. V. Purushottam and M. M. Malhoutra.

The Talks, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, covered a wide range of subjects of Soviet-Indian bilateral relations as well as important current international problems of mutual interest.

Both sides expressed their profound satisfaction at the successful development of relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India in the political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields.

They declared their conviction that this co-operation acquires still more firm political and legal basis in the Treaty of Peace Friendship and Co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and India, signed in New Delhi on August 9, 1971.

The two sides fully agreed that the conclusion of the Treaty is an event of outstanding and historic importance for both countries, and has further strengthened the relations of sincere friendship, respect, mutual confidence and good-neighbourly co-operation existing between the Soviet Union and India. The conclusion of the Treaty reaffirms that Soviet-Indian friendship is based not on any transient factors, but on long-term vital interests of the peoples of both countries and their desire to develop to the utmost many-sided co-operation with each other

for the purpose of economic and social progress, for safeguarding peace as well as the security of both countries.

Both sides declared their firm determination to be guided by the letter and spirit of the Treaty in regard to the further development of Soviet-Indian relations.

They noted with satisfaction the successful development of mutually beneficial economic and technical co-operation between the two countries and emphasised the fact that there are favourable prospects for the further expansion and deepening of such co-operation, particularly in the fields of iron and steel industry, including special steel alloys and non-ferrous metallurgy, survey, exploration and refining of oil and natural gas and in the field of petro-chemical industry.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the recent steps taken by them to indentify new forms of mutual co-operation in the economic and technical fields including such spheres as space research, utilisation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes productive co-operation between industrial enterprises of both countries, etc. They consider it necessary to identify additional new fields in which such mutual co-operation could be expanded.

In this connection, agreement was reached that experts of both countries would meet and work out specific proposals on the above-mentioned questions.

The two sides decided to set up an inter-Governmental Commission on economic, scientific and technical co-operation.

Both sides recognised the need, in accordance with the Treaty, to develop contracts and ties at different levels, to enlarge and to make more comprehensive the exchange of views between the Governments of the U.S S R. and India in major international problems.

They expressed their satisfaction at the fact that the Treaty has met with the full and unreserved support of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India and has been widely welcomed throughout the world.

The Soviet side expressed its respect for India's policy of non-alignment aimed at lessening tensions in Asia and throughout the world and for strengthening peace and international co-operation.

The Indian side expressed its respect for the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy aimed at strengthening peace, friendship and international co-operation.

The exchange of views on current international problems revealed identity or proximity of the stands of the U.S.S.R. and India in regard to them.

The two sides paid primary attention to the development of the situation in Asia, to the hotbeds of tensions and military conflicts existing there, to the discussion of ways to stop and prevent the acts of aggression and to consolidate the foundations of peace on the Asian continent.

The two sides expressed their concern over the grave situation when has arisen on the Indian sub-continent as a result of the recent events in East Bengal and declared their determination to continue efforts aimed at the preservation of peace in that region.

The Prime Minister of India informed the Soviet side that the presence in India of over nine million refugees from East Bengal had engendered serious

social and political tensions and economic strains in India. This has caused a considerable setback to the socio-economic programmes of India.

The Soviet side highly appreciated India's humane approach to the problems created by the influx of these refugees from East Bengal and expressed its understanding of the difficulties confronting friendly India in connection with the mass inflow of refugees.

The Soviet side took into account the statement by the Prime Minister that the Government of India is fully determined to take all necessary measures to stop the inflow of refugees from East Bengal to India and to ensure that those refugees who are already in India return to their homeland without delay.

The Soviet side reaffirmed its position regarding the problem of refugees and other questions which have arisen as a result of the events in East Bengal as laid down in the appeal of the Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, N. V. Podgorny, to the President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, on the 2nd of April, 1971.

Taking note of the developments in East Bengal since 25th March, 1971, both sides consider that the interests of the preservation of peace demand that urgent measures should be taken to reach a political solution of the problems which have arisen there paying regard to the wishes, the inalienable rights and lawful interests of the people of East Bengal as well as for the speediest and safe return of the refugees to their homeland in conditions safeguarding their honour and dignity.

Taking into account the seriousness of the situation which has developed in the Indian sub continent, the two sides agreed to maintain further mutual contacts and to continue to exchange views on the questions arising in this connection.

The two sides expressed their profound concern over the situation in South-East Asia and pronounced themselves in favour of the necessity to withdraw all foreign troops from Indo-China in order to ensure peace and security for the peoples of that region, the realisation of their legitimate rights to shape their own future in accordance with their national interests and without any foreign interference.

They welcomed the recent 7-point proposal by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam as an important step towards the creation of basis for a peaceful political settlement and declared their support for these proposals.

The two sides expressed their serious concern over the tense situation in the Middle East. They stressed the need for all states concerned to make efforts with a view to achieve a lasting, stable and just peace on the basis of the full implementation of the U.N. Security Council Resolution of 22nd November, 1967.

Desirious of contributing to the improvement of the international situation, the Government of India highly appreciates the proposal to convene an All-European Conference on the questions of security and co-operation as an important step aimed at the relaxation of tensions not only on the European continent but throughout the world.

Both sides believe that the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of general and complete disarmament, covering both nuclear and conventional types of weapons, under strict and effective international control, are of primary

importance for the preservation and strengthening of peace and security. In the opinion of the two sides, the covening of a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all countries for achieving practicable and generally acceptable ways for solving pressing disarmament problems could be of great importance. The two sides consider it important to achieve in the near future an agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons and toxins and on their destruction, as the first step on the way to the complete prohibition of chemical and biological methods of warfare.

The Prime Minister of India reaffirmed that the Indian Ocean area should be made a zone of peace. The Soviet side expressed its readiness to study this question and to solve it together with other powers on an equal basis.

The Soviet Union and India call for the speedy and complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, and an unqualified implementation of the U.N. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial countries and Peoples. They unequivocally condemn racism and appartheid in all forms and manifestations.

The two sides reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence among States with different social systems and pronounced themselves in favour of all questions at issue in relations between countries being solved by peaceful means.

The Soviet Union and India attach great importance to the United Nations. Both sides confirmed their determination to seek the strengthening of the U.N. and the enhancing of its effectiveness in maintaining universal peace and security in accordance with the U. N. Charter.

Both sides expressed their confidence that the visit of the Prime Minister of India to the Soviet Union and the talks and discussions which were held with Soviet leaders during the visit, will promote the further development of friendly co-operation between the two countries and the strengthening of peace and international security.

The Prime Minister of India extended a cordial invitation to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., L.I. Brezhnev, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., A.N.Kosygin, to visit India. The invitations were accepted with thanks.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নয়াদিল্লীতে রাষ্ট্রপতি ভি, ভি, গিরি কর্তৃক আয়োজিত ভোজসভায় সোভিয়েত জাতিসংঘের সর্বোচ্চ সোভিয়েতের সভাপতিমণ্ডলীর সভাপতি এন, ভি, পদগোর্নির ভাষণ।	সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা।	১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

১৯৭১, ১ অক্টোবর তারিখে নয়াদিল্লীতে রাষ্ট্রপতি ভি. ভি. গিরি কর্তৃক আয়োজিত ভোজসভায় সোভিয়েত জাতিসংঘের সর্বোচ্চ সোভিয়েতের সভাপতিমন্ডলীর সভাপতি এন. ভি. পদগোর্নির ভাষণ থেকে

"সোভিয়েত জনগণ হিন্দুস্থান উপমহাদেশে কঠিন ও বিপজ্জনক পরিস্থিতিকে ঘনিষ্ঠভাবে লক্ষ্য করছেন। আমরা মনে করি যে সামরিক সংঘর্ষের দিকে পরিস্থিতি আরও গড়িয়ে যাওয়াকে অবশ্যই ঠেকাতে হবে এবং সেই অঞ্চলের জনসাধারণের ন্যায়সঙ্গত অধিকার ও তাদের যথোপযুক্ত বিবেচনার মধ্যে রেখে একটি ন্যায়সঙ্গত রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসার মাধ্যমে সেখানে উত্তেজনাকে অপসারিত করতে হবে। সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন তার দিক থেকে ভারতের সঙ্গে বিদ্যমান বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ সম্পর্কের চেতনায় এরূপ একটি মীমাংসায় উপনীত হবার ব্যাপারে সম্ভাব্য সর্বপ্রকার সহায়তা দান করতে চায়।..."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের অবস্থা সম্পর্কে সোভিয়েত নারী কমিটির বিবৃতি।	প্রাভদা। উদ্ধৃতি : বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	৪ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

The Soviet Women's Committee has made a statement expressing deep concern and alarm over the developments on Pakistan :

Reprisals, suppression of human rights and violation of elementary principles of democracy forced nine million people in East Pakistan to leave their country. Huge masses of refugees, homeless and having no means of subsistence, are driven to despair in face of the danger of dying from starvation and epidemics. Reprisals are taken against many progressives in East Paksitan.

Soviet women appeal to the Pakistani authorities to hearken to the voice of millions of people in different countries and end reprisals against the Chairman of the All Pakistan People's League, M. Rahman, and other progressvies in Pakistan, and take urgent steps to achieve a political settlement of the problems that have arisen, with due account taken of the will, rights and legitimate interest of the people of East Pakistan, as well as to reate conditions for the earliest return of the refugees to their homeland.

(PRAVDA, Moscow—October 4, 1971)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে অনুষ্ঠিত প্রতিবাদ সভার উপর সাংবাদিক প্রতিবেদন।	বাংলাদেশ টুডে।	১৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

PROTEST MEETINGS IN SOVIET UNION

Growing Press Criticism of Yahya's Repression

The Soviet Press sharpened its attacks on Pakistan and reported widespread protest meetings in the Soviet Union against "the wholesale repression launched by the Pakistani authorities against the civilian population and political and public leaders of East Pakistan."

The official Soviet news agency Tass reported that protest meetings had been held in Moscow, Leningrad.

Minsk, Riga and other cities.

There has been a marked increase in Soviet press cirticism of Pakistan since last months visit to Moscow by the Indian Primier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

On September 29 the Soviet Union and India issued a joint appeal for urgent steps to promote a political solution in East Pakistan to protest the "inalienable rights" of the East Bengalis.

The Soviet Communist Party newspaper, "Pravda," today called on Pakistan to take immediate measures to permit the return of refugees from India.

The newspaper said the Soviet Government would give regfugee aid, and added that "millions of refugees from East Pakistan are experiencing a real drama."

"The tragic lot of these people cannot but cause the concern of the progressive world public," it said.

"The actions of the Pakistani authorities, compelling millions of civilians to leave their property and seek refugee in a neighbouring country evoke universal indignation."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উপ-মহাদেশীয় অবস্থা সম্পর্কে 'তাস'-এর বিবৃতি।	সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা।	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

তাস-এর বিবৃতি

হিন্দুস্থান উপদ্বীপে পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে তাস-প্রচারিত বিবৃতির পূর্ণ পাঠ নীচে দেওয়া হ'ল: হিন্দুস্থান উপদ্বীপে পরিস্থিতির গুরুতর অবনতির খবর আসছে। ৩রা ডিসেম্বর উত্তর-পশ্চিম ভারতের অনেকগুলো শহরে পাকিস্তানী বিমানবহর বোমা ফেলে ও গোলা বর্ষণ করে। ভারত-পাকিস্তানের সীমান্তে সশস্ত্র সংঘর্ষ চলছে।

এটা সকলেরই জানা আছে যে, পাকিস্তান সরকার কর্তৃক পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করায় উক্ত অঞ্চলে যে পরিস্থিতির সৃষ্টি হয়েছে সেই পরিস্থিতিই সম্প্রতি পাকিস্তান ও ভারতের মধ্যে সম্পর্কের ক্ষেত্রে উত্তেজনা সৃষ্টির প্রধান কারণ।

সম্পূর্ণভাবে স্বশাসন, প্রাথমিক নাগরিক অধিকার এবং স্বাধীনতার জন্য পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে এক গণ-আন্দোলন দানা বেঁধে ওঠে। ১৯৭০ সালে আইন-সভার যে নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় সেই নির্বাচনে মুজিবুর রহমানের নেতৃত্বে আওয়ামী লীগ পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন লাভ করে। নির্বাচনের পর পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে স্বশাসনের বিষয় বিবেচনার জন্য ভবিষ্যৎ রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থার প্রশ্নে পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্ট এবং আওয়ামী লীগের নেতাদের মধ্যে আলাপ আলোচনা সুরু হয়।

কিন্তু কোনরকম ফয়সালা করার আগ্রহ না দেখিয়ে পাকিস্তান সরকার হঠাৎ ১৯৭১ সালের ২৫শে মার্চ, সমস্ত আলাপ আলোচনা ভেঙ্গে দেন। মুজিবর রহমান এবং আওয়ামী লীগের অন্যান্য নেতাদের বন্দী করা হয় এবং তাদের কারাগারে প্রেরণ করা হয়। তারপরই সুরু হয় জনগণের উপর নিষ্ঠুর পীড়ন। হাজার হাজার মানুষকে হত্যা করা হয় এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের লক্ষ লক্ষ নাগরিক প্রাণভয়ে প্রতিবেশী দেশ ভারতে পালিয়ে আসেন। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে ব্যাপক সন্ত্রাস ও অরাজকতার রাজত্ব শুরু হয়।

ব্যাপক সন্ত্রাস ও উৎপীড়নের বিরুদ্ধে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের মানুষের প্রতিরোধ যখন ক্রমশ দৃঢ় হয়ে উঠল তখন পাকিস্তান সরকার এই অবস্থার জন্য ভারতের কাঁধে দোষ চাপান এবং ভারতের সংগে সম্পর্কের অবনতি ঘটাল।

শান্তি রক্ষার জন্য উদ্বিগ্ন হয়ে সোভিয়েত সরকার বার বার পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খান এবং পাকিস্তান সরকারের কাছে হিন্দুস্থান উপদ্বীপের পরিস্থিতির জন্য এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের ঘটনাবলী সম্পর্কে উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করেছে। রাজনৈতিক সমস্যা সমাধানে অত্যাচার ও উৎপীড়নের নীতি গ্রহণের জন্য নিন্দা করে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে একটি রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের প্রয়োজনীয়তা সম্পর্কে পাকিস্তান সরকারের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করা হয়। সোভিয়েত

পক্ষ থেকে একথা জানানো হয় সোভিয়েত সরকারের স্থির বিশ্বাস যে উৎপীড়নের নীতি ত্যাগ করে, মুজিবর রহমানকে মুক্তি দিয়ে, এবং ১৯৭০ সালে অনুষ্ঠিত নির্বাচনে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের প্রকাশিত মনোভাবের সংগে সংগতি রেখে একটি সমাধানের জন্য অবিলম্বে আলাপ আলোচনা আবার শুরু করা উচিত। এর ফলে পূর্ব পাকিস্তান থেকে ভারত আগত লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থীর দেশে ফিরে যাওয়ার উপযোগী পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি হবে।

এই সব বিচার বিবেচনার জন্য পাকিস্তান সরকারকে অনুরোধ জানিয়ে সোভিয়েত সরকার মানবিক নীতি অনুযায়ী কাজ করেছে এবং দেশে যে জটিল সমস্যার সৃষ্টি হয়েছে গণতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতিতে সেই সমস্যার সমাধানে পাকিস্তানের জনগণের সাফল্য কামনা করেছে।

যেহেতু পাকিস্তান সরকার পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের সমস্যা সমাধানে কোন উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করল না, এবং ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে সামরিক প্রস্তুতি চালিয়ে গেল, সেইজন্য সোভিয়েত নেতৃবৃন্দ প্রেসিডেণ্ট ইয়াহিয়া খানকে জানিয়ে দেন যে, যে কোন অজুহাতে ভারতের উপর পাকিস্তানের সশস্ত্র আক্রমণকে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন কঠোরভাবে নিন্দা করবে।

এই সমস্ত ঘটনাবলীর প্রতি সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন উদাসীন থাকতে পারে না কারণ এই সব ঘটনা ঘটছে সোভিয়েত সীমান্তের নিকটবর্তী এক অঞ্চলে এবং সেইজন্য তার নিরাপত্তার স্বার্থ জড়িত।

হিন্দুস্থান উপদ্বীপে শান্তি রক্ষার জন্য ক্রমাগত প্রচেষ্টা চালিয়ে সোভিয়েত সরকার পাকিস্তানের নেতৃবৃন্দকে সুস্পষ্টভাবে তাদের এই বিপজ্জনক পথে চলার গুরুদায়িত্ব সম্পর্কে অবহিত করে দেওয়া প্রয়োজন মনে করে।

বর্তমানে হিন্দুস্থানে যে সামরিক বিপদ দেখা দিয়েছে—যে সামরিক বিপদের দিকে কোন শান্তিকামী দেশই উদাসীন থাকতে পারে না—সেই বিপদের মুখে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন অবিলম্বে এই রক্তক্ষয় বন্ধের জন্য, এবং আইনসংগত অধিকারের ভিত্তিতে এবং সে দেশের জনগণের স্বার্থে পূর্ব পাকিস্তান সমস্যার একটি রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের জন্য আহ্বান জানিয়েছে।

সোভিয়েত সরকার একথাও বিশ্বাস করে যে, পৃথিবীর সব দেশের সরকারেরই এই বিরোধের সংগে কোন না কোন ভাবে জড়িত হওয়া থেকে—যা হিন্দুস্থান উপদ্বীপের পরিস্থিতির আরো অবনতি ঘটাবে—বিরত থাকা উচিত।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাক-ভারত সংঘাতের শান্তিপূর্ণ সমাধানের আহ্বান : পোলিশ কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির ষষ্ঠ কংগ্রেসে সোভিয়েত নেতা লিওনিদ ব্রেজনেভের বক্তৃতা।	টাইমস অফ ইণ্ডিয়া।	৮ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Mr. LEONID BREZHNEV'S SPEECH TO THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY, WARSAW
December 7, 1971

The Soviet party leader, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, today (December 7) called for a peaceful settlement of the Indo-Pakistani Conflict "without any intervention of external forces," reports Reuter.

Mr. Brezhnev made the call in a prepared speech to the Sixth Congress of the Polish Communist Party.

"The Soviet Union firmly speaks in favour of ceasing the bloodshed, a peaceful settlement of the existing problems with respect for just rights of the nations without any intervention of external forces, in favour of creating conditions for a lasting and just peace in this region," he said.

Mr. Brezhnev said : "We received with deep regret, like all the supporters of peace and freedom of nations, the news of the 'Awas' which broke out a few days ago between two neighbouring States in Asia" adds AP.

He said the 'Awas' a result of the 'bloody' suppression of the basic rights and clearly expressed will of the population of East Pakistan and the tragedy of millions of refugees...

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রাম জাতীয় মুক্তি আন্দোলন : সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের প্রথম প্রকাশ্য ঘোষণা।	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

রাশিয়ার প্রথম প্রকাশ্য ঘোষণা

বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রাম জাতীয় মুক্তি আন্দোলন

(দিল্লী অফিস থেকে)

৯ই নভেম্বর—ভারত সফররত সোভিয়েত সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদলের নেতা শ্রী ভি কুদরিয়া-ভেৎসেভ আজ এখানে বলেন, বাংলাদেশে যে সংগ্রাম চলছে তা জাতীয় মুক্তি আন্দোলন এবং তার মধ্যে গৃহযুদ্ধের উপাদান রয়েছে। ··

শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভ সোভিয়েট যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সুপ্রিম সোভিয়েটের আন্তর্জাতিক সম্পর্ক বিষয়ক সংসদীয় কমিটির সাধারণ সম্পাদক।

শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভের উক্তিতেই প্রথম একজন সোভিয়েট নেতার কাছ থেকে বাংলাদেশের আন্দোলন জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রাম বলে প্রকাশ্য স্বীকৃতি লাভ করল। শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভের মন্তব্য এই কারণে আরও বেশি তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ যে, তিনি শুধু একজন সফররত সংসদীয় হিসাবে এ-কথা বলেন নি, বলেছেন সোভিয়েট যুক্তরাষ্ট্র ও তার সরকারের প্রতিনিধি হিসাবে।

শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভ বাংলাদেশের জনগণের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের কাছে গ্রহণযোগ্য হলে পাকিস্তানের কাঠামোর মধ্যে কোনো সমাধানের সম্ভাবনা বাতিল করে দেননি। তিনি জোর দিয়ে বলেন, যে সমাধানই নির্ণয় করা হোক না কেন তা করতে হবে জনগণের ইচ্ছা, তাদের আইনসঙ্গত অধিকার ও জাতীয় আশা-আকাঙ্খার ভিত্তিতে।

তাঁর ধারণা, এই উপ-মহাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর প্রতি চীন এক অযৌক্তিক মনোভাব গ্রহণ করেছে। তবে চীন-সোভিয়েট সম্পর্ক বিষয়ে তিনি আশা করেন, চীন রাষ্ট্রসংঘের সদস্য হওয়ায় এই সম্পর্ক এখন স্বাভাবিক হবে।

শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভ তাঁর পূর্ব মন্তব্য সত্ত্বেও আশা করেন যে, ভারত-পাকিস্তান সীমান্তের উত্তেজনাপূর্ণ ঘটনাবলী দু-দেশের মধ্যে কোনো সশস্ত্র সংঘর্ষ ডেকে আনবে না। তবে সংঘর্ষ হবে কি না তা তিনি বলতে পারেন না। তাঁর মতে, ভিয়েৎনাম আর মধ্যপ্রাচ্যের অবস্থা এখনও বিস্ফোরণের মুখে থাকায় পৃথিবী তৃতীয় একটা সংঘর্ষের বিলাসিতায় মাততে পাবে না। তার চেয়েও বড়ো কথা, একবার সংঘর্ষ শুরু হলে অধিক থেকে অধিকতর দেশ তাতে জড়িয়ে পড়তে চায়। তাঁর এই মন্তব্য চীনকে উপলক্ষ্য করে কিনা তা তিনি ব্যাখ্যা করেননি।

শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভ আশা করেন, পাকিস্তান বাস্তব অবস্থা উপলব্ধি করবে এবং একটা সমাধানে উপনীত হবে ও সম্পর্ক স্বাভাবিক করবে, যাতে উদ্বাস্তরা আস্থা অর্জন করে স্বদেশে

ফিরে যেতে পারে। তবে কী করে সেটা করা যেতে পারে তা তিনি বলিতে পারেন না। সোভিয়েত যুক্তরাষ্ট্র অথবা অন্য কোনো দেশের পক্ষে তা বলা সম্ভব নয়। সমাধান নির্ণয় করতে হবে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের শাসকগোষ্ঠি আর বাংলাদেশের নেতাদের।

তিনি স্বীকার করেন যে, যদিও সোভিয়েত যুক্তরাষ্ট্র পাকিস্তানের সমস্ত রকম সামরিক সাহায্য দেওয়া বন্ধ করেছে, তবু তার সঙ্গে বৈষয়িক সম্পর্ক বজায় আছে। পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে সোভিয়েত যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের বাণিজ্য বৃদ্ধি না পেলেও চলছে।···

তিনি আরও বলেন, কথায় কিছু যায় আসে না, আসল জিনিস হচ্ছে কাজ।

শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভ ভারতের জনগণকে স্মরণ করিয়ে দেন যে, তাদের শান্তির জন্য চেষ্টা করতে হবে, কিন্তু তাই বলে দেশের প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থা অবহেলা করা ঠিক হবে না। সকল অবস্থাতেই প্রতিরক্ষা জোরদার করতে হবে।

আগ্রা থেকে ইউ এন আই জানাচ্ছেন: শ্রীকুদরিয়াভেৎসেভ গতকাল সেখানে ভারত সোভিয়েত সাংস্কৃতিক সমিতির উদ্যোগে আয়োজিত এক সভায় বলেন যে, ভারত যদি আক্রান্ত হয় তাহলে তাঁর দেশ তাকে সাহায্য করবে।

তিনি আরও বলেন, তাঁর দেশ ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থা শক্তিশালী করতে চান।

তিনি এই বলে সতর্ক করে দেন যে, 'সাম্রাজ্যবাদী শক্তিগুলি', যতো ভারত ও সোভিয়েত যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের বর্তমান বন্ধুত্বে ভীত হয়ে পড়েছে, তারা সম্প্রতি স্বাক্ষরিত ভারত-সোভিয়েত চুক্তির বিরুদ্ধে প্রচারকার্যে লিপ্ত হয়েছে। তিনি বলেন, পাকিস্তানী শাসকদের যুদ্ধংদেহি মনোভাবের দরুণ ভারতের অখণ্ডতা যখন বিপন্ন হয়ে পড়ে তখনই এই চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরিত হয়।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সংঘাত নিরসনে কার্যকরী রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের আগ্রহ প্রকাশ : আফগানিস্তানের রাজার সম্মানার্থে প্রদত্ত ভোজসভায় সর্বোচ্চ সোভিয়েতের সভাপতিমণ্ডলীর সভাপতি নিকোলাই পদগোর্নির বক্তৃতা।	সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা	১৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

১৯৭১, ১৪ ডিসেম্বর মস্কোতে আফগানিস্তানের রাজা মহম্মদ জহীর শাহ-এর সম্মানে আয়োজিত ভোজসভায় সোভিয়েত জাতিসংঘের সর্বোচ্চ সোভিয়েতের সভাপতিমণ্ডলীর সভাপতি এন. ভি. পদগোর্নির ভাষণ থেকে

"এশীয় উপমহাদেশে সম্প্রতি পরিস্থিতির অবনতি যাতে জনসাধারণ অতিমাত্রায় আতঙ্কিত। পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষ কর্তৃক নির্মমভাবে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনসমষ্টির মৌল অধিকারসমূহের ও সুস্পষ্টভাবে ব্যক্ত ইচ্ছার দমন দেশের সেই অংশে পরিস্থিতির চরম অবনতি ঘটিয়েছে। প্রায় এককোটি শরণার্থীকে ভারতে পালিয়ে আসতে হয়েছে। এশিয়ার দুটি প্রতিবেশী দেশের মধ্যে সংঘর্ষ দানা বেঁধে উঠেছে।"

"সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে আমরা অবিচলভাবে দাঁড়িয়েছি রক্তপাত বন্ধ করার পক্ষে, বাইরের শক্তিগুলির কোনরূপ হস্তক্ষেপ ছাড়াই জনসাধারণের আইনসম্মত অধিকারসমূহ বিবেচনার মধ্যে রেখে শান্তিপূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসার পক্ষে। সেই এলাকায় স্থায়ী ও ন্যায়সঙ্গত শান্তি প্রতিষ্ঠার উপযোগী অবস্থা সৃষ্টির জন্য সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন চাপ দিচ্ছে।

"আমাদের দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস, যুদ্ধবিরতির প্রশ্নটিকে যে সব কারণ হিন্দুস্থান উপমহাদেশে পরিস্থিতির অবনতি ঘটিয়েছে সেগুলি দূর করার বৈপ্লবিক উপায় হিসাবে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসার প্রশ্ন থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করা চলে না।"

পদগোর্নি বলেন: "আমাদের গতকালের কথাবার্তা দেখিয়ে দিচ্ছে যে বর্তমান সংঘর্ষের এলাকার একেবারে সন্নিকটবর্তী হওয়ায় সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন ও আফগানিস্তান এই সংঘর্ষের মূলোচ্ছেদের সবচেয়ে কার্যকরী রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থাদি গ্রহণে গভীরভাবে আগ্রহী।"

পদগোর্নি বলেন: "জটিল আন্তর্জাতিক প্রশ্নসমূহের সমাধানের প্রতি আফগানিস্তান কাণ্ডজ্ঞানপূর্ণ ও যুক্তিপূর্ণ মনোভাব দেখিয়েছে বলে, এশিয়া মহাদেশে উদ্ভূত সমস্যাদির শান্তিপূর্ণ মীমাংসার কামনা দেখিয়েছে বলে আমরা আনন্দিত।"

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উপমহাদেশে শান্তি পুনঃস্থাপনে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের ভূমিকা : ১৮ ডিসেম্বর তারিখে পররাষ্ট্র বিভাগের বিবৃতি।	সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা	১৮ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

১৯৭১, ১৮ ডিসেম্বর তারিখে প্রচারিত সোভিয়েত পররাষ্ট্র বিভাগের বিবৃতি

হিন্দুস্থান উপদ্বীপে বিদ্যমান বর্তমান পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের পররাষ্ট্র বিভাগকে নিম্নলিখিত বিবৃতিটি প্রচারের অনুমতি দেওয়া হয়েছে:

অন্যান্য শান্তিকামী দেশের মতো সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নও পাক-ভারত উপ-মহাদেশে সশস্ত্র সংঘর্ষের জন্য গভীর উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করছে। সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন এই সংঘর্ষের কারণ সম্পর্কে তার মূল্যায়ণ ও মত স্পষ্টভাবে ব্যক্ত করেছে। বিভিন্ন দেশের জনগণের মধ্যে নিরাপত্তা ও শান্তি বিধানের উদ্দেশ্যে যে পররাষ্ট্র নীতি নির্ধারিত হয়েছে সেই পররাষ্ট্র নীতির মূল ভিত্তির উপর দাঁড়িয়ে, সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের ঘটনাবলীর জন্য পাক-ভারত উপমহাদেশে যে জটিল সমস্যার সৃষ্টি হয়েছে, সেই জটিল সমস্যার সমাধানকল্পে নিষ্ঠার সঙ্গে এবং দৃঢ়ভাবে ১৯৭০ সালের ডিসেম্বর মাসে অনুষ্ঠিত নির্বাচনে ব্যক্ত পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের মানুষের ইচ্ছা ও অভিলাষ অনুযায়ী একটি শান্তিপূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের জন্য প্রাণপণ চেষ্টা করছে।

এই পরিস্থিতিতে যে সংঘর্ষ ও রক্তপাত সুরু হ'ল সেই সংঘর্ষ ও রক্তপাত বন্ধের জন্য, জনগণের ন্যায়সঙ্গত অধিকারের ভিত্তিতে অবিলম্বে শান্তি স্থাপনের জন্য সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন প্রাণপণ চেষ্টা করছে। এই নীতি ও মনোভাবের সঙ্গে সংগতি রেখে সে অন্যান্য দেশের সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ রক্ষা করছে এবং জাতিসংঘের সংগঠন মারফত যথাযোগ্য ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করছে। শান্তি স্থাপনের এই প্রচেষ্টায় নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে কয়েকটি দেশের বিরোধিতার সম্মুখীন হয়েও সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন নিষ্ঠার সঙ্গে তার অবস্থানের প্রতি অবিচল থেকেছে যা পরিস্থিতির বাস্তব মূল্যায়ণ করতে সক্ষম এবং যা ন্যায়সঙ্গত এবং কার্যকরভাবে অবিলম্বে এই সংঘর্ষের অবসান ঘটানো সম্ভব করে তুলবে।

তথাপি শান্তির দিক থেকে বিচার করে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন জনগণের ন্যায়সঙ্গত স্বার্থ রক্ষা করে এই সমস্যা সমাধানের প্রচেষ্টা চালাতে কোনরকম শৈথিল্য দেখায়নি। বর্তমানে এই বিপজ্জনক পরিস্থিতিতে উত্তেজনা হ্রাসের দিকে একটা পরিবর্তনের লক্ষণ দেখা যাচ্ছে। এ বছর ডিসেম্বর মাসের ১৬ তারিখে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে সামরিক সংঘর্ষের সমাপ্তি ঘটে। তার ফলে ন্যায়সঙ্গতভাবে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের হাতে ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তরের স্বাভাবিক পরিস্থিতি সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। সেইদিনই ভারত এবং পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সীমান্তে এবং ১৯৬৫ সালে নির্ধারিত কাশ্মীরের যুদ্ধবিরতি সীমান্তে একতরফাভাবে যুদ্ধবিরতি ঘোষণার সিদ্ধান্ত ভারত সরকার গ্রহণ করে। সেই সঙ্গে ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী ঘোষণা

করেন যে অন্য দেশের ভূখণ্ড অধিকার করার কোন অভিপ্রায় ভারতের নেই। শান্তিপূর্ণ অভিপ্রায় ব্যক্ত করে ভারত যে তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করেছে, সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন তাকে স্বাগত জানায়। ভারতের গঠনমূলক এই উদ্যোগে সাড়া দিয়ে পাকিস্তান সরকার ১৭ই ডিসেম্বর পশ্চিম সীমান্তে যুদ্ধবিরতির যে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করেছে তাতেও সন্তোষ প্রকাশ করা হয়।

এভাবে পাক-ভারত উপমহাদেশে সশস্ত্র সংঘর্ষ সম্পূর্ণভাবে বন্ধের এবং যে সমস্যাকে কেন্দ্র করে এই সংঘর্ষ সৃষ্টি হয়েছে সেই সংঘর্ষের সমস্যার একটা রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের উপযোগী পরিবেশ ধীরে ধীরে সৃষ্টি হচ্ছে। পাক-ভারত উপমহাদেশে যুদ্ধ বন্ধ হলে সেই অঞ্চলের জনগণের মূল স্বার্থ রক্ষিত হবে, তার ফলে জাতীয় বিকাশের এবং অগ্রগতির পথে তাদের এগিয়ে যাওয়ার প্রয়োজনীয় অবস্থা সৃষ্টি হবে এবং চরম উত্তেজনার যে স্থানটিতে সকলের দৃষ্টি নিবদ্ধ তা দূরীভূত হবে।

পাক-ভারত উপমহাদেশে যত তাড়াতাড়ি সম্ভব শান্তি পুনঃস্থাপনের জন্য বিশ্বের সমস্ত দেশকে সর্বপ্রকার সহায়তা করতে এবং পরিস্থিতি স্বাভাবিক হওয়ার পক্ষে ক্ষতিকর, এমন কোন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা থেকে বিরত থাকতে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন আহ্বান জানিয়েছে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সোভিয়েত গণসংগঠনসমূহের বিবৃতি।	সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা।	

(১) সোভিয়েত শান্তি কমিটির বিবৃতি

পাকিস্তানের বিখ্যাত প্রগতিশীল নেতা ও আওয়ামী লীগের নেতা শেখ মুজিবর রহমানের বিচার ও মৃত্যুদণ্ডের আশঙ্কা সম্পর্কে সোভিয়েত শান্তি-সংগ্রামীরা গুরুতর উদ্বেগ পোষণ করেন। এই আওয়ামী লীগই সাধারণ নির্বাচনে পাকিস্তানের জাতীয় পরিষদে নিরঙ্কুশ সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠতা অর্জন করেছিল। এই নির্বাচনের অনতিকাল পরেই, পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের ঘটনাবলীর ব্যাপারে মুজিবর রহমানকে গ্রেপ্তার করা হয় এবং এখন তিনি সামরিক আদালতের রুদ্ধদ্বার কক্ষের অধিবেশনে বিচারাধীন।

মুজিবর রহমানের বিরুদ্ধে অন্যায় ও নিষ্ঠুর ব্যবস্থায় এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের অন্যান্য প্রগতিশীল নেতাদের উপর নির্যাতনে সোভিয়েত জনগণ ক্ষুব্ধ। পৃথিবীর সংবাদপত্রের খবরে জানা যায়, মুজিবর রহমানের সামনে এখন মৃত্যুদণ্ডের বিপদ উপস্থিত। পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাজকর্মকে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনসাধারণের আইনসংগত মানবিক অধিকারের উপর হস্তক্ষেপ এবং পাকিস্তানী জনগণের সুস্পষ্টভাবে ব্যক্ত ইচ্ছাকে অস্বীকার করা বলেই গণ্য করা যায়।

পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের তরফ থেকে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের রাজনৈতিক নেতা ও জননেতাদের নির্যাতন এবং জনসাধারণের উপর নিপীড়নের ফলে লক্ষ লক্ষ শান্তিপ্রিয় মানুষ নিজেদের দেশ ছেড়ে ভারতে আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন। পূর্ব পাকিস্তান থেকে শরণার্থীদের বিরাট স্রোত পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের পরিস্থিতির ক্রমাবনতি ঘটাচ্ছে; আর এই শরণার্থীদের মধ্যে দেখা দিয়েছে অনাহার আর মহামারীর প্রকোপ।

সোভিয়েত শান্তি কমিটি ঘোষণা করছেন যে এশিয়ার শান্তিরক্ষার স্বার্থে, পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের ইচ্ছা, আইনসঙ্গত অধিকার ও স্বার্থকে যথাযোগ্য মর্যাদা দিয়ে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে উদ্ভূত সমস্যাবলীর রাজনৈতিক সমাধান অর্জনের জন্য জরুরী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ অত্যাবশ্যক। লক্ষ লক্ষ সোভিয়েত জনগণের পক্ষ থেকে আমরা পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে আবেদন জানাই, তাঁরা যেন মুজিবর রহমানের বিরুদ্ধে এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের অন্যান্য জননেতার বিরুদ্ধে হিংসাত্মক ব্যবস্থা বন্ধ করেন এবং এমন ব্যবস্থা পালন করেন যা এই অঞ্চলে শান্তিকে শক্তিশালী করবে।

(২) সোভিয়েত ট্রেড ইউনিয়নসমূহের বিবৃতি

সোভিয়েত ট্রেড ইউনিয়নসমূহ কর্তৃক প্রচারিত এক বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে, সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের ট্রেড ইউনিয়নসমূহ এবং কারখানা ও অফিস কর্মীরা অধুনা নিষিদ্ধ আওয়ামী লীগের নেতা শেখ মুজিবর রহমানের বিচারের ঘটনা উদ্বেগের সঙ্গে লক্ষ্য করছেন। এই আওয়ামী লীগই সাধারণ নির্বাচনে জাতীয় এসেম্বলিতে এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের এসেম্বলিতে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ আসন লাভ করেছিল। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের শ্রমজীবী জনগণের সমর্থনপুষ্ট মুজিবর

রহমান পাকিস্তানী জনগণের আইনসঙ্গত নির্বাচিত নেতা হিসাবে, নাগরিক অধিকার ও স্বাধীনতার যোদ্ধা হিসাবে সুপরিচিত। মুজিবর রহমানের বিচার এবং তাঁর বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিহিংসা গ্রহণের যে প্রস্তুতি চলেছে, তা কেবলমাত্র দেশের উক্ত অংশের এবং তার সীমান্তের পরিস্থিতিই জটিল করে তুলবে।

"পাকিস্তানের শ্রমজীবী জনগণের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অধিকারসমূহের জন্য, উপনিবেশবাদীদের জোয়ালের বিরুদ্ধে, গণতন্ত্রের বিকাশের জন্য এবং সমাজ প্রগতির জন্য তাদের সংগ্রামের আন্তর্জাতিক সংহতির প্রতি বিশ্বস্ত সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের ট্রেড ইউনিয়নসমূহ সর্বদাই পাকিস্তানের শ্রমজীবী জনগণের পক্ষ নিয়েছেন।"

বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে, "পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের এবং নেতৃবৃন্দের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যাপক প্রতিহিংসামূলক উৎপীড়নের অবসান ঘটানোর, এবং শরণার্থীদের তাদের স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তনের পরিস্থিতি সৃষ্টির দাবি সোভিয়েত শ্রমজীবী জনগণ জানাচ্ছে।"

(৩) সোভিয়েত আফ্রো-এশীয় সংহতি কমিটির বিবৃতি

সোভিয়েত আফ্রো-এশীয় সংহতি কমিটি প্রদত্ত এক বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে, "পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের শান্তিপূর্ণ অধিবাসীদের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিহিংসামূলক উৎপীড়নের এবং প্রগতিশীল রাজনৈতিক নেতৃবৃন্দের উপর নির্যাতনের অবসান ঘটানোর, মুজিবর রহমানের বিরুদ্ধে বিচারের প্রহসন বন্ধ করার, এবং শরণার্থীদের তাদের স্বদেশে ফিরিয়ে দেওয়ার পরিস্থিতি সৃষ্টির ও তাদের পূর্ণ নিরাপত্তার এবং শান্তিতে জীবনযাপনের ও কাজ করার গ্যারান্টির ব্যবস্থা করার দাবি আমরা জানাচ্ছি"।

বিবৃতিতে পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে দাবি জানান হয়েছে যে, "বিশ্ব জনমতের প্রতি কর্ণপাত করার এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তান জনগণের ইচ্ছা, অধিকার ও আকাঙ্খার কথা বিবেচনায় নিয়ে রাজনৈতিক উপায়ে সমস্যাটির একটি ন্যায্য সমাধানের সম্ভাবনা খুঁজে বার করতে হবে, আর সেটাই হবে আফ্রো-এশীয় সংহতির উদ্দেশ্য ও নীতির সঙ্গে সঙ্গতিপূর্ণ।"

বিবৃতিতে কমিটি জোর দিয়ে বলেছে যে, "যে সব জাতি ঔপনিবেশিক জোয়াল ছুঁড়ে ফেলে দিয়েছে এবং শান্তি ও প্রগতির পরিস্থিতির মধ্যে উন্নততর জীবনযাত্রার জন্য সংগ্রাম করছে, সোভিয়েত জনগণ সর্বদাই তাদের বিশ্বস্ত বন্ধু ছিল ও থাকবে।"

(৪) সোভিয়েত সাংবাদিকদের ইউনিয়নের বিবৃতি

সোভিয়েত সাংবাদিকদের ইউনিয়ন ও পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে "পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যাপক প্রতিহিংসামূলক উৎপীড়নের অবসান ঘটানোর এবং মুজিবর রহমানকে বিচারের নামে হত্যা থেকে নিবৃত্ত হওয়ার" দাবি জানিয়েছেন।

(৫) সোভিয়েত রেডক্রসের বিবৃতি

সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের রেড ক্রস ও রেড ক্রেসেন্ট সমিতিসমূহের ইউনিয়নের কার্যনির্বাহক কমিটি পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের মর্মান্তিক ঘটনাবলী সম্পর্কে গভীর উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করে এক বিবৃতি দিয়েছেন।

বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে, সোভিয়েত রেড ক্রস মানবিক নীতিসমূহ অনুসরণ করে জন্মগত উৎপীড়নের বিরুদ্ধে এবং মানবাধিকার সংক্রান্ত ঘোষণা ও মানবিক নৈতিকতার সর্বজনস্বীকৃত মানগুলিকে নগ্নভাবে লংঘন করার জন্য ক্ষুব্ধ ঘৃণা প্রকাশ করছে। সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের রেড ক্রস ও রেড ক্রেসেণ্ট সমিতিসমূহের লক্ষ লক্ষ সদস্যের পক্ষ থেকে কার্যনির্বাহক কমিটি দৃঢ়ভাবে এই দাবি করছেন যে দেশের প্রগতিশীল ব্যক্তিদের ক্ষেত্রে উৎপীড়ন ও প্রতিহিংসা পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষ বন্ধ করুন, রাষ্ট্রসংঘ কর্তৃক ঘোষিত মানবাধিকার ও আইনানুগতা পুনঃপ্রতিষ্ঠিত করুন এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের অসামরিক জনসমষ্টির কষ্ট লাঘব করুন।

(৬) সোভিয়েত যুব ও ছাত্র সংগঠনগুলির বিবৃতি

সোভিয়েত জাতিসংঘের যুব সংগঠনগুলির কমিটি এবং ছাত্র পরিষদ এক বিবৃতিতে বলেছেন, সোভিয়েত যুব ও ছাত্রসমাজ আশংকা ও উদ্বেগের সঙ্গে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের ঘটনাবলী লক্ষ্য করে যাচ্ছে।

পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষ সন্ত্রাস ও হিংসার পরিবেশে জনগণের আইনসম্মতভাবে নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি ও নিষিদ্ধ আওয়ামী লীগের নেতা মুজিবর রহমানকে শেষ করে দিতে চাইছে।

পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের স্বীকৃত নেতা, সমগ্র পাকিস্তানী জনগণের অতি জরুরী স্বার্থ ও গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকারের জন্য সংগ্রামরত যোদ্ধা মুজিবর রহমানের লজ্জাজনক বিচার পূর্ব পাকিস্তান সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসার উপর আঘাত হানছে, দক্ষিণ এশিয়ায় উত্তেজনাকে আরও ঘোরালো করে তুলছে এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানী শরণার্থীদের স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তনের সমস্যার সমাধানের পথে ও দেশে পরিস্থিতি স্বাভাবিক করার পক্ষে অতিরিক্ত অসুবিধাসমূহের সৃষ্টি করছে।

পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণ ও যুবসমাজের বিরুদ্ধে সন্ত্রাস ও হিংসার এইসব কাজ সম্পর্কে সোভিয়েত যুব ও ছাত্রসমাজ ক্রোধ প্রকাশ করছে।

বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে, সমগ্র পৃথিবীর প্রগতিকামী জনগণের, বিশ্ব গণতান্ত্রিক যুব ও ছাত্র আন্দোলনের সঙ্গে একযোগে আমরা দাবি করছি, মুজিবর রহমানের বিচার বন্ধ করা হোক, পূর্ব পাকিস্তানী দেশভক্তদের মুক্তি দেওয়া হোক ও তাদের উপর নির্যাতন বন্ধ করা হোক এবং শরণার্থীদের স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তনের উপযোগী অবস্থা সৃষ্টি করা হোক।

আইনসম্মত অধিকার সুনিশ্চিত করার জন্য, গণতন্ত্রের জন্য সংগ্রামে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের ও যুবসমাজের সঙ্গে আমার সংহতি জ্ঞাপন করছি।

(৭) সোভিয়েত রাষ্ট্রসংঘ সমিতির বিবৃতি

পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের বিশিষ্ট রাজনৈতিক ও জননেতা, আওয়ামী লীগ নেতা মুজিবর রহমানকে এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের পক্ষ সমর্থনকারী ও তাঁদের ন্যায়সঙ্গত অধিকারের প্রবক্তা অন্যান্য প্রগতিশীল নেতাকে কারারুদ্ধ করায় সোভিয়েত জাতিসংঘের রাষ্ট্রসংঘ বিষয়ক সমিতি গভীর উৎকণ্ঠা প্রকাশ করছে।

মানবাধিকার সম্পর্কিত রাষ্ট্রসংঘের ঘোষণাপত্রের মানবিক মূলনীতি দ্বারা চালিত হয়ে সোভিয়েত জাতিসংঘের রাষ্ট্রসংঘ বিষয়ক সমিতি পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষ কর্তৃক এই ঘোষণাপত্রের মূলনীতিগুলির স্থূল লংঘনের তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করছে এবং দাবি করছে যে মুজিবর রহমানের ও পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের অন্যান্য প্রগতিশীল নেতার বিচার বন্ধ করা হোক এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের ইচ্ছা, অলংঘণীয় অধিকার ও আইনসম্মত স্বার্থগুলি বিবেচনার মধ্যে রেখে বিদ্যমান সমস্যাদির রাজনৈতিক সমাধান বের করার জন্য এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানী শরণার্থীদের দ্রুত ও নিরাপদে স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তনের উপযোগী অবস্থা সুনিশ্চিত করার জন্য ব্যবস্থাদি গ্রহণ করা হোক।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের জনগণের উপর নির্যাতন বন্ধ করার জন্য সোভিয়েত শ্রমিকদের দাবি।	সোভিয়েত তথ্য বিভাগ প্রচারিত পুস্তিকা।	

দমনপীড়নের অবসানের জন্য সোভিয়েত শ্রমিকদের দাবী

পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে চালাও উৎপীড়নে সোভিয়েত জনগণ গভীরভাবে উদ্বিগ্ন। পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষকে তাঁরা যুক্তির প্রতি কর্ণপাত করার এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের দেশপ্রেমিকদের উপর নির্যাতন বন্ধ করার আহ্বান জানিয়েছেন।

মস্কো বৈদ্যুতিক যন্ত্রনির্মাণ কারখানা "ডায়নামো"র শ্রমিকদের এক সভায় ফিটার আলেক-জান্দার কারিশেভ বলেন, "আমরা পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে দাবি করছি, তাঁরা যেন পৃথিবীর বিভিন্ন দেশের লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষের কণ্ঠস্বরে কর্ণপাত করে দেশে স্বেচ্ছাচারিতা বন্ধ করেন, পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের আইনসঙ্গত স্বার্থকে যথাযোগ্য মর্যাদা দিয়ে সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধান অর্জনের জন্য ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করেন।"

সভায় গৃহীত প্রস্তাবে বলা হয়েছে: "পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাজকে আমরা পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনসাধারণের মৌলিক মানবিক অধিকারের উপর নগ্ন হস্তক্ষেপ বলে মনে করি।" সভায় অংশগ্রহণকারীরা পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে চালাও উৎপীড়নের অবসান দাবি করেন এবং শরণার্থী-দের যথাশীঘ্র সম্ভব স্বদেশে ফেরার মতো অবস্থা সৃষ্টি করতে বলেন।

মস্কোর লিখাচেভ অটো ওয়ার্কসে এক জনসভা অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। ফিটার বোরিস কোরনেভ উপস্থিত সকলের মনোভাব প্রকাশ করেন। তিনি বলেন, "আমরা গভীর দুঃখের সঙ্গে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের প্রগতিশীল রাজনৈতিক নেতা ও জননেতাদের উপর নির্যাতনের খবর জেনেছি। আমরা জানতে পেরেছি যে সামরিক ট্রাইব্যুনাল আওয়ামী লীগের সভাপতি মুজিবর রহমানের বিচারের আয়োজন করছেন। এই বিশিষ্ট প্রগতিশীল নেতা পাকিস্তানী জনগণ-কর্তৃক আইন-সঙ্গতভাবে নির্বাচিত হয়েছিলেন। তিনি যে-আওয়ামী লীগের সভাপতি, গত বছরের ডিসেম্বরে অনুষ্ঠিত নির্বাচনে সেই আওয়ামী লীগই দেশের জাতীয় পরিষদে এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের বিধান পরিষদে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ আসন দখল করেছিলেন।

তরুণ শ্রমিক ভিকতর ফাদেয়েভ বলেন যে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষকে স্বদেশ ছেড়ে বিদেশে আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করতে হয়েছে।

সভায় বিভিন্ন বক্তা বলেন, "পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের শান্তিপ্রিয় জনসাধারণের উপর চালাও উৎপীড়নের বিরুদ্ধে আমরা প্রতিবাদ জানাই। দেশে উদ্ভূত সমস্যাবলী সমাধানের জন্য ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা প্রয়োজন এবং সমস্ত শরণার্থী যাতে স্বগৃহে প্রত্যাবর্তন করতে পারেন সে ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা প্রয়োজন।"

সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের ক্রেতা সমবায় সমিতিগুলির কেন্দ্রীয় ইউনিয়ন পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের প্রগতিশীল রাজনৈতিক নেতা ও জননেতাদের উপরে নির্যাতন এবং সেখানকার জনসাধারণের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যাপক উৎপীড়ন সম্পর্কে এক বিবৃতি প্রচার করেছেন।

সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের সমবায় সমিতিগুলির ৬ কোটি সদস্যের পক্ষ থেকে কেন্দ্রীয় ইউনিয়নের পর্ষদ পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে আওয়ামী লীগের সভাপতি মুজিবর রহমানের লজ্জাজনক বিচার বন্ধ করার দাবি করেছেন।

বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে যে সমবায় সমিতিগুলির সদস্যরা পৃথিবীর মানুষের উদ্দেশে আহ্বান জানাচ্ছেন, তাঁরা যেন পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের স্বেচ্ছাচারিতা ও উচ্ছৃঙ্খলতার নিন্দা করেন এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণ সমবায় সমিতিগুলির সদস্যদের অধিকার রক্ষার সপক্ষে এগিয়ে আসেন।

মস্কোর ভিউকপ ময়দা কলের শত শত শ্রমিক-কর্মচারী এক সভায় পিপেয়ার শপের শ্রমিক এ ভি দুলোভ বলেন: "আমরা সোভিয়েত জনগণ উদ্বেগের সঙ্গে পাকিস্তানের বিয়োগান্ত ঘটনাবলী লক্ষ্য করছি। সেদেশে পাইকারী পীড়ন, গণতন্ত্রের প্রাথমিক নীতিগুলি লংঘন পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের নিযুত নিযুত মানুষকে ভারতে পালিয়ে যেতে বাধ্য করেছে। আমরা দাবি করছি অবস্থা স্বাভাবিক করা হোক। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের প্রগতিশীল নেতাদের বিরুদ্ধে দমন-পীড়ন বন্ধ করা হোক।"

লেনিনগ্রাদ ক্রাসনেগভার্দেৎস ফার্মের শ্রমিকদের এক সভায় সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে গৃহীত এক প্রস্তাবে বলা হয়েছে: "আমরা দাবি করছি যে পাকিস্তান সরকার অবিলম্বে শান্তিপূর্ণ জনসমষ্টির উপর দমনপীড়ন বন্ধ করুক, নিযুত নিযুত শরণার্থীর স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তনের প্রয়োজনীয় অবস্থা সৃষ্টি করুক।"

শান্তিপূর্ণ জনসমষ্টির উপর পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের নির্মম মনোভাবের বিরুদ্ধে, প্রগতিশীল রাজনৈতিক নেতাদের উপর নির্যাতনের বিরুদ্ধে ক্রুদ্ধ প্রতিবাদ জানান সমাজতান্ত্রিক শ্রমবীর দলনেতা ভি. ভি পেত্রোভ, ফিটার ভি এ বুকানোভ, ফার্মের কমসোমল কমিটির সদস্য আনাতোলি উসানস্কিক, এসেম্বলী শপের ভি. ভি. বিস্ত্রোভা ও ইঞ্জিনিয়ার ভি. এ. মিখাইলোভা।

ভোইকভ ঢালাই লোহা ফাউণ্ড্রির প্রতিটি শপ, বিভাগ ও সার্ভিসের প্রতিনিধিদের এক সভায় পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে গণ-পীড়নের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ জানানো হয়। সভার উদ্বোধন করেন ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন কমিটির সভাপতি এ. বেস্পালোভ। ফিটার এস. গুমেনি, টেকনিক্যাল রেটিং ব্যুরোর প্রধান আই. পোরপেল্কিন, ইলেক্ট্রিক্যাল শপের শ্রমিক ও যুব কমিউনিষ্ট লীগের কমিটির সদস্য জি. ভাইৎসেভা প্রমুখ বক্তারা পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে সন্ত্রাস ও দমনপীড়ন বন্ধ করার এবং উদ্ভূত সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসা অর্জনের প্রয়োজনীয়তার উপর জোর দেন।

তাশখন্দের অক্টোবর বিপ্লব আখ্যাত ডিজেল ইঞ্জিন ও গাড়ি সারাই কারখানায় এক বিরাট সভায় শ্রমিকরা পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে শান্তিপূর্ণ জনসমষ্টির উপর পাইকারী দমনপীড়নে এবং দেশ ভক্তদের উপর নির্যাতনে গভীর আশঙ্কা ও উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করেছেন।

মিল্‌ক মোটর কারখানার শ্রমিকদের এক সভায় গৃহীত প্রস্তাবে পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে বিভিন্ন দেশের জনগণের দাবিতে কর্ণপাত করতে এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের ইচ্ছা, অধিকার ও আইনসম্মত স্বার্থকে যথোপযুক্ত বিবেচনার মধ্যে রেখে সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসা অর্জনের জন্য কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে আহ্বান জানানো হয়েছে।

কুইবিশেভে চতুর্থ কেয়ারিং কারখানায় অনুষ্ঠিত এক বিরাট সভায় দমন-পীড়ন বন্ধ করার জন্য এবং পাকিস্তান প্রগতিশীল নেতাদের উপর নির্যাতন বন্ধ করার জন্য পাকিস্তান সরকারের কাছে দাবি জানান হয়।

আলমা আতা ফাউণ্ড্রি ও মেশিন শপের এক সভায় শ্রমিকরা পাকিস্তানের ঘটনাবলী সম্পর্কে উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করেন। প্রস্তাবে আশা প্রকাশ করা হয়েছে যে দেশে ন্যায় বিচার পুন:প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষ জরুরী ব্যবস্থাদি গ্রহণ করবেন।

চীন

সরকারী দলিলপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে
গণ-প্রজাতন্ত্রী চীন সরকারের ভূমিকা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে ভারতীয় ভূমিকা সম্পর্কে পিপলস্ ডেইলীর ভাষ্য।	পিপলস্ ডেইলি। উদ্ধৃতি : চায়না, পাকিস্থান এ্যাণ্ড বাংলাদেশ — আর. কে. জৈন।	১১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

"WHAT ARE INDIAN EXPANSIONISTS TRYING TO DO ?"

ARTICLE BY *People's Daily* Commentator, 11 April, 1971

Of late, the Indian Government has redoubled its efforts to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs in disregard of the repeated stern protests of the Pakistan Government. This overbearing action of the Indian Government cannot but arouse the indignation of all justice-upholding countries.

The relevant measures taken by President Yahya Khan in connection with the present situation in Pakistan are internal affairs of Pakistan, in which no country should or has the right to interfere. But the Indian reactionaries came forward in a great hurry to openly interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. certain big-wigs in the Indian government ranging from the Prime Minister, the Minister of External Affairs, to members of Parliament and chief ministers of states raised a hue and cry for fanatic interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. The Indian Parliament and the Indian National Congress openly discussed and adopted resolutions interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The Indian Government was busily plotting for international intervention in league with the two superpowers. Meanwhile, the Indian reactionaries have set their entire propaganda machine in motion to fan up anti-Pakistan chauvinist sentiments. All these frenzied acts are a new exposure of the expansionist features of the Indian reactionaries.

To create pretexts for meddling in the internal affairs of a neighbouring country, the Indian reactionaries insisted that changes in the internal situation of Pakistan "cannot but prejudice India's own security." It may be asked : Is it Pakistan that "threatens" India's security, or is it the Indian expansionists that threaten Pakistan's security. While the Indian reactionaries were making inflammatory remarks over the Pakistan situation, the Indian Government massed troops along the East Pakistan border, and even instigated armed plainclothes men to infiltrate into Pakistan territory for disruption and harrassment. Does this flagrant threat of force not seriously prejudice the security of Pakistan ?

The Indian reactionaries also claimed that "geography makes it impossible" for india to "view" the situation in Pakistan "as simply an internal matter for Pakistan." Such argument is extremely preposterous. With a definite place in geography, every country has neighbours. If this "theory" of the Indian expansionists can stand, then countries with expansionist and aggressive ambitions may wilfully interfere in the internal affairs of their neighbouring countries for geographical reasons. Under such circumstances, what normal relations can there be between nations?

It is worth noting that the two superpowers, working in close co-ordination with the Indian reactionaries, crudely interfere in the internal affairs

of Pakistan. The U. S. State Department issued a statement in an effort to poke its nose in to Pakistan's internal affairs, while the Soviet Government acted more blatantly. In his message to President Yahya Khan, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. Podgorny made no mention of the Indian reactionaries' threat to Pakistan, but on the contrary impudently criticized the Pakistan Government. They posed themselves as "friends" and hypocritically expressed concern for "the interests of the people of Pakistan." As known to all, if the independence, sovereignty, unification and territorial integrity of a country are encroached upon, then what is left of the interests of the people ?! Judging by what had been done by the Soviet union in Czechoslovakia, it is not hard to see what the Soviet leadership supports, what it opposes, and on whose side after all it stands.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out : "We firmly maintain that all nations should practise the well-known Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence." This is the criterion for handling relations among nations. Anyone who interferes in the internal affairs of other countries in an attempt to achieve one's ulterior motives will never come to a good end.

The Pakistan people have the revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism and have waged unyielding struggles against aggressors and interventionists from outside. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and against foreign aggression and interference.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের অখণ্ডতা রক্ষায় চীনা সমর্থনের আশ্বাস : প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খান-এর কাছে প্রেরিত প্রধানমন্ত্রী চৌ-এন লাই-এর বার্তা।	পাকিস্তান হরাইজন। উদ্ধৃতি : সাউথ এশিয়ান ক্রাইসিস — রবার্ট জ্যাকসন।	১৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

CHOU EN-LAI's MESSAGE TO YAHYA KHAN, 12 APRIL 1971

I have read Your Excellency's letter and Ambassador Chang Tung's report on your Excellency's conversation with him. I am grateful to Your Excellency for your trust in the Chinese Government.

China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours. The Chinese Government and people are following with close concern the development of the present situation of Pakistan. Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan have done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving towards a split.

We believe that through the wise consultations and efforts of Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan, the situation in Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal.

In our opinion, the unification of Pakistan and the unity of the people of East and West Pakistan are the basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength.

Here, it is most important to differentiate the broad masses of the people from a handful of persons who want to sabotage the unification of pakistan.

As a genuine friend of Pakistan, we would like to present these views for Your Excellency's reference.

At the same time, we have noted that of late the Inidan Government has been carrying out gross interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan by exploiting the internal problems of your country. And the Soviet Union and the United States are doing the same one after the other.

The Chinese Press is carrying reports to expose such unreasonable interference and has published Your Excellency's letter of reply to Podgorny.

The Chinese Government holds that what is happening in Pakistan at present is purely the internal affair of Pakistan, which can only be settled by the Pakistan people themselves and which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever.

Your Excellency may rest assured that should the Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence.

—Pakistan Horrizon,
XXIV No. 2, pp 153-54

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
রাষ্ট্রীয় সার্বভৌমত্ব ও জাতীয় স্বাধীনতা রক্ষার সংগ্রামে পাকিস্তানের প্রতি সংহতি প্রকাশ : ভুট্টোর সম্মানে প্রদত্ত ভোজসভায় গণচীনের ভারপ্রাপ্ত পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী চি পেং ফি'র বক্তৃতা।	পাকিস্তান হরাইজন। উদ্ধৃতি: সাউথ এশিয়ান ক্রাইসিস—রবার্ট জ্যাকসন।	৭ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

CHI PENG-FEI'S SPEECH AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOUR OF BHUTTO, 7 NOVEMBER, 1971

In order to defend their state sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence, they [the Pakistani people] have waged unremitting struggles against foreign aggressors, interventionists and domestic secessionists. The Pakistan Government has adhered to its foreign policy of independence and contributed to the defence of peace in Asia and the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity.

Of late, the Indian Government has crudely interfered in Pakistan's internal affairs, carried out subversive activities and military threats against Pakistan by continuing to exploit the East Pakistan question. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the present tention in the Subcontinent. We maintain that the internal affairs of any country must be handled by its own people. The East Pakistan question is the internal affair of Pakistan and a reasonable settlement should be sought by the Pakistan people themselves, and it is absolutely impermissible for any foreign country to carry out interference and subversion under any pretext. Consistently abiding by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the Chinese Government never interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and firmly opposes any country interfering in the internal affairs of other country. This is our firm and unshakeable stand. We believe that the broad masses of the Pakistan people are patriotic and they want to safeguard national unity and unification of the country, oppose internal split and outside interference. It is our hope that the Pakistan people will strengthen their unity and make joint efforts to overcome difficulties and solve their own problems. We have noted that certain persons are truculently exerting pressure on Pakistan by exploiting tension in the Subcontinent, in a wild attempt to realize their ulterior motives. The Chinese Government and people have always held that disputes between states should be settled by the two sides concerned through consultations and not by resorting to force. The reasonable proposal put forward recently by President Yahya Khan for the armed forces of India and Pakistan to withdraw from the border respectively and disengage is helpful to easing tension in the Subcontinent and should be received with welcome. Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that should Pakistan be subjected to foreign aggression, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to defend their state sovereignty and national independence.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে চীন 'ন্যায়সংগত সমাধান' চায়।	স্টেটসম্যান	৭ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Bangladesh Issue

CHINA URGES 'REASONABLE SETTLEMENT'

Indo-Pak Talks On Border Suggested

Peking, Nov.7—China today appelled to India and Pakistan to hold consultations to reduce tension on their borders. It has also asked Pakistan to seek a "reasonable settlement" on the Bangladesh Issue, say AFP and Reuter.

Mr. Cheng Peng-fei, Acting Chinese Foreign Minister, addressing a banquet in honour of the top-level Pakistani delegation, now in Peking, urged Islamabad to resolve the Bangladesh problem on its own. He said this could be done within the framework of Pakistan, keeping in view the solidarity and integrity of the country.

Mr. Cheng came out in support of what he called the "reasonable proposal" of President Yahva Khan for troop withdrawls to a "reasonable distance" from their borders. "The dispute between the States should be settled by the two sides concerned through consultations and not by resorting to loree" he said.

Radio Pakistan reporting the speech claimed however, that China had reiterated its support to Pakistan in the event of "any foreign invasion" adds UNI from Delhi.

The radio said Mr. Cheng alleged that India was interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs. Mr. Cheng was also quoted as saving that China "itself has not interfered in any country's internal affairs and it was also opposed to other's interference".

He justified President Yahya Khan's proposal for the withdrawl of troops from the borders by both India and Pakistan and said this was for bringing peace in the subcontinent. China was deeply concerned over the situation, he added.

According to the radio, Mr Cheng said that "India was taking undue advantage" of the situation in East Bengal. The Chinese leader, however did not indicate the type of support Chaina would live to Pakistan.

The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai was also present at the banquet.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, who is leading the Pakistan delegation, in reply expressed Pakistan's gratitude for the relation of Chinese support.

On the third day of his stay in Peking today, Mr. Bhutto was stated to have had a series of meetings with Mr. Cho En-lai.

The three Service chiefs of Pakistan in the delegation had a separate meeting with their Chinese counterparts.

Later at a Press conference Mr. Bhutto was asked about the result of his visit and Chinese aid to Pakistan. Refusing to "raveal our hard" Mr. Bhutto said: "We have taken all measures. We feel extremely reassured that we have completely taken all the contingencies into account". However, he appeared to rule out the eventuality of a direct Chinese commitment in the event of a conflict by stressing that any decision would be "our own effort".

Mr. Bhutto claimed that his detegation which is due to leave Peking early tomorrow, had reached a "complete identity of views" with the Chinese leaders.

He also claimed that the visit "has made substantial contribution to deterring aggressive intentions" against Pakistan. No communique would be published at the end of the visit because Mr. Bhuto said:

"We don't find the need for a communique. There is no need for a treaty".

Mr. Bhutto also volunteered what he called was his "personal opinion" that it would be premature to seek "in a panic" a solution from the U.N. Security Council. "A solution can be found outside the U.N." he added.

He said Pakistan hoped to "open a new chapter" in relations with India and claimed that Pakistan did not want an armed conflict and sought "de-escalation" while India "believes in a foreign policy of terrorism, chauvinism and interference".

He declared Pakistan's willingness to solve the East Bengal problem "in sanity, sobriety and calmly". Referring to the Prime Mininster Mrs. Ghandhis current foreign tour he said: "India is consulting her friends. We are consulting ours. We attach supreme importance to our relations with the People's Republic of China".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে রাজনৈতিক সমাধানে পৌঁছার জন্য পাকিস্তানের প্রতি চীনের পরামর্শ।	স্টেটসম্যান	১২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

CHINA ADVISED PAKISTAN TO FIND POLITICAL SOLUTION

New Delhi, Nov. 12—China has advised Pakistan to act with restraint and try for a political settlement of the East Bengal problem the Rawalpindi correspondent of the Times, London, says, reports UNI.

The Chinese have said that Pakistan in no case should attack India and have observed that the time was not appropriate to raise the issue in the Security Council, the BBC quoting the correspondent said.

The Daily Telegraph has published a report from its Dacca correspondent saying that there were signs that the morale of the 6,000 West Punjabi policemen in East Bengal was sagging. They were brought to East Bengal to replace the Bengali policemen who had gone over to the Bangladesh cause. The correspondent says the West Pakistani policemen were brought to East Bengal on the promise that they would be sent back in September. They were now demanding that a pucca date be given to them about their return.

In London, the visiting Australian Prime Minister. Mr William McMahan had a one-hour meeting with the British Foreign Secretary Mr. Douglas-Home. The subjects discussed included the problem of the Indian subcontinent, the broadcast added.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের পাকিস্তানী শরণার্থী বিষয়ক কমিটিতে গণচীনের প্রতিনিধি ফু-হাও এর বক্তৃতা।	চায়না, পাকিস্তান এণ্ড বাংলাদেশ	১৯ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SPEECH OF CHINESE DELEGATE FU HAO IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON PAKISTANI REFUGESS IN INDIA, 19 NOVEMBER, 1971

The Chinese Government and people have always held that the internal affairs of any country should be settled by the people of the country themselves. The question that has arisen in East Pakistan is purely Pakistan's internal affairs which can only be settled by the Pakistan people themselves, and no country has the right to interfere in it under any pretex.

The so-called question of refugees from East Pakistan came into being and developed to its present state due to a certain country's intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs, which has resulted in the present tension on the Subcontinent. Recently the Pakistan Government has repeatedly proposed relaxing the tension on the Subcontinent and settling the refugee question But all these proposals have been rejected by the country concerned. It continues to exploit the question of refugees from East Pakistan to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, to carry out subversive activities against her and obstruct the return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homeland, making it impossible to reach a reasonable settelment of the question of the East Pakistan refugees . These a tactics of interferrence in the internal affairs of other countries are well known to the Chinese Government and people. In our experience, a certain neighbouring country plotted a rebellion in the Tibetan region of our country and carried out subversive activities When the rebellion it plotted was smashed by the Chainese people, it coerced tens of thousands of Chinese inhabitants into going to its country, creating a question of so-called 'Tibetan refugees, in wild opposition to china. We hold that in order to attain a reasonable settlement of the question of refugees from East Pakistan, interference in Pakistan's internal affairs must first of all be stopped. Only in this way can the East Pakistan refugees truly be assisted in returning to their homeland.

The Chinese Government has always abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is firmly opposed to any country interfering in the internal affairs of others countries, under the pretext of a so-called 'refugee question' or anything else. As for disputes between states, we have always held that they should be settled through consultation between the countries concerned. We believe that the broad masses of the Pakistan people are patriotic, are opposed to foreign interference, and they will certainly be able to solve their own problems.

শিরনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আলবেনীয় সংবর্ধনা সভায় উপমহাদেশীয় পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে গণ-চীনের উপ-প্রধান মন্ত্রী লী শিয়েন নিয়েন-এর বক্তৃতা।	ঢাকা, পাকিস্তান এ্যাণ্ড বাংলাদেশ	২৯ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE CHINESE VICE-PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN AT THE ALBANIAN RECEPTION, 29 NOVEMBER, 1971

In the past few days, because the Indian Government, supported and encouraged by social-imperialism, has been carrying out subversive activities and military provocations against East Pakistan, the tension on the Subcontinent has been aggravated. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the present India-Pakistan situation. We maintain that disputes between states should be settled by the two parties concerned through peaceful consultations and absolutely not by resorting to force; it is all the more impermissible for a country, under any pretext, to employ large numbers of armed troops to wilfully cross its own border and invade and occupy another country's territory. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of their state sovereignty and national independence. In order to ease the present tension, we hold that serious consideration should be given to President Yahya Khan's reasonable proposal for the armed forces of India and Pakistan to withdraw respectively from the border and disengage.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে জাতিসংঘ নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে গণচীনের প্রতিনিধি মিঃ হুয়াং হুয়ার ভাষণ।	চায়না, পাকিস্তান এ্যাণ্ড বাংলাদেশ	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE CHINESE REPRESENTATIVE HUANG HUA IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, DECEMBER, 1971

Of late, the Indian Government has openly sent troops to invade East Pakistan and provoked large-scale armed conflicts, thus aggravating tension in the India-Pakistan Subcontinent and Asia. The Chinese Government and people express serious concern over this and are closely following the development of the situation.

1. The question of East Pakistan is purely the internal affair of Pakistan, in which no one has any right to interfere. It is impermissible for the Indian Government to commit armed aggression against Pakistan by using the question of East Pakistan as a pretext.

2. The Indian Government asserts that it has sent troops to East Pakistan for the purpose of 'self-defence.' This is sheer gangster logic. The facts show that it is a India which has committed aggression against Pakistan, and not Pakistan which has 'menanced' the security of India. According to the logic of the Indian Government, anyone can use the pretext of 'self-defence' for invading other countries. In that case, what guarantee is there for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of various countries?

3. The Indian Government asserts that the purpose for its sending troops to invade East Pakistan is to help the refugees of East Pakistan to return to their homeland. This is utterly untenable. At present, there are in India large numbers of so called 'refugees' from Tibet, China; the Indian Government is also grooming Dalai Lama, the chieftain of the Tibetan counter-revolutionary rebellion. According to the Indian Government's assertion, are you going to use this also as a basis for aggression against China?

4. The Pakistan Government has proposed that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw from the border respectively and disengage and that the question of the refugees of East Pakistan be settled through negotiations between the two Governments. This is entirely reasonable. However, the Indian Government has unwarrantedly rejected it. This shows that the Indian Government has no intention at all to settle the question of the refugees of East Pakistan, but want to capitalize on this question as a pretext for further subversion and aggression against Pakistan.

The Chinese Delegation maintains that according to the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should strongly condemn the aggressive acts of the Indian Government and demand that the Indian Government immediately and unconditionally withdraw all the Indian armed forces from Pakistan.

Finally, on behalf of the Chinese Government, I wish to state that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against Indian aggression. Here I would like to point out to the Security Council, the United Nations and the people of the world that the Indian Government's current acts of aggression have been perpetrated with the support of the social-imperialism. This is borne out by an abundance of facts. I reserve the right to speak further on this matter.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উপমহাদেশীয় যুদ্ধে চীন পাকিস্তানকে দৃঢ় সমর্থন দান করবে : বৃটিশ সাংবাদিক নেভিল ম্যাক্সওয়েলের সংগে সাক্ষাৎকারে চীনা প্রধানমন্ত্রীর মন্তব্য।	স্টেটসম্যান	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

CHOU PLEDGES "FIRM SUPPORT" TO PAKISTAN

From S. Nihal Singh

LONDON, Dec. 4—China's attitude to an Indo-Pakistani war, spelled out for the first time by Mr. Chou En-lai, stopped short of any public commitment to supply Pakistan with money and munitions.

In an interview granted by the Chinese Primier to a British journalist, Mr. Neville Maxwell, being published by the Sunday Times tomorrow, Mr. Chou promises only his country's "firm support" to Pakistan in the event of a war on the subcontinent.

What this firm support will amount to is left unsaid, but Mr. Chou goes a long way in blaming India for the situation, suggests that the East Bengal problem was a "time bomb" left by Lord Mountbatten and prophesizes a continuing period of instability for the subcontinent even after a war.

Mr. Chou further seeks to find a parallel between the problem of East Pakistani refugees and Tibetan refugees who had fled to India. He says that the Soviets hastily signed the Indo-Soviet treaty, which had been ready for two years, after President Nixon's visit to China was announced and blames Russia in part for the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict. According to Mr. Chou the Russians had told India in 1962 that China would not fight back.

While this interview serves to underline China's reversion to supporting Pakistan against India but retaining for itself a large field for manoeuvre, the Western world's reaction to the fighting on the sub-continent has been a compound of sorrow mixed with concern over war having broken out in all but name.

The British Prime Minister is reported to have sent messages to Mrs. Gandhi and President Yahya Khan urging moderation and restraint But it still seems to be Whitehall's efforts to avoid making a public move in the crisis in view of the realization that Britain's influence with both India and Pakistan is strictly limited.

INDIANS ABROAD

The Indian community in Britain has acted promptly in offering to return home to fight for the country and the Indian High Commission has been besieged with telephone calls.

A point made in several reports in the British Press today was that India was taken unawares by the Pakistani air attacks yesterday on the Indian airports in the west. But there was a tendency, exemplified in The Times leader, not to jump to the conclusion that a full-scale war had actually broken out.

The Guardian, on the other hand, which has been taking a somewhat emotional attitude to events on the subcontinent, sees a Yahya-Mrs Gandhi meeting as the only way to stop a full-scale war. For the Daily Telegraph, the Pakistani air attacks on Indian airports yesterday could perhaps be meant as a warning to Mrs. Gandhi. But the paper suggests in an editorial that it is still not too late for President Yahya to release Sheikh Mujib and seek a political solution in East Pakistan.

PTI, quoting NCNA, adds: China accused India tonight of having expansionist ambitions denounced the Soviet Union for supporting India, and promised firm support for Pakistan's "just struggle".

The official New China News Agency said the acting Foreign Minister, Mr. Chi Peng-fei, made the statements in a speech at a reception given by the Mauritanian Ambassador. Mr. Mohamed Ould Sidi Aly, to mark Mauritania's 11th anniversary of independence.

"An Indian leader has openly made the truculent demand for Pakistani troops to withdraw from East Pakistan". Mr Chi said. "Is this not a brazen demand for Pakistan to give in its own territory, to be occupied by Indian troops"? He asked. "This clamour of the Indian leader has completely revealed India's expansionist ambitions", Mr. Chi declared.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত-পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধের প্রশ্নে জাতিসংঘ নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে উপস্থাপিত খসড়া প্রস্তাবের ব্যাখ্যায় গণচীনের প্রতিনিধি হুয়াং হুয়ার বক্তৃতা।	চায়না, পাকিস্তান এ্যান্ড বাংলাদেশ	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE CHINESE REPRESENTATIVE HUANG HUA IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, 5 DECEMBER 1971

The Chinese delegation has presented a draft resolution (S/10421) to the Security Council on the question, for consideration of the members of this Council. Now I should like to make some explanation, briefly, with regard to this draft resolution. An argument has been raised to the effect that a request can first be made for a cease-fire by both India and Pakistan and the cessation of all military actions, although the question of withdrawal of military forces can be deferred to a later date. That is an argument to which we definitely cannot agree because the present objective situation is that the Indian Government has brazenly carried out subversion and aggression against Pakistan and flagrantly sent troops to invade Pakistan territory. In these circumstances the key to the realization of peace and security on the sub-continent is that the Indian Government's subversion and aggression must be immediately stopped. Indian troops must withdraw from Pakistan territory immediately, unconditionally and completely.

The demand for only a cease fire in place by the two sides, without a demand for withdrawal of Indian troops, is in effect tantamount to conniving at and encouraging aggression and to recognizing the Indian aggressor troops remaining in Pakistan territory as legal. To do so would be of no help whatsoever to the settlement of the arms conflict between India and Pakistan or the relaxation of tension in that area. On the contrary, it would only bring extremely grave and dangerous results. Just as the representative of Somalia said yesterday, have not the resolutions passed by the United Nations on the question of the Middle East that failed to demand the immediate withdrawal of Israeli aggressor troops from Arab territory but only called for a cease-fire in palce, resulted in legalizing the fruits of aggression and imposing them on the Arab countries and people and in creating in the Middle East the danger of aggression and war on a still larger scale ?

The United Nations sould in no way repeat time and again such a grave error of principle. Should it do so, the people throughout the world who uphold justice will have every reason to accuse the Security Council of being an accomplice in the scheme of India and her behind-the-scenes boss, Soviet social-imperialism, to invade and occupy Pakistan territory and to dismember the State of Pakistan. We sincerely call upon the sponsor States to give serious consideration to such evil consequences. Therefore, we propose that clauses strongly condemning Indian armed aggression against Pakistan and demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Indian armed personnel that have invaded Pakistan territory be added to the draft resolution under consideration.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত-পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধ প্রশ্নে চীনের ভাষ্য : জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদে গণচীনের প্রতিনিধি চিয়াও কুয়ান হুয়ার বক্তৃতা।	চায়না, পাকিস্তান এ্যাণ্ড বাংলাদেশ	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE CHINESE REPRESENTATIVE CHIAO KUAN-HUA IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 7 DECEMBER, 1971

India and Pakistan are both clos neighbours of China. The Chinese Government and people are seriously concerned over the armed conflict between India and Pakistan. The Chinese Delegation would like to make a few remarks on this question.

1. The Indian Government is an outright aggressor.

Our Colleagues here all know well how the war between India and Pakistan was started. The Indian Government has been saying again and again that it was the question of the East Pakistan refugees that has put it in a position in which it has no alternative but to send troops to invade Pakistan. This is indeed absurd to the extreme. The Indian ruling circles had also sometime ago forcibly coerced several tens of thousands of the inhabitants of China's Tibet into going to India and set up a so-called government in exile headed by the Chinese traitor Dalai Lama. To agree that the Indian Government is justified to use the so-called refugee question as a pretext for invading Pakistan is tantamount to agreeing that the Indian Government will be justified to use the question of the so-called "Tibetan refugees" as a pretext for invading China. Is not this kind of pretext utterly ridiculous?

Supported by a certain big power, the Indian Government has become most arrogant and rampant. It openly clamours that since Pakistan is a neighbour of India, the existence of Pakistan troops in East Pakistan constitutes in itself a threat to India. This is sheer fascist nonsence. India is also a neighbour of China; does the existence of Indian troops in India then constitute a threat to China?

Indian ruling circles claim that India is a country that loves democracy, freedom and peace. This can only deceive or hoodwink those who are not familiar with the facts. In the world today, only in India can one find several tens of millions of untouchables. Among the new, independent countries in Asia and Africa, only India has a "protectorate". Almost all the neighbours of India have been bullied by it at one time or another. What kind of democracy is this? What kind of freedom is this ? And what kind of peace is this ?

India's expansionism had a long history. In his book *The Discovery of India,* Nehru openly proclaimed that the South Asian Subcontinent and the Indian Ocean is the sphere of influence of India. For years the Indian ruling circles have never given up their ambitious attempt to become a "superpower" or a "semi-superpower." Their present aggression against Pakistan is the inevitable outcome of the implementation of such an expansionist policy.

2. The Soviet Government is the boss behind the Indian aggressors.

The Indian expansionist usually do not have much guts. Why have they become so flagrant now? The reason is that a super power, Soviet Social-imperialism, is backing them up. As I said earlier, the so-called Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation is in effect a treaty of military alliance. Since the conclusion of that treaty, the Indian Government has become all the more flagrant, carrying out subversion and aggression against Pakistan without any scruples. On December 5, TASS published a statement which is full of the smell of gunpowder. It clamours that the tension between India and Pakistan has threatened the so-called interests of the security of the Soviet Union and that it cannot remain indifferent. This is blackmail and is a menace to China as well as all the neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan. Distinguished Soviet representative, what exactly are you planning to do? You might as well tell us here.

In the Security Council meetings of December 4, 5, 6, Soviet representative Mr. Malik and the Indian representative echoing each other, insisted on imposing the representatives of the so-called "Bangladesh" on the Security Council. The Soviet representative vetoed two draft resolutions which were supported by the majority of Council members. He unwarrantably assailed at will all those representatives who differed with him. He openly declared that he would veto all draft resolutions other than his own. This is indeed arrogant and crude to the extreme. I can hardly find the proper words to describe his behaviour.

It is not at all surprising that the Soviet leading clique is giving such naked support to the Indian aggressors. Ever since the Soviet leading clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism and embarked on the road of revisionism, it has been pursuing a policy of social-imperialism. It has carried out every where aggression, subversion, control and interference against other countries. In 1968, it flagrantly sent troops to invade and occupy Czechoslovakia. This year it went so far as to attempt overtly to subvert the legal government of an African country. The facts are well-known to many of our colleagues here. Let me put it bluntly. Making use of the ambition of the Indian expansionists, the Soviet leading clique is supporting India's armed aggression against Pakistan with the purpose of further controlling India and as the next controlling the whole of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent and the Indian Ocean in order to contend with another superpower for world hegemony.

3. The United Nations should not repeat the mistakes of the League of Nations.

The current Indo-Pakistan situation cannot but remind us of the situation during the 30s. In 1931, the Japanese militarists unleashed a war of aggression against China by invading and occupying our three north-eastern provinces, and set up a so-called "Manchukuo. The German and Italian fascists closely co-ordinated with them by giving "recognition " to that puppet regime. The League of Nations which was then under the control of Britain, France and other powers did not distinguish between right and wrong, between the aggressor and the victim of aggression and, therefore, became helpless and permitted Japan to have its own way in its aggression against China. This was, in effect, an encouragement to aggression. It was in these circumstances that Japan further expanded its war of aggression against China, the Italian facists unleashed their war of aggression against Ethiopia and Hitler's Germany annexed one European country after another. In the end that led to the outbreak of World War II and the League of Nations collapsed thereafter.

Historical lessons merit attention. The United Nations is now facing a situation similar to that of the 30s. The flames of the war of aggression launched by India are spreading, meanacint the peace of Asia and the world. The United Nations must overcome the obstructions by the Soviet Union and speedily adopt measures to hold back this dangerous situation. First of all, it must draw a clear line of distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, strongly condemn the aggressor and must give firm support to the victim of aggression. It should not take an ambiguous stand, still less should it abet and shield the aggressor. Under the manipulation of the one or two superpowers, the United Nations made in the past quite a few mistakes in this respect in contravention of the majority of member-states. The United Nations must learn from the lessons of history and must in no way embark on the old path of the League of Nations.

4. China maintains that the United Nations:

(1) Must strongly condemn India's aggression against Pakistan and thoroughly expose the shameless support given by the Soviet social-imperialists to the Indian aggressors;

(2) Must call upon all countries to support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against Indian aggression;

(3) Must call upon the Indian Government to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Pakistan terriority the armed forces and armed personnel sent by it and call upon the Pakistan Government to withdraw the armed forces which it sent into Indian territory for counter-attack;

(4) Calls upon both India and Pakistan to cease-fire immediately on the basis of the withrawal of the armed forces of each side from the territory of the other ;

(5) Recommends that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw respectively from the border between India and Pakistan and disengage from each other so as to create conditions for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between India and Pakistan.

Mr. President,

Fundamentally speaking, the dispute between India and Pakistan is a legacy of the British imperialist rule in the Indian Subcontinent. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the new independent Afro-Aian countries should resolve their disputes in a friendly way through consultation on an equal basis. They must not be taken in by the imperialists. This remains our stand today. Should the Indian Government obdurately cling to its course, it will only eat the bitter fruits of its own making. If the Soviet Government acts in the same fashion, it will come to no good end either.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
গণচীনের পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রী চী-পেং ফেই-এর বক্তৃতা।	চীন, পাকিস্তান এবং বাংলাদেশ	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SPEECH OF CHI PENG-FEI, 9 December, 1971

The situation in the South Asian Sub-continent has further eteriorated in the past few days. The Indian Government has launched all-round armed aggression against Pakistan and hastily and flagrantly given so-called 'Bangladesh' which was engineered by it single-handedly. The doings of the Indian Government have completely laid bare its wild expansionist ambition of annexing East Pakistan. The Indian Government's aggressive arrogance has swelled to such an extent because it has the energetic support and co-ordination of social-imperialism in the political, economic and military fields. Social-imperialism has undisguisedly assumed the role of the protector of the Indian expansionists and, acting in a truculent and irascible manner. It has put up a varied shameless show in the United Nations, fully revealing its ugly features of big-power chauvinism and of practising despotism. But, in spite of obstruction by social-imperialism and Indian expansionism, the U. N. General Assembly eventually adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for cease-fire and troop withdrawal by the Indian and Pakistan sides. The fact that an absolute majority of countries uphold right and justice has landed social-imperialism and Indian expansionism in unprecedented isolation. This represents the general trend and popular sentiment in the world today.

The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn the Indian Government for its criminal acts of expansionism and armed aggression and firmly oppose the power-politics and despotism practised by social-imperialism. The Indian Government must at once stop its aggression against Pakistan and withdraw immediately, unconditionally and totally its aggression troops from Pakistan territory. We believe that the Pakistan Government will certainly withdraw its armed forces, who have entered Indian terriorty for the purpose of counter-attack, back to their own country. Together with the peace-loving countries and people of the world, the Chinese Government and people will firmly make their contribution to the defence of international peace and justice.

We should like to advise the Indian Government that it had better honestly accept the resolution of the U. N. General Assembly and not alienate itself from the people of the world. If it should wilfully persist in its unscrupulous and perverse course, it will in the end certainly eat the bitter fruit of its won making.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধ প্রশ্নে সোভিয়েত ভেটোর সমালোচনা : জাতিসংঘ নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে গণচীনের প্রতিনিধি হুয়াং হুয়ার বক্তৃতা।	চায়না, পাকিস্তান এণ্ড বাংলাদেশ	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE CHINESE REPRESENTATIVE HUANG HUA IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, 15 December 1971

This is the first time that the Chinese delegation takes part in the work of the United Nations. The Soviet representative has three times flagrantly abused the veto power in disregard of all consequences, with the obvious aim of marking time so as to shield India in its occupation of East Pakistan. We are deeply shocked by such things which we did not expect when we first took part in the work of the United Nations. This cannot but make people think. How can a super-Power defy the opinion of well over 100 countries and behave so arrogantly and truculently ? This cannot but make people think. How can a super-Power, which has given such undisguised support to Indian aggression against Pakistan, truly and really help the Arab people in the Middle East in opposing the aggression committed by the Israeli Zionists with the support of United States imperialism ? This cannot but make people think, since a super-Power can give such undisguised abetment and support to a country in interfering in the internal affairs of another country and violating its territorial integrity, then how many countries in the world can possibly be exempt from the present sufferings of Pakistan?

In a speech of 13 December, the Soviet representative attacked the leaders of China with slanderous language, accusing China as attempting to exploit the India-Pakistan situation for expansion. This indeed is not worth refuting. The facts speak louder than words. China has no military bases and not a single soldier on foreign soil. Who committed armed invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia ? Who has station large numbers of armed forces on foreign soil ? Who is establishing military bases everywhere ? Who is controlling its on allies ? Who has been subverting the legal Governments of Afro-Asian countries ? Is it not the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which as betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the Soviet people and the people of the whole world ?

Here I deem it necessary to mention the Polish draft resolution (S/10453/Rev.1). This is a draft resolution to dismember Pakistan and legalize the dismemberment. This is a draft resolution to involve the Securyty Council directly in the dismemberment of Pakistan. China firmy opposes this draft resolution. This draft resolution certainly cannot represent the Polish people, because they cannot possibly forget the sad history of their own mother- land which was partitioned on many occasions, nor can they foreget the unpleasantness of Poland today. To put it bluntly, this is not a Polish draft resolution but a Soviet draft resolution.

During the debate, Britain and France assumed an attitude which is seemingly impartial, but fails to distinguish between the right and wrong on the major question conncerning the Soviet Government's support for Indian aggression and the dismemberment of Pakistan. This has inflated the aggressor's arrogance of the Soviet Union and India.

This reminds us of the League of Nations during the thrities. The United Naions is now standing at the crossroad of history. Whether the United Naions ? This is a question which gives mucuh food for deep thought by all the countries and peoples who love peace and uphold justice.

In definance of world opinion and in disregard of all the consequesnces, the Soviet leading clique is shetting, encouraging and supporting India in its aggression against Pakistan. Its purpose is to make use of the wild ambitions of the Indian expansionists to control the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the Indian Ocean and to gain superiority on the subcontinent as a flanking movement to affect the situation in the Middle East, to strengthen its position in its confrontation with another super Power in the Middle East and other parts of the world and to wage an even fiercer struggle for world hegemony with another super-Power.

But the Soviet revisionist social imperialists and the Indian expansionists should not become overjoyed too early. The question is far from bing finished. The Indian ruling clique has let a wolf into its own house, and the Indian people will be the first to suffer. It will not be too long before India itself will suffer the grave consequences of dismembering another country. In acting so truculently, the Soviet leading clique will only enable the Afro-Asian people and the people of the whole world to see ever more clearly its true features of social imperialism and further raise their political consciousness and thus it will only accelerate the doom of the new tsars who stop at nothing in doing evils.

China is following with deep and great concern the development of the India Pakistan situation. No matter what happens in the India-Pakistan subcontinent, the Chinese Government and people will firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of national independence and unity. We are deeply convinced that no matter how many difficulties and twists and turns may still occur, the Pakistan people, persevering in the struggle, will surely win final victory.

The Chinese delegation has consistently held that the United Nations and the Security Council must respect the sovereignty, independence, national unity and territorial integrity of Pakistan. In order to put a quick end to Indian aggression, the Chinese delegation will not oppose a draft resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire by India and Pakistan followed by the withdrawal of their troops from the territory of the other side, but the draft resolutions now under consultation have failed to reflect the just will of the 104 countries in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. On the contrary they contain provisions which seriously contravene the principles of the United Nations Charter and which are partial to the aggressors. The Chinese delegation declares that, should any draft resolution contain provisions which interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, disrupt the national unity of Pakistan and support the puppet regime, the so-called "Bangladesh," China will have no part in it.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত-পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধ ও প্রাসংগিক ঘটনাবলী সম্পর্কে গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী চীন সরকারের বিবৃতি।	চায়না, পাকিস্তান এ্যাণ্ড বাংলাদেশ—আর, কে জইন সম্পাদিত।	১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF CHINA, 16 DECEMBER 1971

A large-scale was of aggression against Pakistan was brazenly launched by the Indian Government on November 21, 1971 with the active encouragement and energetic support of the Government of the Soviet Union. This has gravely disrupted peace on the South Asian subcontinent, given a tremendous shock and caused serious anxiety to the people throughout the world. On December 7, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by the overwhelming majority of 104 to 11 with 10 abstentions a most urgent resolution which, being very magnanimous to India, calls upon India and Pakistan to bring about a cease-fire and withdraw their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders. This resolution reflects the common desire of the people of the whole world and all the countries which love peace and uphold justice to oppose aggression and interference, be concerned for the security of nations and safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the world.

After its adoption, the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly was immediately accepted by the Pakistan Government but categorically rejected by the Indian Government. Who wants peace and who wants war? Who is acting in self-defence and who is committing aggression? Is all this not crystal clear? Ignoring the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world, the Indian Government is continuing to expand its war of aggression, moving massive troops to press on the capital of East Pakistan, Dacca, blockading the ports and sea lanes in East and West Pakistan with its naval forces, and carrying out continuous wanton bombings with its air force against East and West Pakistan, stopping at nothing in committing most brutal atrocities. These acts have completely laid bare the wild ambitions of the Indian expansionists. Cherishing the pipe dream of a Greater Indian Empire, they want not only to swallow up East Pakistan, but also to destroy Pakistan as a whole. If a timely stop is not put to such aggression committed by the Indian Government, Pakistan will not be the only country to fall victim, inevitably other countries neighbouring on India will also be endangered. Such a state of affairs is absolutely impermissible, whether from the point of view of the United Nations Charter, of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence initiated by China and India, or of ten Principles of the Asian-African Bandung Conference.

The Indian Government asserts that it has launched the war in order to realize the national aspirations of the people in East Pakistan and bring bout the return of East Pakistan refugees to their homeland. This assertion is indeed absurd to the extreme. Many countries in the world have nationility problems, which need to be solved properly and reasonably in conformity with the desire and interests of the people, but these are the internal affairs of the respective countries, which can be solved only by their own governments and people, and in which no foreign country has the right to interfere. The Pakistan Government has repeatedly expressed its willingness to seek a political solution to the East Pakistan question in a spirit of understanding

and cooperation. What right has India to take the affairs of others into its own hands, flagrantly interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs, and even employ powerful armed forces to invade and occupy East Pakistan? It is known to all that India too has its own nationality problems, whose complexity and acuteness are rarely seen elsewhere in the world. It may be asked how India would react if other countries should deal with India in the same way that India is today dealing with Pakistan and use armed force against India. The Indian Government has shown such "thoughtful concern" for the so-called realisation of the aspirations of the people in East Pakistan as expressed in the 1970 elections. But people's memories are not so short as to forget that India and Pakistan agreed long ago to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir to decide its ownership but that both the Governments of Nehru the father and of his daughter have gone back on their word and refused to do so. Why is it then the Indian Government is so indifferent to the national aspirations of the Kashmiri people?

As for the question of the return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homeland, it should, and can only, be settled by India and Pakistan through consultation, and it is absolutely unjustifiable to resort to force. Has there not been much interflow of refugees between India and Pakistan over the past two decades and more since the India-Pakistan partition? Because of this conflicts have often occurred on the India-Pakistan borders. All these sufferings of the Indian and Pakistan peoples stem form the roots of trouble left over by the British Empire in carrying out India-Pakistan partition after World War II. Colonialism has brought calamities on us Afro-Asian peoples. Should this bitter lession not be enough to arouse us to concentrating our national hatred on imperialism? Should we instead slaughter one another ? However, India has now used armed force in a big way and spread the flames of its war of aggression throughout East Pakistan. As a result, it is not only turning all the 75 million people in East Pakistan into refugees but has brought was disaster upon both the Indian and Pakistan peoples. The Indian Government has singlehandedly manufactured a so-called "Bangladesh" and inserted it into East Pakistan by armed force. The Indian Minister for External Affairs Suaran Singh has said that the Indian armed forces will remain in Pakistan territory for as long as this regime requires them. This proves that it is a puppet regime, which can hardly exist without the protection of Indian bayonets. In this sense, it is exactly the same stuff as the so-called "Manchukuo" of the 30s and 40s, which was under the aegis of Japanese militarism.

The Soviet Government has played a shameful role in this war of aggression launched by India against Pakistan. The whole world has seen clearly that it is the back-stage manager of the Indian expansionists. For many years, the Soviet Government has been energetically fostering the Indian reactionaries and abetting India in its outward expansion. In last August the Soviet Union and India signed a treaty which is labelled as one of "peace friendship and co-operation" but is in substance a treaty of military alliance. They claimed that this treaty was not directed against any country, but actually it is precisely under their joint conspiracy that the subversion, interference and aggression against Pakistan have been intensified. Since the outbreak of the war of aggression, the Soviet Union has stepped up its efforts in pouring a stedy stream of arms and equipment into India to bolster and pep up the Indian aggressors. What makes people particularly indignant is that the representative of the Soviet Government in the U.N. Security Council has time and again used the veto to obstruct the cease-fire and troop withdrawl which are desired by the overwhelming majority to countries and the people allover the world. The Soviet Government has wantonly vilified China, alleging that it is China that has stirred up the conflict between India and Pakistan and

"set Asians to fight Asians." Actually, it is the Soviet Government itself that has really and truly "set Asians to fight Asians." The purpose of the Soviet Unions in so doing is known to all, that is, to further strengthen its control over India and thereby proceed to contend with the other superpower for hegemony in the whole of the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean and at the same time to foster India and turn it into a sub-superpower on the South Asian subcontinent as its assistant and partner in committing aggression against Asia. The present sudden invasion of Pakistan by India with the support of the Soviet Union is precisely a repetition on the South Asian subcontinent of the 1968 Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia. The acts of the Soviet Government have once again revealed its hideous features as social-imperialism and its expansionist ambition. We must for ever maintain high vigilance against imperialism and expansionism, and we would here advise our friendly countries on the South Asian subcontinent as well as all the countries in the world which are subjected to injury and threat by superpowers of sub-superpowers that they should by no means relax their vegilance but should continuously strengthen their defence capabilities and be ready at all times to hit back at the enemy who may seek every opportunity to attack them.

The Chinese Government and people consistently oppose imperialism, expansionism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and firmly support the people of all countries in their just struggle in defence of their state sovereignty and territorial integrity and against foreign aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying. The war between India and Pakistan is a struggle between aggression and anti-aggression, between division and anti-division, and between subversion and anti-subversion. Under the leadership of President Yahya Khan, the people and armed forces of Pakistan have displayed an admirable spirit of heroism in this struggle. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle against aggression, division and subversion; we not only are doing this politically, but will continue to give them material assistance. The Chinese Government firmly maintains that the December 7, 1971 resloution of the U.N. General Assembly must be carried out immediately. We hold that there can be no neutrality on the question of aggression versus anti-aggeression, of division versus anti-division, and of subversion versus antisubversion. Certain big powers making no distinction between right and wrong and remaining inactive and silent, have all along condoned and allowed the aggressor to grow through appeasement. The result can only be a tread again on the wrong path of Munich and the former League of Nations.

History has repeatedly proved that no aggressor comes to a good end. Relying on the support of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the Indian expansionists have now invaded and occupied large tracts of Pakistan territory and are acting truculently in a wild attempt to lord it over the subcontinent, fancying that they will get their way. However, contrary to the subjective wishes of the Indian Government, its cirmes of aggression will certainly arouse even stronger dissatisfaction and resistance on the part of the Pakistan people and the other peoples of the South Asian subcontinent, the Indian people included, and henceforth there will be no tranquility for it on the South Asian subcontinent. He who plays with fire will be consumed by fire. The Indian expansionists and their backstage manager will surely eat the bitter fruit of their own making. Victory surely belongs to the great Pakistan people fighting against aggression ! Victory surely belongs to the great peoples of India and the other South Asian counries, who love independence, peace and freedom ! Victory surely belongs to all the peoples of the world that love peace and uphold justice !

আন্তর্জাতিক দলিলপত্র

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশেব সংগ্রামে

আন্তর্জাতিক

বেসরকারী সংগঠনসমূহের ভূমিকা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের জনগণের আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণাধিকার মেনে নেয়া উচিত : যুগোশ্লাভ লীগ ফর পীস, ইন্ডিপেণ্ডেন্স এণ্ড ইকুয়ালিটি অব পিপলস-এর বিবৃতি।	যুগোশ্লাভ লীগ। উদ্ধৃতি : বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE YUGOSLAV LEAGUE FOR PEACE, INDEPENDENCE AND EQUALITY OF PEOPLES, ON APRIL 13, 1971

Following is the full text of the statement issued by the Yugoslav League for peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples on April 13, on the situation in East Pakistan.

After the expulsion of all foreign journalists and the introduction of strict censorship, the official statements made by the Pakistani Government claim that the situation in East Pakistan has come back to normal.

However, the reports of world news agencies and press team with news based on statements made by eye-witnesses, to the effect that a civil war is still going on, that the sufferings of the civilian population increase with each day, that the violence of the Pakistan Army persists and that the mass killing of East Pakistan people has not stopped.

At the recently held elections, the people of East Pakistan expressed, with an absolute majority of votes and unequivocally, their will to settle their relations with West Pakistan in a democratic manner, on the basis of autonomy and full equality of the two parts of Pakistan.

The situation created in East Pakistan by proclaiming a state of emergency and by the attempts of the army to prevent the people from realizing their aspirations for autonomy, causes serious concern in the world.

Military force has never succeeded in solving difficult economic, political and social problems, but has always made them worse Violence in East Pakistan provokes new hatred, deepens the chasm and makes impossible a peaceful solution of the problems of relations between the peoples of West and East Pakistan.

Supporting the right of every nation to self-determination the Yugoslav League for Peace. Independence and Equality of Peoples considers that this right should be recognized to the people of East Pakistan, the more so, as the attempts to settle the problem of relations between the peoples of Pakistan by military force cannot lead to a lasting and stable settlement, but embodies a danger of graver complications which may jeopardize peace in that part of the world.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের সংগে সংহতি প্রকাশ : 'ফোর্থ ইন্টারন্যাশনাল-' এর ঘোষণাপত্র।	ফোর্থ ইন্টারন্যাশনাল-এর বিজ্ঞপ্তি।	১৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

DECLARATION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ON THE STRUGGLE IN BENGAL

As the Pakistani armies continue their effort to crush the independence movement of the people of Eastern Bengal, it becomes clear that the Yahya military clique failed to secure the quick victory it sought. Despite the brutalities and the mass killings, it has been unable to terrorise the Bengali people into submission.

Incensed by the wholesale slaughter of unarmed people, the Bengali masses are certain to continue their resistance against the colonial regime ruling their country. But the whole question of revolutionary leadership and revolutionary strategy is posed with the utmost sharpness. The Bengali people are united as never in the past. However their current leadership is completely inadequate. Far from preparing the workers and peasants for the decisive prolonged struggle for independence, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did all in his power to arrive at a compromise with Yahya Khan. The Awami League opposed independence and set its sights instead on autonomy. Mujibur engaged in discussions with Yahya Khan while the dictator placed his military forces in position. The Mujibur leadership now flounders and hopes for help from the United Nation and the international bourgeoisie, starting with the Indian capitalists. Its real line was clearly expressed in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's declaration to the *Agence France Press* :

"Is the West Pakistan government not aware that I am the only one able to save East Pakistan from communism ? If they take the decision to fight I shall be pushed out of power and the Naxalites will intervene in my name. If I make too many concessions, I shall lose my authority I am in a very difficult position." (*Le. Monde*, March 31, 1971)

The Fourth International, while declaring its complete, solidarity with the struggle of the Bengali masses against national oppression reaffirms its view that the development of a revolutionary leadership is essential to win the struggle. This victory will only be achieved by the Bengali workers, peasants and students organised and led by a revolutionary proletarian leadership. This party will have the task of continuing the revolutionary struggle by all means necessary and thus begin the task of smashing the old structures of the Bengali countryside and cities and laying the basis to establish a workers and peasants government, which will start building a socialist society. This task can only be impeded by any intervention of the India bourgeoisie, which is interested only in preserving the status quo and preventing the struggle in Bangladesh from overflowing into West Bengal. The Fourth International is opposed to intervention by the Indian bourgeoisie which would be designed to

hinder the development of the Bengali struggle rather than to help it. Once more the counter revolutionary nature of Indira Gandhi's policies and of the bourgeois state of India has been confirmed by her government's aid, side by side with the Yahya Khan clique, to the Ceylon Army's repression of the revolutionary forces in that country.

The Fourth International condemns the treachery of the Maoist government in publicly supporting the Yahya dictatorship and thus helping it to maintain its ruthless exploitation and oppression of the Bengali people. In the guise of combatting Indira Gandhi's

"interference", the Mao regime stands today as a direct accomplice to the massacre. Chouen Lai's message to Yahya Khan on April 12th is a brazen attempt to cover up Peking's approval of the massacre of the Bengalis :

"We believe that through consultations and the efforts of Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan. Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal. In our opinion, unification of Pakistan and unity of the peoples of East and West Pakistan are basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength."

Mao's subsequent personal message to Yahya Khan repeats the same idea in even stronger language. The "unity", of Pakistan is the "unity" of a monstrosity sponsored by British and world' imperialism against the unity of the workers and peasants of the Indian sub-continent. It is a "unity" that strengthens the grip of a tiny group of semi-feudal landlords, comprador capitalists and Generals over millions of super-exploited and starving peasants, agricultural and industrial workers. It is a "unity" that showed callousness to the most elementary needs of the Bengali people by failing to take precautionary measures in advance of last years tornado and by doing nothing for the victims afterwards. It is a fundamental revision of the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism to speak about the Pakistani "state" and the Pakistan Army without clearly specifying its class character: a state defending the interests of a coalition of semifeudal landlords, rapacious compradors and monopoly capitalists (22 families of robber barons control two-thirds of the industrial assets of the country). The army is a reactionary bourgeois army formed and trained by imperialism and ready to join similar armies Iran and Afghanistan in forming an anti-communist *cardon sanitaire* in Central Asia in the direct service of world imperialism. These are the forces approved by Mao to preserve "unity".

The support given to Yahya Khan by the Chinese bureaucracy represents an open betrayal of the class interests of the workers and poor peasants who have died in the struggle for national self-determination, who are struggling today against the Pakistan Army and who will tomorrow coninue the struggle for a socialist Bengal. It is obvious that the Maoist leaders, far from learning the lessons of the Iedonesian defeat or the lessons of their unprincipled support for Yahya's predecessor. Ayub Khan, continue on the same opportunist road. Their course weakens the socialist forces in Bangladesh and strengthens right wing elements that utilise Peking's support of Yahya to discredit "communism". Mao's support to Yahya Khan weakens and harms the advance of the Chinese Revolution: the only substantial bulwark against the threat of imperialist aggression from the

Indian peninsula against the People's Republic of China is a strong and poweful revolutionary mass movement moving towards the overthrow of the reactionary states of India and Pakistan, towards a victorious workers and peasants revolution in the whole sub-continents. If the mass uprising in East Bengal is smashed, this will strengthen reaction in the whole peninsula and the very same reactionary army that Mao and Chou flatter today, would be ready tomorrow to support aggression against the Chinese Revolution.

Those communists on a world scale who have been to support the Chinese leadership in the south Soviet dispute on the grounds that it acts in a more revolutionary and military way against imperialism must by today where they stand on this issue. Silence would amount to complicity.

The various Western imperialist power have, while deploring the mass slaughter, supported in various ways the masquo. The United States in particular has maintained the distribution of its stocks of food to favour Yahya Khan, knowing full well that starvation is a key weapon in his armoury. Moreover most of the arms used by Yahya were supplied by the pentagon and will be replaced from the same source as they are used up in putting down the population.

The Fourth International appeals to the international workers movement to render all possible assistance to the freedomfighters of Bangladesh to carry out solidarity actions with the Bengali masses and to demonstrate unconditional support of the Bengali struggle for national self-determination The Fourth International calls upon all socialists to oppose any interference by capitalism and imperialist forces designed to maintain neo-colonialism's grip on the whole Indian subcontinent. In particular military aid and especially assistance to Yahya Khan' forces in transit must be opposed by all means necessary. Revolutionaries should put the maximum pressure on the Maoist leadership to end its shameful support to Yahya Khan's dictatorship. It is also a vital task to expose the Soviet military aid which helped build up the West Pakistan counter-revolutionary army. The left should be on its guard against the possibility of a massive intervention sponsored by U.S. imperialism to prevent any spread of the revolutionary struggle in Asia. The Fourth International calls upon the workers, peasants, students and revolutionary intellectuals in West Pakistan to break with all chauvinistic anti-Bengali sentiments, to understand that the murderous Generals now trying to smother the uprising of the Bengali people in a bloodbath are their old oppressors. The struggle against the colonial war unleashed by Yahya Khan Eastern Begal is not only their internationalist duty but is also in their own class interests. To defeat the West Pakistani army in Bengal will speed the liberation of the West Pakistani masses from the yoke of their exploiters.

The Fourth International is confident that despite temporary setbacks, the Bengali masses will finally triumph over the armed might of West Pakistani capitial and thus pave the way for a united socialist Bengal which in turn will give powerful impetus to the liberation of the entire sub-continent from the yoke of imperialism and landlordism.

Victory to Bangladesh!

For a Socialist Bangladesh!

For a United Socialist Bengal!

18 April, 1971

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে ধ্বংস ও হত্যাযজ্ঞের বিরুদ্ধে বুদাপেস্ট বিশ্বশান্তি পরিষদ সভার প্রস্তাব।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১০ মে, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION ON COLONIALISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL IN BUDAPEST ON MAY 10, 1971

The large scale massacres and acts of mass killings perpetuated by the Pakistan armed forces against the unarmed civilian population of East Pakistan is among the gravest and most tragic developments recently :

The 75 million people of East Pakistan constituting 56 per cent of the entire population of Pakistan have been fighting for many years against gross injustice, national and linguistic suppression and humiliation and near colonial economic exploitation in the hands of a military dictatorship and monopolist business houses, all belonging to the other wing of the country over 1,200 miles away.

When general elections were held last December for the National and Provincial Assemblies the Awami League representing the people of East Pakistan won almost all the seats from East Pakistan as well as an absolute majority in the National Assembly on the basis of an election programme demanding autonomy for East Pakistan and ending Pakistan's participation in imperialist military alliances.

Instead of transferring power to the elected representatives for framing the constitution the military dictatorship created a deadlock and long-drawn negotiations were begun.

In the end when agreement was apparently in sight the military junta suddenly banned the Awami League outright and let loose a process of mass killing against the entire population. In spite of this cruel attack the people have stood together and declared themselves as the people of their new state of Bangladesh.

Massive military actions using tanks, artillery, aerial strafing and incendiary bombs are being taken by Pakistan forces against Bangladesh and the country has been closed to the World Press and even the International Red Cross. Meanwhile over two million refugees have been forced to flee in to India from across the border.

World public opinion and the forces of peace everywhere should act immediately to put a stop to this blood-bath. International relief must be rushed both to Bangladesh as well as to India which cannot met the requirements of the vast number of refugees alone from its resources.

International intervention can and must succeed in making the Pakistan Government allow the Red Cross and other international relief organisations to rush aid to the victims in Bangladesh. The lives of the leaders of the Awami League and the elected representatives of the people, specially

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the universally acclaimed elected leader of Bangladesh now in the custody of the Pakistan Government must be safeguarded and no harm must come to them.

The scorched-earth denial policy now being followed by the Pakistan Government devastating vast areas of Bangladesh must be put to an immediate stop. The forces of peace world over must succeed in putting an end to Pakistan's massive war against the people of Bangladesh and the refugees now in India must be enabled to return to the homes.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানী নির্যাতনের দুঃখজনক পরিণতি হতে বাংলাদেশের জনগণকে রক্ষার আহ্বান : হেলসিংকী সোশ্যালিস্ট ইণ্টারন্যাশনাল কাউন্সিল কনফারেন্স-এর প্রস্তাব।	বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেণ্টস	২৭ মে, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION PASSED BY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI ON MAY 27, 1971.

Socialist International Council Conference in Helsinki on May 27, passed a resolution on Pakistan which reads as follows :

"The Socialist International 'expresses its profound concern about the present tragic situation in Pakistan. It calls for an immediate cease-fire and for the commencement of negotiations which would achieve a settlement taking fully into account the views of the people of both East and West Pakistan as freely expressed in the recent general elections. The Socialist International wishes to register its concern about the fate of political prisoners including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The Socialist International urges its members parties to exert pressure on their governments to use their influence with the Government of Pakistan to bring about a speedy end to all fighting and to ensure that all possible help be offered in order to alleviate the immediate misery and suffering of the people of East Pakistan and the longer term economic and social consequences of the conflict. The Socialist International notes the tremendous burden now falling on the Indian Government as a result of this conflict and urges the United Nations to launch immediately an international appeal to raise funds from member governments to enable the international community to share the burden which is now carried by India alone."

The Conference was attended by the Chancellor of West Germany, the Prime Ministers of Sweden, Norway and Israel, and leading socialists from various West European countries, U.S.A. Canada, countries in Africa and Asia, as well as Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Denis Healey.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের সাহায্যের জন্য আন্তর্জাতিক ইসলামী সংস্থার আহ্বান।	ইণ্টারন্যাশনাল ইসলামিক অরগেনাইজেশন।	৯ জুন, ১৯৭১

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC ORGANISATION CALLS UPON MUSLIM COUNTRIES TO HELP EAST BENGAL REFUGEES : STATEMENT, DATED JUNE 9, 1971.

Mr. H. H. Marzuki Jatim, Secretary-General of International Islamic Organisation, has called on the Indonesian Government to help in providing relief to East Pakistani refugees in India. In the statement issued in Djakarta on June 9, 1971, Mr. Jatim urged the Indonesian Government to give particularly medicines to East Pakistani evacuees most of whom are now infected with Cholera. Mr. Jatim also urged the various national groups of the International Islamic Organisation in different countries, specially, the Indonesian National Group, to suggest to Muslims in their respective countries to extend material assistance to evacuees into India from East Bengal.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের সাহায্যের জন্য আর্জেন্টিনীয় বুদ্ধিজীবী মহলের আহ্বান।	বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেণ্টস	১১ জুন, ১৯৭১

ARGENTINE INTELLECTUALS URGE GOVERNMENT TO RUSH AID TO EAST BENGAL REFUGEES : MEMORANDUM—DATED, JUNE 11, 1971

A delegation representing well-known Argentine intellectuals called on the Argentine Foreign Minister, Mr. Luis Maria de Pablo Pardo on June 11, 1971, and presented a memorandum requesting urgent relief assistance to the East Bengal refugees who have come to India. The memorandum was signed by leading Argentine writers, academicians, painters, jurists and other intellectuals of national and international standing, including the eminent authors, Madame Victoria Ocampo and Jorge Luis Berges, and the Reverend Father Ismael Quiles, Vice-Chancellor of El Salvador University.

Following is the text of the memorandum which was prominently published in the Argentine Press :

"As a result of the recent tragic events in East Bengal, an enormous number of people—men, women and children—have fled the country to neighbouring India creating a gigantic human problem. Loyal to her own traditions. India dedicated as she is to peace, co-existence and spreading of understanding among.

Refugees—is struggling hard to feed, clothe and shelter these unfortunate refugees who are said to be already four million. The task is, however, of such a magnitude that India cannot be expected to shoulder this alone particularly when she is fully engaged in her own nation-building efforts.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

"Human tragedy should know no national barriers , suffering, death and destitution anywhere in the world should be the concern of entire humanity. Yet it is unfortunate that international conscience does not seem to have awakened sufficiently to the happenings in East Bengal. Nor has there been enough response to help India in the solution of a humanitarian problem created by occurrences elsewhere over which India had no say or control. She has to meet the demands of these helpless refugees and has to do it risking her own development needs. It is true that some international organisations and some Governments have a certain amount of help but the magnitude of the situation demands the assistance of humanity as a whole to solve a problem which is neither caused by India nor belongs entirely to her because it is an international and not national problem.

In this particular case, the answer cannot be merely academic solidarity or a simple testimony of admiration, it has to be positive and direct help either in cash or goods not excluding a contribution to the formation of an international awareness of the obligation to help with a sense of common responsibility.

"It is to be hoped that our Government—faithful to her own universalism and solidarity tradition—will respond to the maximum extent possible and with an urgency that the situation demands to solve the predicament that circumstances have imposed on the Republic of India".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শরণার্থীদের স্বাস্থ্য সম্পর্কে 'লীগ অব রেডক্রস সোসাইটি'র উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES EXPRESSES GRAVE CONCERN FOR HEALTH OF REFUGEES IN WEST BENGAL : NEWS RELEASE DATED JUNE 18, 1971.

Following is the text of a news release, dated June 18, 1971, issued by League of Red Cross Societies.

A medical expert sent to India by the League of Red Cross Societies, Dr. Lars Troell of the Swedish Red Cross, has expressed his grave concern with the health situation among the Pakistan refugees in West Bengal.

Dr. Troell reported back to the League headquarters in Geneva today after a two-week mission to India during which he visited refugees camps in West Bengal and had discussions with the Indian Red Cross, Government Health Department and World Health Organisation officials, and representatives of relief agencies, particularly the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Dr. Troell reported that while the Indian health authorities seconded by the Red Cross and other agencies, appeared to be keeping pace with outbreaks in fight against cholera and other diseases such as typhus and typhoid, the situation remained grave because of the very bad sanitary conditions in the camps, the continuing influx of refugees and the onset of the monsoon rains.

First class job

The Indian doctors and nurses working against the refugees were doing a first class job, but were strained to the limits, he said. There is a continuing need for medicaments and medical equipment, for example, tubes for oral giving of rehydration fluid, and special needles for injections of fluid into child cholera victima.

Dr. Troell pointed out that while the Indian health authorities were very experienced in fighting cholera, there was a definite need for continuing shipments of medicaments, as production capacities in the country could no longer keep up with the demand.

He also said there was a need to create more hospital facilities in the refugee camps.

On the basis of Dr. Troell's report, the League is studying how best the Red Cross can contribute to improving the health situation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের সম্পর্কে 'ফ্রেঞ্চ এপিসকপেট'-এর বিবৃতি।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	২২ জুন, ১৯৭১

The Permanent Board of French Episcopate which met in Paris on Tuesday, June 22, 1971, published on the same day a statement on refugees of East Bengal.

Following is the full text of the statement which was carried by the Catholic daily "La Croix" on June 24.

"Local problems must not let us forget the situation of our distant brothers. There is a region in the world which is at the moment being particularly tried East Bengal the province of East Bengal. After a deadly cyclone a civil war caused an exodus of six million refugees to India. A cholera epidemic, the prospect of long months ahead which will have to be faced without a sufficient stock of food places this region in a very critical situation At the same time every man's right to justice and freedom is flouted. In some areas repression assumes the aspect of a massacre. Numerous Bengali Muslim cadres were executed or forced to flee their country.

The Permanent Board of French Bishops considers it its duty to alert Christians. In the immediate, it is necessary to make an exceptional effort to aid the millions of victims and refugees. However, it will not be possible to content oneself with sending assistance. The amplitude of this tragedy calls for political solutions. This is an appeal to the different nations to involve themselves with determination in this problem It is a matter of restoring such conditions that will make it possible for the refugees to return. This demands respect for the lives of all the citizens of East Bengal and for their fundamental rights.

It is a hardship for us to think that the arms sold by various nations including France to Pakistan perhaps contributes towards a violent repression.

It is the duty of the French citizens, whatever their political beliefs, to inform themselves to become aware of what is involved, to feel themselves bound to the people afflicted by this tragedy and to collectively seek an acceptable issue."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের সমস্যার ন্যায়সঙ্গত ও মানবিক সমাধানের জন্য আফ্রো-এশীয় গণ-সংহতি সংস্থার প্রস্তাব।	এ, এ, পি, এস, ও	২৩-২৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION OF EAST PAKISTAN ADOPTED BY TENTH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SESSION OF AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY ORGANISATION HELD IN DAMASCUS (SYRIA) ON JUNE 23-24, 1971

The Executive Committee of A.A.P.S.O. in its tenth session held from 23rd and 24th June, 1971, in Damascus having considered the situation in East Pakistan and the regrettable problem of refugees :

—being aware of the significance of the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism and exploitation.

—Deploring the great human calamities that colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism are inflicting to the militant peoples of the Third World.

Calls for the realisation of the following :—

1. That a just and human solution be found to the problem of refugees so that they can return to their homeland as soon as possible in order to enable the whole people of Pakistan to fight unitedly against colonialism, imperialism.

2. That the Secretary-General of A.A.P.S.O. be requested to follow up the development of the situation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে ধ্বংস ও হত্যাযজ্ঞের নিন্দা : ভেনেজুয়েলান বিশ্বশান্তি ও মানবাধিকার পরিষদ-এর বিবৃতি।	ভেনেজুয়েলান কাউন্সিল ফর ওয়ার্লড পীস এণ্ড হিউম্যান রাইটস।	২৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

DEMAND TO END GENOCIDE IN EAST PAKISTAN BY VENEZUELAN COUNCIL FOR WORLD PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS : STATEMENT, DATED JUNE 24, 1971

In a Press Declaration on June 24, 1971, the Secretary-General Dr. Ricardo Molina Marti, on behalf of the Venezuelan Council for World Peace and Human Rights, condemned "Massacres Perpetrated in East Pakistan" and accused "Reactionary Circles and Militarists of West Pakistan" of genocide through "Fascist forces sent across".

The Council reiterated sympathy for victims and demanded end to imperialists genocide.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আন্তর্জাতিক সমাজ কল্যাণ পরিষদ-এর বিবৃতি।	ভারত সরকারের প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE COUNCIL EXPRESSES SHOCK AT REFUGEES' PLIGHT

In the course of a statement issued on the conclusion of its regional meeting held recently in Singapore, the International Council of Social Welfare has expressed its "deep shock and anguish" at the plight of the refugees who have crossed over to India from East Bengal. The statement had described them as "victims of widespread bloodshed in the area".

The Council has referred to "this unfortunate episode in Pakistan" and has said that it was very difficult for any one to remain "unstirred by this tragedy and loss of human life". It has appealed to its various committees for help in terms of clothing, medicine and food for the refugees.

The countries which attended the regional meeting of the Council at Singapore were Taiwan, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, the Phillipines, Malaysia, Australia, Korea and India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কিত বিশ্বব্যাঙ্কের প্রতিবেদন।	বিশ্বব্যাঙ্ক-এর দক্ষিণ এশীয় দপ্তর	৮ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

REPORT OF THE WORLD BANK MISSION TO EAST PAKISTAN

(Prepared by the World Bank, South Asia Department, July 8, 1971)

FOREWORD

(i) This report is based upon information gathered during a twelve-day visit to East Pakistan in early June by a World Bank Mission consisting of the following members (length of stay in brackets) :

I. P. M. Cargill, Director, South Asia Department, IBRD (June 6—10), John W. Gunter, Acting Director, Middle Eastern Department, IMF (June 6—10), Manfred G. Blobel, Chief Economist, South Asia Department, IBRD (June 5—10), William H. Ediwards, Agriculture Specialist, Islamabad Office, IBRD (May 30—June 11), Douglas H. Keare, Economist, Dacca Office, IBRD (May 30—June 11), Shigemitsu Kuriyama, Asst. Resident Representative, Dacca Office, IBRD (May 31—June 10).

J. Hanns Pichler, Economist, Islamabad Office, IBRD (May 30—June 10), John W. Rose, Economist, IMF (May 31—June 10), Hendrik van der Heijden, Economist, Pakistan Division, IBRD (May 31—June 10), Michael H. Wiehen, Chief, Pakistan Division, IBRD (May 31—June 10).

(ii) During our visit we spent some time in Dacca holding discussions with officials, travelled frequently, in the immediate vicinity of Dacca and, in parties of one to three, visited twelve of the nineteen administrative districts of East Pakistan—some of them more than once. With one important exception—an intended trip to the cyclone disaster area (Noakhali and Patuakhali) which had to be cancelled due to monsoon weather—the list of places visited was constrained only by the time available. The Government was most cooperative in accommodating our requests for trips within the Province and visits within each district and in arranging transport—including use of the Governor's plane.

(iii) The information for this report was obtained, though not in normal circumstances, in more-or-less the normal way—that is, by travelling, observing, asking questions, filtering answers and figures obtained and evaluating the information obtained for accuracy and consistency. This was, of course a more difficult task than is confronted by most Bank Missions and it should be said that, in the absence of hard facts, we have had to draw frequently upon general impressions of the situation. Some information (for instance, that concerning actions by the Army and the extent of insurgent activity) is technically hearsay in that it was not contained in official statements or reports made available to us : however, some treatment of these matters is necessary in order to round out a description of the situation in East Pakistan, and we have included only information that we have seen (or heard) for ourselves and which appears consistent with the position we have noted and observed ourselves.

(iv) The overall assessment of the situation at which the mission arrived is not encouraging. Above all, the mission found it difficult to discern in the present situation the basis for rapid economic recovery in the Province. As it saw the situation at the time of its visit, the obstacles in the way to normalization appeared overwhelming—essential elements in the Province's infrastructure were severely damaged, including in particular the transport and communications system, and retained vulnerable to further destruction; there was little understanding among the authorities concerned of the complexity of the problem of economic revival and consequently neither a program to aid recovery nor effective management; and there was all-pervasive fear as a major inhibiting factor. Reinforcing each other, these factors together appeared to the mission to amount to a formidable problem that would defy early resolution.

(v) While this is the judgment the mission reached after extensive travel in the Province and after thorough deliberation, it also needs to be said that the factors that entered into its judgment formed a highly unstable combination. Just as at the time of the mission's visit all the major elements in the situation appeared to reinforce each other in making early normalization impossible to envisage, it is conceivable that a major improvement in one of them may have a "snowball" effect. Thus, it is possible that the railway will function better than the mission thought likely and that, if in addition the carrying capacity of the coastal fleet is increased considerably and the country boats reappear, the physical constraints to recovery could be reduced considerably, and thus incentives for renewed economic activity be strengthened to the point where the psychological constraints lose some of their power. Similarly, everybody familiar with war-torn economics is aware that the problems of physical destruction are less of an obstable than they may at first glance appear to be if there is confidence and the determination to make things work among the populace and if there is purposeful direction. Thus, if somehow the element of fear, distrust and uncertainty were removed from the secence and if conditions were created that allowed the administration to function effectively, then it may turn out that the physical constraints are less formidable than they now apear to be. Yet, at the time of the mission's visit, there was no concrete evidence that improvements of the kind mentioned were about to happen; hence the mission found itself unable to come to a more encouraging view of the outlook for rapid economic recovery.

I. THE CURRENT SITUATION

A. Major Economic Impacts of the Conflict

1. The Mission noted four principal impacts of the conflict whose inhibiting effects upon the functioning of the economy are evident at present. The first is the general destruction of property in cities, towns and villages. This was inflicted in small part—and selectively—by the insurgents during the period in which they remained in control of certain areas, but was largely the result of military activity in the major cities and towns and along the major road arteries between them. The second is the major damage to the transport and communications networks, inflicted by the insurgents during the early days of the conflict. The third is the loss of vessels and vehicles to the economy, which occurred in a number of ways. The fourth is the general atmosphere of fear and uncertainty which persists as peace has not yet returned to the Province.

2. Most cities and major towns have sizable pockets of destruction where market places, small shops and workers' housing once stood, and, in some, the damage has been severe; unauthorized homes and shops along roads and railway rights-of-way have been obliterated both within towns and along major arteries between towns; and numerous villages have suffered heavy destruction, particularly to market places and bazars. The extent of damage and destruction varies greatly both between and within districts; however, few areas have escaped altogether. In all cities visited there are areas that have been razed; and in all districts visited there are villages which have simply ceased to exist.

3. Damage to the transport and communications network was Widespread and severe. Ten major road and thirteen major railway bridges were blown up with varying, but generally considerable, degrees of success ; scores of smaller bridges and culverts were also destroyed or damaged ; and rails, ties and footplates have disappeared all over the province. In addition, during the fighting, some damage occurred to locomotives and railway rolling stock, ferries and vessels ; the telecommunications system was severely disrupted and railway telecmmunications were put out of commission entirely.

4. The loss to the economy of vessels and vehicles occurred in a number of ways. Substantial numbers were damaged or destroyed. Others were taken across the borders by the insurgents. Some were abandoned by owners who have fled, gone underground, or are simply too frightened to venture out. Probably the largest number, particularly of trucks and land-rovers, was commandeered by the Military. This holds true particularly of the districts North and West of Dacca, where the combination of heavy fighting and disruption of transport preventing the shipment of military vehicles up from Chittagong prompted the Army to seize virtually all vehicles. "Requisitioning" occurred also, however, in areas such as Chittagong. There, contractors' new vehicles were taken from the port and, as elsewhere in the province. Jeeps and LCTs intended for relief work in the cyclone-affected areas were also commandeered. At present, in Chittagong, while scores of Army jeeps and trucks wait for the road and railway links to be opened so they can be sent North, requisitioned vehicles have still not been returned to their owners.

5. Perhaps most important of all, people fear to venture forth and, as a result, commerce has virtually ceased and economic activity generally is at a very low ebb. Clearly, despite improvements in some areas and taking the Province as a whole, widespread fear among the population has persisted beyond the initial phase of heavy fighting. It appears that this is not just a concomitant of the Army extending its control into the countryside and the villages off the main highways, although at this stage the mere appearance of military units often suffices to engender fear. However, there is also no question that punitive measures by the Military are continuing : even if directed at particular elements (such as known or suspected Awami Leguers, students or Hindus), these have the effect of fostering fear among the population at large. At the same time, insurgent activity is continuing. This is not only disruptive in itself, but also often leads to massive Army retaliation. In short, the general atmosphere remains every tense and incompatible with the resumption of normal activities in the Province as a whole.

B. Results

6. The first thing that strikes one—whether in Dacca or travelling in the countryside—is that there seems to be very few people about. The situation

varies greatly from Dacca, where our collective impression is that no more than 50 per cent of the usual population is in evidence during the day ; to Chittagong, where only a third of the population appears, and these feel it necessary to indicate their "loyalty" by displaying Pakistani flags on their vehicles or their persons; to Kushtia, where no more than 10 per cent of the normal population remains ; to Bhola, where virtually the total population seems to be in place. One ominous development is that the population is reliably reported to have doubled in areas of Patuakhali and other parts of the coastal region where the food situation is already critical and there is serious doubt that even the normal population can be supplied with adequate foodgrains over the coming months.

7. This is the impression one gains by day. After dark the situation is more unusual still. Most areas have curfews. In Sylhet it is 7 : 30 P.M. to 5 : 00 A.M ; in Chittagong 10 : 00 P.M.to 6 : 00 A.M.; in Dacca curfew abolished on the 11th of June. Whatever the curfew hours, the streets begin to clear in mid-afternoon and are completely deserted by dark.

8. What this situation means for East Pakistan's subsistence economy—where normally the scores of thousands of small pockets (extended family, village, union, etc.) of more-or-less self-sufficient mini-economies are loosely linked together over extremely difficult terrain by a costly transport and commercial network—is that the links have been completely broken and the economy not only stopped temporarily but fundamentally dislocated. For almost three months there was virtually no movement of jute, tea or other exports from farm to factory or port, and very little from port abroad ; severely limited movement of foodgrains into the country and to the Dacca area, and practically none within the province—either from central storage deports or between surplus and deficit areas. In general, intra-provincial, inter-wing and international trade ceased for a period and have so far barely begun to function again. The mini-economies have in general gone on at a reduced level : however, the setbacks to agriculture—to rice production in particular—as well as the virtual cessation of food movements for three months, mean that additional food import and distribution requirements must be imposed upon a crippled transport, commercial and administrative system that was not all that sturdy in normal times. At the same time, demands may be placed upon the system to try to move larger than normal quantities of jute, tea, etc., in an attempt to make up for the past few months.

9. Though the last large pockets of "organized resistance" were eliminated by early May, and the population centers of the Province have been under firm Martial Law Administration since then, the disruption of communications has persisted. Telecommunications and mail services have been partially restored to most areas, but people aren't travelling—except *within* urban areas—and goods are not moving even there. Our estimates for Dacca are that perhaps half the rickshaws and one-third of the mini-taxis, cars and buses are back on the roads; while no more than 15 per cent of the carts and trucks are back to moving goods. Everywhere else the figures are lower, but the phenomenon is particularly marked between population centers. Nowhere is vehicular traffic along the roads at more than 5 to 10 per cent of normal levels. And, except for some fishing activity, the waterways appear deserted. The country boats have disappeared.

10. The disruption of commerce was just as complete and fundamental and there is, as yet, no sign of recovery. During the period of conflict, many village

markets were destroyed and economically important groups within the population—such as beparis, or up-country jute traders—have virtually disappeared. During and since the conflict there has been widespread looting, and so far traders have been reluctant to return to work. In this situation, a jute buyer, who was trying hard to get jute moving again, felt compelled to carry Rs. 500,000 (in Rs. 10 and Rs. 50 notes) up-country very recently in his quest for traders with jute to sell.

11. It was difficult to obtain figures about banking; however, it is known that there were substantial withdrawals in March and some looting and loss of staff from late March to late April. Since then, most bank branches in the cities and probably more than half of those in outlying areas have been "opened" but deposits of the system have not been restored to prior levels and activity has remained very low.

12. In all spheres the severity of the disruption and its persistence are due much more to psychological than to physical factors. This is nowhere more true than in industry. With very few exceptions—a couple of jute warehouses burnt in Chittagong, one tea factory in Sylhet, one tea chest factory in Chittagong, the paper mill at Tongi—the damage to physical plant of large factories has been slight. In fact, most of that which has occurred since 25 March has been inadvertent: many electirc motors were burnt out by unusually severe voltage fluctuations during the early weeks, the rayon plant at Karnaphuli Paper Mill was badly damaged by sulphuric acid left in the system for several days and several plants have suffered from reduced or faulty maintenance. Damage and destruction of smaller industrial enterprises such as sawmills, brick kilns and handloom—particularly around Narsingdi and Northwest Bengal—was probably more significant, but detailed information is not available. In any case, the major factors affecting industry now, and likely to persist for some time to come, are loss of management and labor, financial problems, the inability to obtain supplies, and the inability to sell and transport finished product.

13. Managerial staff and labor who have fled to the vallages have been now to return. They are probably intimidated both by the continuing presence and actions of the Army and by threats from the insurgents that they should not support the latter's cause by returning to work. Those who have returned remain frightened; and the appearance of threatening posters put up by the insurgents has caused serious setbacks to recruiting efforts, *e.g.*, in Ghorasal and Chittagong, and reportedly also elsewhere in the Province. In some instances, management and technical personnel—especially non-Bengalis and Hindus—were killed, with the result that many others have left East Pakistan and in part at least are unlikely to return.

14. In these circumstances, the failure of the administration to function properly is understandable. Most Class I and II officers are back on the job; and the continued absence in Most areas of perhaps half the Class III and IV officers is unlikely to be a serious impediment to effective administration. However, for a number of reasons, most of the officers who are back are functioning perfunctorily at best. Among the senior officials the mission met, none have travelled extensively in the Province to see for themselves what the situation was in their particular area of responsibility. Communication between offices below the level of the Provincial Government hardly exists. Few officers at the district and thana level are venc urrsome enough to leave their offices, and people are afraid to come to town. At the same time, the inevitable military intervention in matters normally dealt with by the civil adminis-

tration and the continued dominant presence of the military are inhibiting factors; in addition, the appointment of several West Pakistanis to important posts in the provincial administration, the drastic curtailment of the development program, and the fact that most important decisions, including in particular those pertaining to the management of the economy, are being taken without their involvement have tended to reduce interest.

15. The nature and course of the fighting varied greatly from one part of the province to another, and there have been associated differences in the persistence of insurgency and economic inactivity. The border is more-or-less open along its entire length and adjacent areas are therefore particularly vulnerable. Most of the early damage occurred and much of the continuing insurgency is taking place in the crescent from Ramgarh to Srimangal along the eastern border and in the inaccessible area along both sides of the Mymensingh/Sylhet division. The heaviest fighting and greatest destruction by the Army took place West of the Jamuna/Padma with the trail of devastation running from Khulna to Jessore to Kushtia to Padma, Bogra, Rangpur and Dinajpur. This is the area of greatest population loss at present and where agriculture has been most retarded and activity most disrupted. Least affected apparently were the southern and coastal areas of Noakhali, Bakerganj and Patuakhali though the fighting started there. Dacca, as the capital city and administrative center, is probably closest to "normal" at present; however, one similarity for all districts is that all remained very far from normal up to the time of our departure from East Pakistan on June 11.

C. Effects On the Major Economic Sectors

16. (i) *Agriculture* — Although the Mission did not observe major physical damage to this sector, it is clear that agriculture has suffered badly as a result of the conflict. Many farmers have fled: others have been killed; all farmers have lost some time in the fields; and in all areas there have been in all farm operations delays, neglect and a lack of inputs.

17. In the case of rice, the boro crop (which last year accounted for about 16% of production) was very good - up about 15% on average, over last year. There is, however, some late boro still in the ground and, with the early rains and disappearance of many farmers, it is not certain that all of this will be harvested. The aus crop is generally much later planted than in normal years, weeding has been neglected in areas where farmers have been harassed or have fled, and there is much yellowing, probably due to shortage of fertilizer. According to field staff of the ADC and Department of Agriculture and our own observations, the acreage planted is some 15% below normal and the average yield on this reduced acreage is also likely to be down by a minimum of 15%. This works out to a minimum drop in production of 28%.

18. More seriously, present indications are that the important aman crop may also be considerably affected. If this is to be avoided, severe problems of delay, lack of seed and difficulty in providing inputs will have to be overcome. In general, the entire process of aman planting appears to be seriously behind schedule. For highest yields transplanting from mid—July to mid-August—but preferably in mid-July—is recommended. Allowing for one month in the nurseries, this means that seedlings should have gone into the nurseries by mid-June: however, very little preparation of fields or nursery beds was observed during our various tours of the Province. An additional factor is that, owing to heavy early rains, late transplanting has been attempted on much of the aus

acreage and this late aus is not likely to be off the fields before late August. This means, as a minimum, that aman planting may be further postponed and yields correspondingly reduced. In some areas, the planting of aman may be precluded altogether.

19. For a variety of reasons—the firing of farmers' houses and market places. Army "requisition", the flight of refugees who have taken seed stock with them for food, etc.—much aman seed appears to have been lost throughout the Province. And given the disruption of administration and the transport and distribution system, it is difficult to see how all the lost seed can be replaced or sufficient seed be supplied to areas, that are normally in deficit, in time for the aman planting. Though fertilizer is available in the Province, point-of-use storage is in most cases adequate for only a few days requirements during the growing season. As the entire process depends so critically upon the transport and distribution system, it appears most unlikely that fertilizer will be available in all the right places at the right times. Timely pesticide application, which is difficult in normal times, can hardly be expected.

20. Areas where the situation is particularly serious are the cyclone disaster area and the western border areas. In the former area, the supply of draft animals for land preparation remains drastically below requirements, while people are already going hungry and—unless and effective relief operation is mounted immediately—are likely to turn to seed stocks for food. In the latter area, cultivation is being considerably reduced by the absence of many farmers and the continuing harassment by both sides of those remaining. If conditions conducive to normal pursuit of agricultural activities were restored promptly, and all efforts made to supply farmers with the necessary inputs, the adverse effects of the present situations on the aman crop could perhaps be contained. However, on the basis of present conditions. It is the Mission's estimate that total aman acreage may be 20—30% below normal, and that some drop in the yield is also likely. All factors considered, the overall drop in agricultural production may well be of the order of 30%.

21. Obviously, this assessment must be regarded as tentative, particularly as it applies to aman, the largest crop, where it is still too early in the season to make definitive judgments and where prompt remedial action could still be effective in improving crop prospects. However, if this assessment turns out to be correct, then the total net quantity of foodgrains available in the province will be million tons less than in 1970/71 and 3 million tons less than in 1969/70. Two conclusions follow: First, and of immediate operational significance, 2 million tons of foodgrains will have to be imported in the period July—December 1971, including a carry-over of some 550.000 tons from 1970/71. If a daily supply of 15.4 oz. per person is to be maintained and total stocks kept at a reasonable level. Internal distribution of such a quantity will make extraordinary demands on the transport system and the administrative capacity of the province. Second. given the possibility that imports of another 2 million tons may be required in the second half of 1971/72, a continuous watch will have to be kept over progress of the aman crop.

22. The picture with respect to jute varies considerably from district to district: however, acreage is widely reported to be down substantially. In addition during the fighting and the ensuing period of fear and uncertainty, weeding and thinning operations in many of the fields have been neglected. Fertilizer application, if it has occurred at all, has been minimal and cultivation has been sparse.

In many areas, the heavy early rains and neglect have led to considerable weed growth—and, in some areas (notably Mymensingh District), unusually heavy rains have caused water-logging and further reduction of yields. Our overall judgment is that acreage is down by some 20% while the yield on that acreage will be down by a minimum of 10%. Applied to the 1970/71 target figure of 6.9 million bales, this composite reduction of 28% gives a crop of 5 millions bales. Since there is no guarantee that cultivation will proceed normally from this point or that adequate labor will be available for harvesting and retting, this figure must be regarded as a maximum for raw jute. Even then, it is by no means certain that all of this reduced crop can be moved by the crippled transport system to mills and ports.

23. Until quite recently the situation in the tea gardens appeared to be surprisingly good. There was virtually no plucking during April and May—the first two months in the tea year—and that tea which was plucked was either not processed or badly processed. However, despite the surrounding border, the heavy fighting that has occurred in the area and the very high proportion of Hindus in the labor force, the bulk of the population appeared to be in place at the time of our visit and approximately two thirds of estate labor was present. Only half of field, factory and office staff were available for work by the first week of June while management (including assistant managers) was still largely absent but beginning to return in large numbers.

24. During the first ten days of June, however, two expatriate tea planters disappeared, and the second is reliably reported to have been murdered by the insurgents as part of a beginning campaign to dissuade expatriates—as well as locals—from collaborating with the present Government in its efforts to restore "normalcy". As a result, and on the advice of the UK High Commission, those expatriate planters who were working in the gardens have now left Sylhet.

25. Without qualified management, it is most unlikely that tea production can go on efficiently. Probably it cannot occur at all. At the very least, therefore, production for April through July—or about 40 per cent of the normal annual output—will be substantially or completely lost. What happens thereafter will depend, firstly, upon whether security can be restored sufficienty to persuade management to return and labor to remain on the job. Even if this can be accomplished fairly soon, formidable start-up problems will have to be overcome. The labor force will have to be re-organized and the backlog of weeding and pruning—which also have been largely neglected since March 25th—will have to be eliminated before production can start. Perhaps the most optimistic outcome would be that half the normal output for the remainder of the year could be achieved—which would give a total of some 20 million pounds, as opposed to 69 million pounds last year. Less optimistically, it remains possible that substantially the whole year's output will be lost and that, for want of pruning, the productivity of the plants will be reduced for subsequent years as well.

26. (ii) **Transport.**—This is probably the most affected and therefore the most important sector. As the major dislocations to the system have been discussed in general terms in the introduction, the analysis here will be by mode.

27. Facilities at the two major ports of Chittagong and Chalna were not damaged in the fighting: however, they operated at only 40 percent normal

during March, and virtually not at all during April. During April administration of the ports was taken over by the Military and, in May, operations returned to about 10% normal and a portion of the backlog of work and blockage of godowns and the port areas was cleared up so that ports are now in a position to operate more efficiently. At present the ports are operating with about 15% of normal labor supply. The navy administrators claim that more labor is available, but is not needed—that, with their superior management, they can operate more efficiently and handle normal work loands with the reduced labor force. This is probably true to some extent: however, it should be said that these "ports under new management" with their partly new and inexperienced labor forces have not yet been put to the test, as ships are not yet calling at the ports with anything approaching normal frequency.

28. What can be said at this juncture is that the ports are probably capable of operating at up to two-thirds of normal capacity and do not, therefore, constitute a bottleneck in the system—nor will they until such time as the internal transport system is able to accommodate something approaching normal volume. A few qualifications are called for in the case of Chittagong. Firstly, in connection with foodgrain imports, all incoming vessels for both Chalna and Chittagong must be lightered at Chittagong—and, for this, the same "coasters" (or coastal steamers) and "bay-crossing" barges that are used for movement to inland ports are required. Secondly, the efficiency of use of these coasters and barges is limited by the fact that only one of three gantries at the Chittagong silo is operating. Thirdly, at present only 40% of port handling machinery is operating, probably due mainly to the continuing absence of trained operators and mechanics. Fourthly, and most important, imports cannot really be brought into Chittagong port at a faster rate than they can be taken off by the combined modes of internal transport, for additional storage space is not available, and in any event the goods are needed in the interior and not in the port area.

29. So far as internal movement to and from the ports is concerned, both the railway and road transport are in very poor shape—placing at present, an impossible burden on water transport Except for limited lightering capacity and the strong possibility that lightered goods may pile up and create an added bottleneck at Chittagong as a result of the inability to move them up-country, the situation at Chalna port is probably manageable—or will be in the fairly near future. Here—as opposed to Chittagong—the imbalance between imports and exports is not extreme, the *traditional* role of water as the mode of internal transport is relatively more important and the connecting railway and roads suffered less damage and will probably remain less vulnerable to insurgent activity in the future. At Chittagong, however, the situation is much less promising. This is almost exclusively an "imports" port, relying in normal times upon the vital Chittagong-Dacca road and rail links to move perhaps three-fourths of all cargo up-country to Dacca and other points. Until these two vital links have been restored and something approaching normal traffic is moving over them, the port cannot operate at anything approaching normal capacity, even if the coastal fleet is increased considerably as an emergency measure.

30. In all, 13 major railway bridges were damaged. Most of these have been repaired or are expected to be by the end of June. One notable exception is the bridge near Fenchuganj in Sylhet on which work as not yet commenced. Girders must be moved by rail and the railway is still inoperative

over the entire Chittagong-Sylhet line. In addition, the vital Feni River Bridge remains a substantial question-mark ; the truss has been jacked up but not yet repaired, and it remains likely that—once repaired—it will again become a target of the insurgents. Numerous small bridges and culverts have also been knocked out and are being knocked out every week. These are being repaired with bundles of rails in order to conserve girders ; however, rails too continue to disappear all over the province.

31. Even on sections where the line is intact, the PER is confronted with formidable obstacles preventing the operation of trains with normal frequencies, at normal speeds and carrying normal loads. In the first place, the repairs which have taken place are temporary measures only, and in most cases trains will be able to operate over these bridges and culverts only at reduced speeds and loads. Secondly, there is the problem of security. It is almost certain that small bridges will continue to be blown up, leading to interruption of service over the section in question for varying-periods of time ; that rails will continue to disappear throughout the province, forcing operation at reduced speeds ; and that operations over sections running close to the border will be difficult if possible. So long as operations are confined to daylight hours, the capacity of the system by this one fact alone is reduced to less than one-half normal. In addition, the destruction of the railway's telecommunication system -now reported to be half repaired—reduces capacity by perhaps as much as half again by restricting the speeds at which trains can operate.

32. On the whole, it is our assessment that there are no operations over about one-third of the PER trackage. While operations over the remainder are at no more than 15 percent of normal. This means that the PER is presently performing at 10 percent of capacity at best, and this capacity is not necessarily in the right places or being used to move goods. Of greatest importance, the railway will not be able to begin to perform its normal function until such time as the vital Chittagong-Dacca link has been physically restored and something approaching normal operations over the line has been achieved ; fulfillment of this objective is not presently in sight.

33. In the case of roads, the damage to the system was similar to that to the railways. Ten major bridges and numerous minor bridges and culverts were blown up—and, being mainly of reinforced concrete, these cannot be repaired quickly. Instead, diversions in the form of Bailey Bridges, pontoons or ferries must be installed. These will force some restrictions on speeds and reductions of loads. In addition, at least one ferry was lost and several were damaged. While these are now partly back in operation, the damage to the engine rooms and steering of some was extensive and will take several months to repair. It is therefore likely that overall ferry capacity will remain at reduced levels at most crossings. However, the major problem with road transport is that most of the trucks in the Province have been withdrawn from commercial use. Disregarding total interruption of operations over certain sectors, it is our observation that trucking operations throughout the Province as a whole are currently at a level no higher than 5 to 10% of normal.

34. Water transport is the surface mode least affected by the conflict. Of the 24 coastal vessels which provide year-round connections between Chittagong and the river ports, one was apparently sunk. Minor damage was

suffered by a few other vessels, which may account for the fact that only 16 are presently in operating condition ; though officials insisted repeatedly that it is normal for approximately one-quarter of the fleet to be out of operation at any time. Initially the entire motor-powered inland fleet was commandeered by the Military ; however, about half the operating vessels are now available for commercial use. During the conflict, country boats virtually disappeared from East Pakistan's waterways, and very few of these have returned. All told, the inland fleet may be operating currently at about 50 percent normal for cargo carrying.

35. PIA has escaped destruction and damage entirely ; however, its operations are limited to a handful of major towns. Domestic service is being operated with high load factors on a considerably reduced schedule (about 30 percent normal) from Dacca to Chittagong, Jessore, Sylhet, Ishurdi and Comilla. This low service level is not explained by any loss of aircraft, nor is it commensurate with the 65—70 percent of employees reportedly back to work. Probably it is explained by the reduction of hours to avoid any operations after dark, the limited supply of mechanics and a military requirement to maintain some "slack" in the event of urgent need. Even this reduced schedule is occasionally interrupted in order to use the Fokkers and STOL planes in support of military operations—as occurred once during our stay. And, as a security precaution, the commercial flights are not permitted to carry cargo.

36. In sum, as of June 10, our assessment is that provincial cargo-carring capacity is at present no more than one-fourth normal. And, because this capacity is badly palced in relation to demand and not properly integrated it is not all being use. Furthermore, even if the program of bridge repairs is completed more-or-less on schedule, cargo capacity might be raised to one-third by July and—even with substantial foreign assistance—to no more than two-thirds by the end of the year. The reason for this pessimistic judgment is that, although restoration of the physical road and rail networks is a relatively simple technical matter—and is, in fact, well underway - it will continue to be extremely difficult to operate available capacity efficiently, except within the framework of an integrated operational program for this system as a whole, and such a program does not yet exist. Most, repairs and diversions which have been carried out thus far are temporary in nature and cannot be completed until after the monsoon at the earliest or, in some areas, until security situation has improved ; and insurgent activity is continuing with at least minor disruptions to the physical network in several areas. More important, operations over the physical network will continue to be constrained by the security situation and the absence of vehicels and vessels. Even if the Military should decide to return all vehicles and vesles to fulltime commercial use—which it has not yet done—it will be unable to restore those that have been destroyed or seriously damaged, taken over the border or rendered unserviceable by intensive use without maintenance by the Military ; nor is it likely to experience success in finding all the owners who are capable of maintaining those still available in operating condition. Finally, expansion of the water transport system, which will be needed to compensate for the reduction inland transport capacity, will require comprehensive planning and—for at least some vital components—time-consuming procurement procedures.

37. (iii) Commerce Very little hard evidence about the commercial sector was obtainable during our visit . however, along with the sectors concerned with commodities and their transportation, the financial and trading sectors have also suffered severe physical and, particularly, psychological dislocation, with serious implications for the pace of economic recovery This dislocation is observable at the level of the local retail and wholesale establishment : in the rupture of normal relationships in internal, inter-wing and external trade ; and in the banking system and the realm of financial transactions generally.

38. The destruction of bazaars, shops and village markets—with their stocks—has been recorded as a result of this and for other reasons, many small traders have fleet This disruption of the internal disruptive trade has persisted, as is evidenced in the towns by the large proportion of retail stores and business premises which still remain shuttered In most places visited to appeared to the Mission members that less than half those establishments left standing were open for business and those that were open seemed to be conducting very little business.

39 One result of the severe psychological impact of the conflict is a general loss of confidence which affects both trading and financial relationships. Numerous traders have disappeared, at least temporarily , but even for those who have remained, trading links and concomitant extension of credit facilities between importers manufacturers , distributors and retailers have been disrupted , in circumstances where the settling of outstanding commitments has been prejudiced, creditors are unable or reluctant to extend new facilities. This has repercussions also on inter wing and external trade relations Apart from transport problems, trade with the West wing has been affected by the uncertainties (especially of West Pakistan exporters) over credit risks , similarly, some foreign exporters are presently requiring special payment guarantees for shipments to East Pakistan

40 The extent of damage to trading links has not yet been tested because so far the disruption of transport has been the principal factor inhibiting the movement of goods, and demand has been very low But trading links between jute farmers, the intermediate markets domestic jute manufacturers and jute shippers will be put to a test in the near future, with serious implications if they should prove to be inadequate

41 At the center of the credit system, the posture of the banks is vital. The banking system was seriously disrupted during the first week of March and again in the period after March 25 , though it is now functioning in the main urban areas, the country branch network is still far from restored as a result of absence of staff, damage to property and records and lack of communication : and—depending upon the bank -20 to more than 50% of branches are still not functioning While the banks may be expected to restore their services and facilities within a reasonable period, the full restoration of the trading structure, probably involving the mobilization of new traders with financial resources, will no doubt be a longer process.

42. Any tendency for the economy of East Pakistan to recover is likely to be constrained, possibly seriously, by a lack of liquidity. Banking statistics for East Pakistan separately are not available however, deposits declined substantially during the first quarter and have not been fully restored. The position of Pakistani banks remains depressed : and Karachi-based banks

indicated that, for the time being, their operations in the East would have to rely entirely upon the local deposit base, which has been always insufficient. Furthermore, it is not clear that in present circumstances the banks are willing to provide much credit. The recent "demonetization" must have aggravated these problems substantially, introducing an added element of uncertainty and drastically reducing currency in circulation. All notes of Rs. 100 and 500 ceased to be legal tender and had to be deposited within three days. There is no basis for estimating how the impact was divided between East and West Pakistan and illegal holdings abroad. According to the State Bank, demonetization affected more than half of the total currency issue, or Rs. 4,300 million out of Rs. 8,200 million. Roughly a quarter, or about Rs. 1,000 million, was not turned in : even allowing for large holdings abroad, this is a large share which probably reflects not only a substantial amount of hot money in the system but also the unsettled conditions in East Pakistan, including the flight of large numbers to India. The Government has now raised the ceiling on deposits redeemable in full from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 10,000 : holders of larger deposits have the option of paying a graduated levy, which on average comes to about 40 per cent, or of having their deposits examined for possible tax evasion.

43. (iv) Industry.—Manufacturing in general is in a very bad state. In early March, many plants shut down and others operated at low levels. During April and early May, there was practically no production. Since then a number of factories have resumed operations however, the regional variation in performance is considerable. In Chittagong and the Tongi industrial area outside Dacca industrial activity is starting up only slowly. In Chittagong less than 25% of factories are open, but far less than that are really operating : at Tongi it is reported that only about 2,000 out of 12,000 workers are back on the job. In the Dacca-Narayanganj area and in Khulna most factories are open. In Jessore, Bogra and Comilla half may be open. It is evident that, of those factories which have resumed production, most are operating at very reduced levels of efficiency and output, many at on 10—20% of their former levels. Only a handful of industries are working at more than 50% of their previous levels ; and these firms, many of which are expatriate-owned and most of which are relatively capital-intensive, are not now selling all of their output, and may be forced to shut down due to insufficient demand and storage space if the dislocation of the economy continues much longer.

44. As stated previously, physical damage was relatively slight and the major problems confronting the industrial sector are those of labour, management, finance, transport and demand. In most factories visited, less than half the labour forced had returned to work. In many cases, the figure was as low as 10 to 15 per cent. Low attendance is further aggravated by the small proportion of trained workers among the returnees. There has been some movement back to the factories during the past few weeks; however the movement has been gradual and sporadic. Hindu workers often constituting a large proportion of the skilled labour force are unlikely to return, and others will be slow to return because of such factors as the destrucuon of labourers' colonies, the continuing search of workers buses by the Army and the massive presence of the Army near many industrial centers. At the same time, the appearance around factories in recent weeks of posters threatening workers with retaliation by the insurgents if they work too hard and the receipt by employees of letters containing a similar message, have in some areas (e.g., Ghorasal and Chittagong) reversed the flow of workers and reduced still further the productivity of those remaining.

45. In many factories, non-Bengalis have constituted a high proportion of management and supervisory staff. Some of these were killed and many more fled during the disturbances, and are returning only at a slow rate. To find satisfactory replacements for those who have been killed or have chosen not to return will be a very difficult task.

46. Disruption of transport and commerce is affecting most industries and factories by restricting movement of raw materials and supplies as well as finished products.

47. For the jute industry in particular, obstacles to the normal supply of raw jute to the mills do not as yet pose a serious constraint, as the months of April through June normally coincide with the phasing out of the crop year and a seasonal slackening of raw jute movements : furthermore, most mills—except for a few special cases—appear to have sufficient stocks for three to four months' *normal* operation. Also, with some effort and support by the authorities (which in the case of jute is particularly emphasized), adequate transport facilities can probably be arranged for the small quantities currently being produced. Thus, transport at present does not appear to be a crucial constraint to jute production: it is, however, already a problem for the movement of the remainder of the last jute crop from secondary markets to terminals as well as for exports of raw jute and jute goods. The outlook for the coming season (to start in July August) is not encouraging and the lack of transport may well pose a serious problem for the jute industry as a whole in the period ahead.

48. For the tea industry, transport is already a serious problem. In the event that plucking is resumed on any scale, POL will be needed for internal movement on the estates and to operate the factories. This is now in short supply, and resupply is a serious problem. Sylhet is virtually isolated so far as land transport is concerned. Both the railway and the *only* road connection pass close to the border at many points, have suffered heavy damage and are likely to remain subject to frequent harassment. As a result, both POL supply and the shipment of processed tea are in doubt: one further factor is that capacity for making tea chests is currently down to one-half normal with the destruction of one factory of four and the flight of management from one other.

49. Several large factories, though producing only at reduced rates, have very large stocks of finished goods on hand with no possibility of lifting them soon : Chattack Cement and Fenchuganj Fertilizer have nearly exhausted their storage facilities, and soon may have to reduce production further. Eight EPIDC sugar mills have very large stocks which they can't move despite shortages and demand all over the Province. Without sales, EPIDC cannot pay farmers in full for their cane and will soon be unable to meet payrolls. Until its labour scare during the week of 7th June, the steel mill in Chittagong was operating at about 20 percent of capacity, producing forever increasing stocks of raw steel, while re-rolling mills in Khulna remain closed due to non-receipt of billets from Chittagong. Pakistan Tobacco is one of the few factories operating at a respectable level in Chittagong, while the cigarette factory in Jessore reports a severe shortage of paper. And there are countless other examples of problems caused for industry by the disruption of the transport network.

50. Considering that many factories apparently have been "encouraged" to reopen irrespective of economic and financial considerations, there are two additional effects of the disturbances which have not had a great impact as yet, but are likely to assume major proportions in the near future. These are the disruption of short-term credit facilities and the certainty that—at presently reduced levels of production, reduced productivity and restricted sales—many companies which are attempting to operate will do so only with heavy losses and even greater negative cash, flows. As a result, they will be unable to meet payrolls, taxes and debt service payments.

51. (v) Other Sectors.—The major utilities appear to be functioning satisfactorily ; however, they are not yet under any pressure to produce in large quantities due to reduced demand and have not yet been operating long enough to run into the maintenance problems which will eventually arise due to absence of key staff and inability to obtain necessary materials and spares due to the disruption of transport. The supply of power and gas was interrupted in many cases, but supply of gas now seems to have been restored fully; and, with some exeptions, present demands for power (totalling on 40 per cent of demand six months ago) are being met. Water supplies, at least in Dacca and Chittagong are functioning adequately.

52. Communications other than transport were also severely disrupted, and have not yet been fully restored. Telecommunications are reported to have been restored to all but one district and to all but 6 of 60 subdivisions ; however, service levels over these main lines —never high in the best of circumstances—are now very low, and service *within* districts and subdivisions remains largely disrupted. Mail service was completely disrupted and is being restored only gradually. Communication with most villages, especially in the cyclone disaster area, remains difficult.

53. The contracting industry lost the major portion of the construction season, many trucks and some other equipment. Its financial position, always precarious, is now critical and most firms are unable to establish contract even with their normal work force. Thoroughly demoralized and afraid, the firms appear unable to return to work and, with a few exceptions they are unwilling to even think in these terms as yet.

54. Primary and secondary schools are now open in most areas, but attendance is very low. Most college and university teachers had returned, as requested, by early June, but they are demoralized and afraid and no one is predicting that the students will return in large numbers for the scheduled reopening on 2nd August.

D. Public Revenue and Investment

55. *Current Situation.*—Natural calamities coupled with political uncertainties which ultimately climaxed in the recent conflict have severely affected the provincial resource position and the pace of public investments throughout this fiscal year.

56. Provincial tax revenues are likely to amount to only about 50% of budget estimates (down from Rs. 380 million to some 190 million), and may still fall below that. Receipts other than taxes are also reduced considerably. The most drastic setback has been registered in land revenue, the most important single tax; collections by mid-May amounted to no more than Rs. 23

million and for the fiscal year as a whole may at best, yield some Rs. 40 to 50 million, compared to Rs 150 million budgeted. This particularly poor record reflects the fact that there was considerable agitation against the present land revenue system during the election campaign so that the difficulties of collection began long before March 25.

57. Tax collections generally came to a halt in early March They have only gradually been resumed at a much reduced scale in parts of the Province since the second half of May. Apart from provincial taxes, this disruption of tax collections—closely linked with the general disruption of the overall administrative system—has further affected the generation of centrally collected taxes with direct repercussions on public resources at the national level. Preliminary estimates indicate that provincial generation of central taxes this year is less by at least some 40 per cent than in 1969 70 ; this is reflected in turn in a reduction in the share of central taxes for the Province.

58 As a consequence of these developments the current surplus originally budgeted for the Province has turned into a sizable deficit on the order of Rs 200 million In addition the financial position of the railways and other public entities (such as EPWAPDA, EPIDC, EPADC IWTA, EPSIC, EPRTC, etc.) notoriously precarious in any case has been severely affected. Their combined current deficits are now expected to be well above Rs 300 million, this adding further to the stringent resource position of the Province.

59 In these circumstances, the public investment program could not remain unaffected quite apart from other factors which have hampered, physically or otherwise, the execution of projects As a result, this year's development program (including flood control) now stands reduced by about one-fourth—down from around Rs 3400 (after allowing for budgeted shortfalls) to Rs. 2600 million After deducting another Rs. 580 million for liabilities of autonomous bodies *vis a vis* the Government (largely for debt service but also for other claims) which due to lack of own resources tend to be financed, through the budget mechanism, out of investment allocations, actual net investments come down to a level not higher than Rs 2000 million ; and this may yet turn out to be an optimistic estimate for this fiscal year.

60. *The outlook*. -Prospects for the coming fiscal year are shrouded with many uncertainties. There can be little doubt, however, that present conditions do not augur well for a rapid recovery in fiscal performance, unsatisfactory as it was even under normal circumstances.

61 Preliminary budget estimates of the Government for 1971 72 suggest a recovery in provincial revenues (taxes and other) to somewhat above this year's original budget estimates. While taxes proper are projected slightly lower, other revenue receipts are expected to exceed the 1970,71 budget level. By all indication, such estimates appear to be highly unrealistic. They imply that total revenues in 1971/72 will be nearly 50% higher than the amount actually collected in 1970/71. Clearly they suggest an almost miraculous pace of econimic revival throughout the Province, assumed that the basis of taxation as well as capacity to pay revenues has been left more or less unimpaired, and furhtermore, presuppose normal functioning of the entire tax administration and collection system.

62. The Mission found no evidence to support the assumption that such conditions are likely to prevail in the near future. It is thus difficult to accept the above estimates. Merely as a rough guess, even a recovery in provincial revenue performance to about two-thirds of the 1970/71 budget estimates would in our present judgement still imply a commendable effort based on fairly rapid economic recovery and by no means pessimistic assumptions. It may indeed be too optimistic and makes no allowance for tax relief measures which in the circumstances may well be required to aid economic recovery.

63. According to estimates of the Central Government, adjusted for the built-in liabilities of autonomous bodies, revenues collected in the Province, allocation of certain centrally collected taxes and central loans and grants will provide East Pakistan in 1971/72 with rupee resources amounting to Rs. 2,160 million to finance public programs. This compares with estimated actual resources of Rs. 2,260 million in 1970/71. The Government expects that of this amount. Rs. 1,220 million will be required for non-development expenditures (Rs. 920 million in 1970/71) leaving Rs. 1,040 million for development, rehabilitation of physical assets destroyed in the recent events, and cyclone reconstruction, as compared to Rs 1,340 million in 1970/71. On the assumption that the Province will be able to absorb Rs. 570 million of project aid, as against Rs. 250 million in 1970/71, the Central Government puts the 1971/72 development program (including rehabilitation and reconstruction as mentioned above) for East Pakistan at Rs. 1,610 million, or roughly the same amount as is now estimated for 1970/71. These estimates call for comment in respect of the resource projection and the use of resources.

64. As regards the resource projection, the Mission arrived at a very much lower estimate of the rupee resources likely to be available. It thought that the amount available to East Pakistan might be as low as Rs. 1,550 million, in contrast to the Government's estimate of Rs. 2,160 million and an actual availability of about Rs. 2,260 million in 1970/71. About half the difference between the Mission's and the Government's estimates is in respect of provincial revenues and stems from the reasons given in paragraphs 61 and 62 above. The other half is in respect of transfers, in various forms, from the Center. The Mission has difficulty seeing the Center collect about 10 percent more in taxes on the basis of existing rates than in 1970/71, as the official estimates assume. This is because the Mission cannot see how the assumptions underlying the Government's projections regarding expansion in taxable economic activity in West Pakistan and the associated level of imports can be realized unless it proves possible for Pakistan to obtain considerably more commodity-type assistance from abroad than it actually received in recent years.

65. It is difficult to see how East Pakistan's public administration in its present state as described above could be able in 1971/72 to handle effectively any sizeable expansion in activity. There is also the question how meaningful it is in the circumstances likely to prevail in 1971/72 to think of Government activity, beyond routine administration, as being directed towards development in the normal sense and in the framework of the usual development program and thus concerned primarily with the continuation of projects already underway, as the fiscal program available at the time of the Mission's visit seemed to suggest. Yet, this having been said, there is no question that the task of resuscitating the economy of East Pakistan will make very substantial demands on public resources. Some of these will not require large administrative

inputs, an example being free distribution rather than sale of food grains which may well be necessary on a large scale because purchasing power is likely to be very low in the Province. Others, such as a comprehensive program of rehabilitation and reconstruction in the public sector and of providing financial and other assistance to the private sector for the same purposes, will pose major problems of planning, organization and execution. Unfortunately, except for some Rs. 300 million included in the estimates for rehabilitation in the public sector, a program designed to provide maximum Government support for the vital task of economic recovery does not yet exist, even in rudimentary form. Preparation of such a program obviously should command first priority. However, it is also clear that the rupee resources which the Mission sees in prospect for East Pakistan would be totally inadequate to meet the needs for the situation and that the Central Government must give urgent consideration to ways and means of ensuring that economic recovery in East Pakistan is not held back by insufficient public resources.

II.

A. The Near Term Outlook

66. All this amounts to a situation that is far from normal and that is notable for the absence of any forces that might be relied upon by themselves to generate a strong momentum towards normalization Such forces, however, might become operative if it were possible to remove two formidable constraints and if the Government launched a comprehensive economic program designed actively to aid the recovery of the economy.

67 (i) *The General Sense of Fear and Lack of Confidence on the Part of Most of the Population.*- The immediate manifestations of this fear and absence of confidence are the persistent failure or refusal to report for duty, which is particularly prevalent among the lower grades of civil servants and workers but is far from absent at the higher levels and the general hesitation of those who have returned to expose themselves either physically or in the realm of policies and ideas. Few are functioning properly. Officers are not in proper contact with those at the next higher or lower level of the administration and are not thinking imaginatively about, or working effectively to solve, the numerous serious problems confronting the economy. The effects are evident throughout the administration and the private sector, as well as in the (lack of) interaction between the two: and the result is recorded in the non-resumption of normal activity throughout the economy.

68. Furthermore, there are no signs that the situation will improve significantly or rapidly. Two dates—April 21 and June 15—were set by the Government for all workers to return to their jobs without prejudice. The second date has now passed, but people remain afraid and untrusting and it is most unlikely that *economic* pressures can or will be generated which are sufficiently strong to overcome this reserve. The normal urban/rural ratio in East Pakistan is such that those who have left the cities and towns and so far stayed away can be rather easily absorbed in the countryside, and there is no strong "pull" to entice low-wage and low salary workers back to the cities and towns—particularly to areas where large concentrations of the military exist. In addition, for many workers (*e.g.*, household servants and those engaged in the service trades) the demand has largely evaporated for the time being.

69. The only incentives which might come to bear with sufficient force are negative ones which may operate to reduce greatly the relative attractions

of the rural areas. If the condition of fear in the countryside should come to exceed that in the cities or if there should be a general failure to solve the food problem, resulting in widespread starvation, workers and people generally might be forced back into the cities and towns in large numbers. But neither of these solutions is in any way desirable.

70. (ii) *The Complete Dislocation of the Communications System.*—This has been discussed at some length above. Its major manifestation is the almost complete absence of movement of people (except within towns) and of the exchange of goods between regions and sectors anywhere within the province. So long as it continues, this situation will exert a strong negative effect upon all efforts to revive the economy and to meet the basic needs of the population—including, in particular, their food requirements.

B. Minimum Remedial Measures

71. In setting the goals for normalization, the first objective must obviously be to avoid a catastrophe large-scale hunger and starvation within East Pakistan and further massive movement of people out of the Province into India. The second objective must be to reactivate the economy on a comprehensive and sustainable basis. The question is how this process of normalization might be set in motion. As President Yahya Khan said in his speech on June 28. ". . . . .normalcy in its accepted meaning can never return to a country without full participation of the people in its administration. The very process of bringing back normalcy requires the active interest of people in the process and this can happen only when the representatives of the people assume responsibility for administration of the country." However, in the same speech the President also explained that it would be "a matter of four months or so" before he would be able to put his "plan of transfer of power into operation." The question then is by what action the Government of Pakistan might in the meantime initiate the process of normalization.

72. The most difficult aspect of this question obviously relates to steps and measures affecting the general atmosphere in the Province. Specific suggestions in this area are outside the Mission's competence. However, it would appear that any interim program would have to include, as essential elements, arrangements that would reduce the visibility of the Army so as to reduce the major source of fear among the people and that would create conditions under which East Pakistan's civil administration can function normally. Progress in the latter direction might be facilitated by the Central Government posting a high-level administrator in East Pakistan to serve, during the interim period, as the head of the civil administration.

73. The food problem has both short-run and long-term aspects. On both fronts, resolute action is urgently required : still, even if appropriate measures are introducted immediately, it may already be too late to prevent starvation in all areas of the Province. The short-run problem is essentially a distribution problem : and the minimum elements of a solution will include programming the large imports which will be required over the next six to twelve months and, by some combination of permanent and temporary measures, managing the crippled and constrained transport system with utmost efficiency. The longer run problem is one of reviving agriculture and rebuilding and strengthening the transport system on a more permanent basis.

74. Detailed and comprehensive analysis and planning are absolutely essential if the Government is to be able to deal effectively with both the short and

the long-run problems, particularly and to begin with those of transport and distribution However, they will not by themselves produce solutions to all problems, because the physical and managerial capacity now available is insufficient to meet all demands at the same time Therefore, the Government must also establish a clear order of economic priorities beginning with food—and prepare an integrated program for transport (by modes) and distribution. Attention should be given as well to the modalities of distribution , including the almost certain need to provide food free in large areas for a substantial period.

75. The integrated transport p[illegible] (for the formulation and operation of which it may prove necessary to employ the services of *expatriate* experts in systems and transport), must de[illegible] transport requirements and arrange for the optimal use [illegible] contribution to the requirements for foodgrain distribution [illegible] existing facilities In addressing itself to the longer-run problems, it [illegible] repair for the repair of all damaged facilities, determine the remaining [illegible] and [illegible] the requirements for additional facilities both [illegible]

76 Finally, any remaining [illegible] and administrative resources must be directed first to rehabilitation [illegible] and to breaking the most important and persistent physical [illegible] necks impeding efforts to revive economic activity It is clear from the [illegible] analysis that important problems must be overcome [illegible] agriculture once security is restored in the countryside, the [illegible] likely to be seed production and distribution, the distribution of other [illegible] fertilizer; and the ample provision of credit [illegible] and equipment. Once the security situation has improved to the [illegible] most workers have returned to their jobs, [illegible] will probably require special supporting measures directed [illegible] special credit facilities, deferral of debt service payments, and tax relief, [illegible] through the restoration of purchasing power and reconstruction of works [illegible]

77. Because the Mission was preoccupied during its short stay in East Pakistan with gathering facts about the [illegible] situation and with problems of immediate urgency, it is unable to [illegible] what programs and measures the Government could [illegible] in stimulating and aiding economic recovery in the Province beyond [illegible] adequate food supplies are available at prices people can afford, [illegible] transport capacity is used efficiently, and that the Province's infrastructure is restored to working order. To identify such programs and [illegible] them into workable schemes is obviously an urgent [illegible] Government to take Similarly, while the Mission regards it as impractical at least for 1971-72, to think in terms of the usual development program and [illegible] of developmental activity over the full range, there are obviously areas of very high priority where everything possible should be done to carry on A list of such areas would almost certainly include: rice research, jute (market) research and promotion seed production and improvement (rice and jute), food storage and distribution, and rural infrastructure—including the rural works, [illegible] irrigation and integrated rural development programs. However, here too, an operational program needs to be prepared and to the extent that there are conflicts, priorities established between the development and economic recovery programs. Secondly, a realistic fiscal program needs to be prepared, comprising both the generation of public resources and their regional allocation, to ensure that the pace of economic recovery in East Pakistan is not held back by lack of adequate rupee resources

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আন্তর্জাতিক বিষয়ক চার্চ কমিশন-এর বিবৃতি।	বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেন্টস	৯-১২ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT ON PAKISTAN BY COMMISSION OF THE CHURCHES ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, APPROVED BY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING ON JULY 9-12, 1971

The plight of the Pakistani people has been a major concern of the Executive Committee of the Commission of the Churches of International Affairs during its twenty-sixth session held in Geneva, 9-12 July, 1971, and ours is a reflection of the deep concern of the member churches of the World Council of Churches especially those of India and Pakistan. The appalling loss of lives, the full extent of which may never be known; the continued suffering of refugees and others whose lives have been disrupted are but one tragic manifestation of the violence of inherent in the proverty which the Pakistani people share with their neighbours of the subcontinent.

It is an obligation laid upon Christians to stand alongside the poor and oppressed. Therefore our concerns lie with those whose brothers and sisters have died, with those who have been driven from their homes, with those whose undeterminable future will be spent in make shift refugee camps in a foreign land, and with those who have remained to a face increased proverty and a struggle for minimal existance.

We would appeal for responsible actions by the Pakistani authorities, by the nations who have the power and resources to act and by the churches to minimize and eventually bring an end to the part of the suffering which is still reparable. It is urgent that continuning repression in East Pakistan cease as a precondition for repairing the damage wrought and for allowing refugees to return to their homes. This must be done by those now in power in Pakistan, and we urge them to do so.

This will necessarily be a long process and it behaves those who can to provide much greater assistance than they have up to now, through the United Nations and other responsible agencies, to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India. The churches have been called upon to bear their part of this load, and we urge them to respond generously.

Emergency relief does not stop with the hoped--for return of refugees to the homes in a land of peace. It must continue when it is possible to contribute to the eradiction of misery and its causes. It is clear that aid must be given on a longterm basis in the form of grants. This is a responsibility of those who have funds to give. They ought not take advantage of this tragedy as an occasion to exercise political or economic pressure in order that their own ends might be achieved.

Recognizing the responsibility of the government of Pakistan for its internal affairs, we believe that there are important international implications in the present crisis and we strongly insist that the people should be free to determine the destiny of their nation. We believe that the Government of Pakistan should demonstrate its often-stated willingness to return this right to its people. At the same time, the elec'ed leaders of the people must take seriously their responsibility to the whole nation, especially to those citizens

in both East East West seeking to provide for all their most basic right to a decent human standard of living.

Accordingly, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs:

Calls upon Christian churches everywhere to give their moral support to the right of the Pakistan refugees to return to their homeland with guarantees against recrimination or imprisonment for political dissent.

Appeals to the Churches to respond generously to the appeal already made by the Commission of Inter-church Aid, Refugee and World Service for aid to alleviate the suffering of the refugees in India and those left food or shelter in Pakistan.

Urges its national constituents to influence their own governments to press the Government of Pakistan to negotiate a just political settlement with the leaders of East Pakistan including gurantees against future victimization; and to press their governments to contribute generously to the reconstruction of the devastated areas and the development of new economic opportunities in East Pakistan when that political settlement has been reached.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের জনগণের সাহায্যার্থে ভেনেজুয়েলার শিল্পী ও বুদ্ধিজীবীদের আবেদন।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

HUMAN TRAGEDY OF EAST PAKISTAN MUST CONCERN HUMANITY: APPEAL BY 29 INTELLECTUALS AND ARTISTS OF VENEZUELA, PUBLISHED ON JULY 14, 1971

The following is the text of an appeal by 29 intellectuals and artists which appeared in the daily *La Religion* on July 14, 1971:

Time marches on and the hardships of millions of refugees from East Pakistan recur, multiply and aggravate. Thousands of doctors and nurses are fighting a daily battle, without repose, in trying to check epidemics, stop the death of thousands and thousands of old men, women and children. Problems of all types —housing, food, transport etc—.become every hour more overwhelming and to resolve them neither are sufficient the efforts of a few governments and international organisations nor the traditional human solidarity of the land of Gandhi, the Jesus-like man of non-violence, applauded and blessed by all, whose memory makes in these painful circumstances, his mission and message more vivid than ever before.

In Venezuela our Cardinal Jose Humberto Quintero has already raised his vibrant voice as have done in the sister Argentine Republic, the intellectuals and artists headed by Victoria Ocampo, Jorge Lysis Bogrges, Fduardo Mallea Ernesto Sabato, Fryda Schuktz de Montovani Hector Basaldua, Adolfo de Obieta, etc. to underline that human tragedy must have no frontiers and that suffering, death and insecurity in any part of the world must concern humanity.

But it is really inconceivable that the universal conscience has not yet reacled, with unanimity and with the most honourable and benevolent intention towards the heart-rending events of East Bengal and that it has not yet given to India, at such a critical juncture, a massive, ample, human, manly support that the magnitude of the problem requires with the most anguishing urgency. It is necessary to remember always that here we do not deal with a specific problem of India, but a humanitarian problem of International character and that this problem has nothing to do with spiritualist and materialists fields but with human beings, just as one does not deal in romantic declarations or contriving superfluous formulae but in forming a strong and straightforward international conscience face to face with the unflincing duty of struggling conceretely for the refugees from East Pakistan, guided by the sentiment of democratic unity and common responsibility.

We remain confident that the Government of the Republic in consideration of the firm expressions of opinion and sensibilities of the Venezuelan individual and true to the Bolivarian international policy of solidarity, justice and peace, will not limit itself only to giving material aid but would obtain from the United Nations through its delegation, not only a manifestation of the existence of human values but a resolute and cooperate unity for an immediate and steady economic and protective action, really vast, persistent and progressive. The United Nation which cannot absolve it self from its high

duties and dignity must lead this crusade of the XX century in India, a crusade not of war, not with egoist or dark zeal but one of generosity to urge the people of the world to rescue from sickness and death millions of neddy refugees who see their historic destiny frustrated.

A profound consciouness of International responsibility demands real and total aid to India, to this India, leader of humanitarianism in the pilenitude of her pritual, strength which has raised her sacred voice and her mostnoble ideas of justice in the midst of most extraordinary difficulties and has put her entire heart and stretched her hands with the greatest affection and respect towards the millions of East Pakistanis, famished without clothes, without roofs and without bread, prematurely grown old, who weep with out consolation.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব বাংলায় শান্তি পুনঃপ্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য ফিলিপাইনীয় ক্যাথলিক সম্প্রদায়ের আবেদন।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

PHILIPPINES CATHOLICS APPEAL FOR RESTORATION OF PEACE IN EAST BENGAL: STATEMENT RELEASED ON JULY 16, 1971

The following statement was released to the Press in Manila on July 16, 1971, by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Philippines which represents thirty-one million Catholics :

* * * *

"We, the Catholic bishops of the Phillippines representing nearly 31 million Catholics, have heard the two fervent appeals made by the Holy Father urging aid to the six million East Bengali refugees driven out of their homes by violence and internecine conflict, who are presently being sheltered in India We have also taken note of the appeal made by Archbishop L. T. Picachy, the Archbishop of Calcutta on behalf of the Asian brothers and sisters We, the bishops, have also taken note of the appeal to the internatinal co mmunity made by the Prime Minister of India Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the fervent public statement and appeal made by His Excellency Mr Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Republic of the Phillippines, as well as, the statements made by His Excellency U-Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, by His Excellency Prince Saruddin Aga Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees and by His Excellency Mr. Willy Brandt the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

"Deeply moved by the terrible sufferings of the six million East Bengali refugees many of them wounded, starving without shelter during these torrential monsoons and now ravaged by a raging cholera. We also note with deepest sorrow the tragid death of thousands in East Bengal, the victims including several priests, While expressing commeseration we pray to the Almighty God asking for eternal peace for these unfortunate victims.

"It is clear that humanitarian aid to the refugees, although most welcome, is not a complete solution. It is also clear that a peaceful settlement between the opposing parties is essential and indispensable for the restoration of peaceful conditions for security without fear of molestation, persecution and death.

"This desideratum has been aptly and clearly expressed in the words of the Holy Father as follows :

'We appeal for love and peace particularly to those who hold public power so that the refugees can return to their homes and live in peace in an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation without hostility and suspicion. In the name of humanity, in the name of democracy, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, we reiterate the appeal and prayer His Holiness Pope Paul VI and urge upon the leaders of nations who have within their competence the power to, avert disaster to restore peace and order in East Pakistan."

"As a token of our fraternal concern and sympathy we are asking our peo-
ple of the Philippines to make voluntary contributions to help alleviate the
miseries of their brothers in East Pakistan . In fine we the Catholic bishops
of the Philippines also call on all their brethern and on all men of goodwill
in the international community to use all their influence and persuasion for
the restoration of peace."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব-বাংলার সংকট সমাধানের জন্য নরওয়ের ওয়ার্ল্ড ফেডারেলিস্ট সংস্থার প্রস্তাব।	এসোসিয়েশন অব ওয়ার্ল্ড ফেডারেলিস্ট, নরওয়ে	৮ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSOCIATION OF WORLD FEDERALISTS AT HONEFOOS, NORWAY, AUGUST 8, 1971

The Crisis in East Pakistan

Alarmed by the terrible suffering of the refugees from the area of East Bengal (East Pakistan) who have been driven into India, and by the terror inflicted on those who still remain;

Concerned by the heavy economic burden these refugees have put upon India which has so generously received them unmindful of the international complications and power conflicts involved, and the threat of war which is inherent in this tragedy of East Pakistan;

Convinced that any solution of the crisis in East Pakistan must be based on the free choice of the people of East Pakistan regarding the legal and political status of East Pakistan in the future;

THE COUNCIL OF AWF hails the initiative of Secretary-General U-Thant in calling the crisis to the attention of the Security Council as "a threat to international peace and security";

Calls upon the United Nations to accept on behalf of the world community the responsibility for responding fully to this human catstrophe and war danger;

Appeals to the Security Council and other appropriate U.N. organs to act without further delay to:

Calls upon all Governments, Members and non-Members of the U.N. to halt the shipment of arms and all military aid to the Government in West Pakistan, as long as that Government continues to carry out acts of suppression and terrorism in East Pakistan,

Calls upon the authorities in West Pakistan to cease all acts of terrorism and repression and to seek immediately a negotiated political solution to the crisis,

Calls upon all Governments to come fully to the aid of India which has so generously undertaken the overwhelming and constantly increasing burden of caring for the refugees from East Pakistan and also to make available increased resources for humanitarian aid and relief to the distressed peoples in East Pakistan under strict U.N. control,

Asks the U.N. to undertake planning now for the rehabilitation of the refugees presently in India and the displaced peoples in East Pakistan, as well as for economic aid for reconstruction in the devasted areas.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতে বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের জন্য রেডক্রস লীগের ত্রাণ তৎপরতা।	রেডক্রসের তথ্যবিবরণী	৯ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Red Cross news and features

Issued Monday, 9 August, 1971

RED CROSS FIGHTS MALNUTRITION AMONGST REFUGEE CHILDREN IN INDIA

The dramatic upsurge in the numbers of case of malnutrition among small children in the camps for East Pakistani refugees in India is a new challenge for the Red Cross.

Already - operating more than 800 milk stations in the camps, the Indian Red Cross, in close co-operation with UNICEF and the Indian authorities, is accelerating its supplementary feeding and medical programme to fight inadequate nutrition and the diseases it causes among children under seven and pregnant and lactating mothers. It is intended to reach two milion beneficiaries with milk, high protein foods, vitamins and approriate medical care for the sick--Malnutrition-caused diseases are already estimated to have affected some 200,000.

By mid-August, the Indian Red Cross expected to be running some 1,200 centres for a total of one million beneficiaries, so present plans mean these will have to be doubled in capacity and new centres will have to be opened. UNICEF is providing equipment, financial and logistic support for the programme. In its all-out effort to provide relief for the refugees, who now number more than seven million, the Indian Red Cross has 5,000 workers in the field. Through the League of Red Cross Societies, National Societies of 43 countries have provided clcse to 20 million Swiss francs worth of assistance for the operations. These include running 38 mobile medical teams and three field hospitals, in addition to the milk stations. Red Cross volunteer doctors and nurse have vaccinated some 600,000 persons against cholera and other diseases.

Among the contributions from sister Societies are 80 ambulances, tents and Plastic sheeting to shelter 30,000 people, milk powder, baby food, anti-cholera vaccines, medicaments, multivitamin tablets blankets and clothing, and cash for local purchases, operational expenses and transport, including an airlift from Calcutta to other points around the East Pakistan border where refugees have congregated.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তান সরকারের কাছে প্রদত্ত বাংলাদেশ সংহতি কমিটি সিলোন-এর প্রতিবাদলিপি।	সিলোন কমিটি কমুনিস্টপার্টি উইথ বাংলাদেশ।	১৭ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

PROTEST NOTE SENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN BY THE CEYLON COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH BANGLADESH AUGUST 17, 1971

Having murdered Pakistan and democracy and committed genocide against an entire nation the military junta under the leadership of Yahya Khan is staging a farcical trial of the undisputed leader of the Soverign and Independent People's Republic of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which is a gross violation of the norms of international law and common humanity. While vehemently protesting against this barbaric action and calling upon the military junta to withdraw the occupation forces from the territory of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and to hand over power to the elected representatives in West Pakistan, we warn that the actions of the military junta are a continuing threat not only to the supremacy of the people's will in that country but also to peace in our region.

The people of Ceylon are deeply angered by the crimes of Yahya Khan and military junta and demand an immediate end to them.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব বাংলায় পাকিস্তানী সামরিক জান্তার সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে ল্যাটিন আমেরিকার পার্লামেন্টের প্রস্তাব।	বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেন্টস	২৭ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY PASSED BY THE LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENT AT CARACAS, VENEZUELA –AUGUST 27, 1971

The Latin American Parliament

Taking into account the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the International Convention on Genocide;

Conscious that human solidarity transcends barriers of race, religion, language, geography and ideology;

Condemns the brutal suppression of human rights, the massive genocide, the deliberate liquidation of politically conscious elements and of intellectuals and the imposition of a reign of terror in East Bengal by the Pakistan Army which has caused the exodus of more than 7½ millions of refugees to India—an exodus which continues and which has produced dangerous tensions in the area;

Calls upon the Government of Pakistan to desist from committing further violation of human rights and of law and justice, stop military repression, respect the life of the leader Mujibur Rahman, presently under military trial, and enter into immediate negotiations with the already elected representatives of the people with the object of achieving a political solution of the problem acceptable to East Bengal, in the faith that such a solution cannot be achieved by military means and that it is a minimum essential condition for the return of refugees to their motherland, with sufficient guarantees of their security;

Urges the international community to extend aid, directly as well as through international organisations, to the refugees sheltered by India in a spirit of humanitarianism and to the suffering people of East Bengal and to excise all their influence over the Government of Pakistan with the object of achieving a rapid political solution.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাগওয়াশ সম্মেলনের বাংলাদেশ বিষয়ক কমিটির বিবৃতি।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	২৬—৩১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE ON EAST PAKISTAN AT THE 21ST PUGWASH CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND WORLD AFFAIRS HELD AT SINAIA, RUMANIA—AUGUST 26 TO 31, 1971

Following is the statement approved by the Continuing Committee on the Problem of East Pakistan:

Recent events in East Pakistan have caused unprecedented human suffering and created a grave situation in the sub-continent. There has been loss of life on a mass scale and millions have been forced to abandon their homes and seek refugee in India. The resulting tensions in the region threaten international peace, and therefore demand the urgent attention of the U.N. The Continuing Committee of the Pugwash Conference appeals;

To the Government of Pakistan to promote speedily a peaceful political settlement, refrain from actions which make such settlement more difficult to achieve, create conditions for the safe return of the refugees to their homes and lands, and make possible the effective operation of International relief agencies among the affected population ;

To all governments to exert their influence on Pakistan to advance towards a peaceful political settlement;

To all governments, the United Nations and other International Organizations and World Public opinion to recognise that the relief and welfare of the refugees in India is an international responsibility and that they should, therefore, assume immediately the bulk of the financial burden; and

To all outside countries to avoid any steps which might further aggravate the situation and in particular to refrain from supplying arms to Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্যারিসে অনুষ্ঠিত উনষাটতম আন্তঃপার্লামেন্টারী সম্মেলনে বাংলাদেশ প্রসংগ।	আন্তঃপার্লামেন্টারী সম্মেলনের কার্যবিবরণী।	৩—১০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

59th Inter-Parliamentary Conference
Paris—September, 1971.

Excerpts from Summary Record No. 2

Opening Session

Friday, September 3, Morning.

VOTE ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF SUPPLEMENTARY ITEMS FOR CONSIDERATION

The President of the Conference said that the Indian Group had requested the acceptance of a supplementary item on the subject of Bangladesh. He pointed out that acceptance of such a request required a two-thirds majority by the Conference.

Mr. G.S. Dhillon (India), proposing the supplementary item, explained that East and West Pakistan were separated by more than 1,100 miles and that there were cultural, racial and language differences between the two parts of the country. Since partition in 1947, there had been differences of opinion between the people of East Pakistan on a many issues Indeed, a few years ago there had been a struggle over language because the people of East Pakistan had not wished to adopt the language of West Pakistan. About 56 per cent of the country's total population lived in East Pakistan.

Following several years of military] rule, elections had been held to the National and Provincial assemblies. In East Pakistan, 167 out of 169 seats in the National Assembly had been won by the Awami League Party, while in the Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan, 288 of the 300 seats had been won by the Awami League.

Before Parliament could be summoned in March, the President of Pakistan had moved troops into East Pakistan and suspended the Assembly. In the military operations over half a million people were killed, and refugees fled across the border into India in terror at a rate of 50,000 a week until at present 8·5 million refugees were living in refugee camps in India. In some States, the number of refugees exceeded the number of the local population.

First, this was a humanitarian problem and it had been estimated that India would need at least 600 million dollars to cope with it for six months. She had been able so far to get only 150 million dollars from International Organisations and other sources. He urged delegates to recognise that this was a world problem and that India alone could not solve it. No country could carry such a heavy burden without serious disruption to its economy.

The only permanent solution was for the refugees to return to their own country. To achieve this, the Pakistan Government must create conditions to make their return possible. There must therefore be some settlement which met the wishes of the people of Bangladesh before the refugees would feel confident that they could return home.

M. Ahmed Chtourou (Tunisia) opposed the discussion of the supplementary item on the ground that it would represent an interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. While he had great sympathy with the refugees, he pointed out that similar events were occurring in other parts of the world and that if they were all to be discussed, there would be no time for other subjects. Many organisations were attempting to ease the problems of the refugees and to bring about reconciliation in Pakistan, and it was better that their efforts should not be hampered by a discussion at the I.P.U.........

A vote by roll call resulted as follows :

Number of votes cast	572
Two-thirds majority	380
Ayes	498
Noes	74
Abstentions	195

The President of the Conference declared that the required majority had been attained and the additional item had been accepted. It would be subject to preliminary discussion within the General Debate and more thorough discussion in the Economic and Social Committee. Amendments could be tabled until 10 a.m. on Wednesday, Sptember 8, and the final vote would be taken by the Conference on the afternoon of Friday, Septembr, 10.....

The President of the Conference said that a mistake had been made in announcing the result of the roll-call vote on the Indian Group's request for an additional item to the Agenda on the subject of East Pakistan. The correct result was :

Number of votes cast	767
Two-thirds majority	510
Ayes	498
Noes	74
Abstentions	195

Consequently, a two-thirds majority had not been attained, and so the Conference had not accepted the additional item.

Excerpts from Summary Record No. 4.

FOURTH PLENARY SESSION

Saturday, September 4, morning

The sitting was opened at 10·20 a.m. with Mr. Achille Peretti, President of the Conference, in the Chair.

VOTE ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF SUPPLEMENTARY ITEMS FOR CONSIDERATION

The President of the Conference referred to the result announced the previous morning of the roll-call vote taken on the resolution presented by the Indian Delegation on the subject of international co-opearation on behalf of refugees from East Pakistan. He said that it had first been announced that the two-thirds majority had been obtained for acceptance of the supplementary item for inclusion in the Agenda, but it had later been discovered that the required number of votes for such a majority had been miscalculated and that the abstentions should have been taken into account for that purpose, so that on that basis the proposal had not been accepted. Later Mr. Dhillon (India) had protested and asked that the first decision should be maintained.

It appeared that certain delegates had not been sufficiently instructed about the possible consequences of the way in which they voted. Therefore, he proposed to put the matter to the Conference again for a simple majority vote on whether the original roll-call vote should be considered null and void. If it was considered null and void by the Conference, a new vote would be taken on the Indian request, and in that case it should be borne in mind that the required majority must be calculated on the basis of all those present and voting, including abstentions. He added that the new rules of the Union would take account of what had happened.

A Vote by roll call resulted as follows :

Number of votes cast	758
Ayes	640
Noes	83
Abstentions	35
Absolute majority required	380

The President of the Conference declared that the required absolute majority had been obtained. The vote taken on the previous day was therefore null and void. The Conference would therefore be asked to vote again on the question whether the item proposed by the Indian Delegation should be added to the Agenda. In this vote a two-thirds majority was required, and the calculations would include the abstentions.

A vote by roll call on whether the Indian Delegation's proposal should be accepted for inclusion in the Agenda resulted as follows :

Number of votes cast	775
Ayes	627
Noes	59
Abstentions	89
Two-thirds majority	516

The President of the Conference declared that the required majority had been obtained and that the item requested by the Indian Delegation would be accepted for inclusion in the Agenda. The procedure for dealing with it would be as he had announced on Friday morning.........

Mr. Rimawi (Jordan)...... supported the Indian Delegation on the Pakistan refugee problem because of its experience over the Palestine refugee problem......

Excerpts from Summary Record No. 6.

SIXTH PLENARY SESSION

Saturday, September 4, evening

The sitting was opened at 9·5 p.m., with Mr. Makadi (UAR) (a Vice-President of the Conference) in the Chair........

Mr. Dhillon (India) said that India was opposed to anyone making the Indian Ocean an area of tension. She wished it to be a nuclear-free zone and an area of peace and co-operation. Unfortunately, in East Bengal there was a holocaust of genocide and, in addition, there were repeated threats by the President of Pakistan of total war against India.........

Mr. Navaratnam (Ceylon) remarked that if the Inter-Parliamentary Union had examined the situation in Vietnam and the Middle East before it got out of control the world would have been spared much fighting and misery and destruction of life and property. The Union should examine events in Pakistan. If it did not seek a solution to the problem it would fail in its duty to the world community. The situation in East Pakistan had not gone beyond the stage when a solution was possible. If the Union did not intervene, the situation would deteriorate and what was now described as a civil war might result in an armed conflict and a situation much worse than that in Vietnam or the Middle East. The Union should intervene at once for the release of Sheik Mujibur Rahman, who might have been the chief executive of all Pakistan if power had been transferred from the military regime to the elected representatives of the people after the 1970 general elections.......

Mr. De Niet (Netherlands) stated that the Netherlands delegation were firmly opposed to the procedure which had been adopted in respect of the draft resolution proposed by Mr. Dhillon about East Pakistan. It had been decided to put the resolution to the Conference a second time—and this here regarded as a very dangerous precedent; although on both occasions his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution being added to the Agenda. Secondly, that draft resolution should be adopted but restricted to the title accepted for the item—international co-operation in favour of the population and refugees of East Pakistan.....

Mr. Rashti (Iran) explained that the Iranian Parliament had passed laws implementing recommendations of the United Nations and the IPU in respect of peaceful uses of the sea bad and hijacking. Heavy penalties had been provided for hijacking.

In spite of the cease-fire in the Middle East, there was no true peace in which all the States in the area could live in security. As long as the present occupation continued, a genuine peace in Palestine could not be achieved. The continued occupation was the sole cause of the deadlock in the United Nations peace

negotiations. In seeking a solution in East Pakistan, member Groups must not embark on action which might be interpreted as interference in the domestic jurisdiction of others.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE 59TH INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE AT PARIS

September 10, 1971

The 59th Inter-Parliamentary Conference

Concerned at the unfortunate happenings and disastrous situation in East Pakistan which has been described by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as " a very terrible blot on the page of human history";

Also concerned at the resultant exodus of millions of people into India, at the continuing increase in the number of refugees and at the destitution of an even greater number of people in East Pakistan;

Declares that the fate of these people, who have fled East Pakistan and have sought refugee in India, is a source of pre-occupation to the whole world, and that this sentiment should be fully shared by all countries in order to relieve the distress and suffering of these refugees;

Welcomes the international effort already undertaken, and urges Governments and other public or private agencies to contribute generously to the refugee relief effort and the East Pakistan relief programme;

Urges the Government of Pakistan kindly to continue to offer every facility to the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross for the development of the action they are undertaking in East Pakistan;

Likewise urges all National Groups and their Governments to encourage the steps required to create the political, economic and social conditions for the safe return of the refugees to their homeland, and to inform them that the necessary conditions guaranteeing them an adequate livelihood and security in freedom exist.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কোরিয়া টাইমস সম্পাদকের নিকট 'বাংলাদেশ রিলিফ কমিটি অফ কোরিয়া-'এর সাধারণ সম্পাদকের চিঠি।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Mr. HONG SOOK-JA, SECRETARY-GENERAL, BANGLADESH RELIEF COMMITTEE OF KOREA, PUBLISHED ON September 9, 1971

I have read with interest the recent letters in your paper concerning the tragic happenings in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and the Korean response thereto. It has become incumbent on me to remove some of the misunderstandings, as the Secretary-General of the Bangladesh Relief Committee of Korea.

I agree with Mr. Kim Mu-Chang (*Letter September* 5) that the root cause of the brutal repression let loose in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) is political and economic in nature. Ever since Pakistan came into existence in 1947, the East Pakistan region (Bangladesh)—which is separated from West Pakistan by a stretch of about 1,200 miles—has been treated as a colony by West Pakistan.

This has been despite the fact that the Eastern region has more population than the Western part of the country. As a specific example, 60 to 70 per cent of foreign exchange earnings of Pakistan have always come from products of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) in terms of items of jute and tea, etc., but they have been continuously spent on setting up industries in West Pakistan.

The same has been the case in the field of aid received from abroad, with most of it being spent unjustly in West Pakistan and only crumbs being left for the East region. It has been stated that no more than 20 families in West Pakistan controlled the whole economy of over 75 million people of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) !

Thus it is indeed a truism that East Pakistan (Bangladesh) has been suffering from economic exploitation for about a quarter of a century now and the fact that they can bear this no longer is quite understandable.

In the political field, it is a fact that no democratic elections on the basis of adult franchise were held in Pakistan till December last year. In December 1970, for the first time, democratic elections on the basis of adult suffrage were held in which the Awami League Party of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, belonging to East Pakistan (Bangladesh), obtained an overwhelming majority and won no less than 167 out of 169 seats provided for the Eastern region. With 167 members of the National Assembly behind him Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, according to accepted democratic principles, had the right to be the Prime Minister of the whole of Pakistan and not only of the Eastern region.

The six-point program of the Awami League demanding autonomy for their region was an open document well known to the military rulers of West Pakistan and millions of copies of their election manifesto must have been distributed during the election campaign.

Thus, the demand for autonomy of the Awami League after the recent elections was neigther a sudden development nor any secret move. What happened was that the military rulers of Pakistan under-estimated the popularity of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League in the Eastern region, and with his overwhelming victory got so panicky that they could not think of anything but repression of the popular forces.

This was not a statesman-like response and after having started the insane massacre from the night of March 25, 1971, onwards, the military rulers of West Pakistan now find themselves on a suicidal path resulting in the break-up of the country.

These developments in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) have resulted in an unprecedented flow of refugees into neighbouring India with about 8 million refugees having already crossed over. Come to think of it, the number of these refugees is more than the total population of Switzerland and New Zealand put together!

The arrival of such a vast number of refugees in India threatens the social, political and economic fabric of that country. This is a terrible thing. Also, India cannot be expected to provide food, shelter and medical facilities for such a vast number of refugees for an indefinite period.

Some international help (including some from the United States) has been extended but so far the amount of assistance received in this gigantic task is a pittance as compared to the expense and efforts required.

It is bearing the above facts in mind that we in Korea decided to organize a Bangladesh Relief Committee, with the hope that a poor man's penny is worth more than a rich man's pound. We are conscious of our limitations but we must help even if we happen to be comparatively poor....

A few months back, it was the 167 elected members of Eastern region of Pakistan who declared that henceforth their area would be known as " Bangladesh ". Therefore, it is only proper for us to respect the wishes of the democratically elected representatives of that area.

It is relevant to recall that during the Japanese occupation of our country, Koreans were referred to as " Japanese from the peninsula " and in the same way people of Taiwan were referred to as " Japanese from the island ". I remember how happy we used to feel when outsiders would refer to us as Koreans and not as " Japanese from the peninsula, etc." We have not forgotten those days.

The least that we can do for the freedom-fighters of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) is to call them by the name that they want to be known by.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের জনগণের ইচ্ছানুযায়ী রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের আহ্বান : লণ্ডন সোশালিস্ট ইন্টারন্যাশনাল-এর বিবৃতি।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE BUREAU OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL IN LONDON

September 11, 1971

The Bureau of the Socialist International *expresses* its profound concern at the terrible human tragedy which has resulted from the political crisis in Pakistan. The stream of refugees from East Pakistan into India, which continues unabated, is placing a tremendous burden on the Government of India.

The Bureau of the International *declares* that there must be a political solution to this tragedy, and *condemns* this violation of human rights by the Pakistan military regime.

The Bureau of the Socialist International *calls for*—

1. An immediate end to military repression in East Pakistan;

2. The immediate and unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the other democratically-elected representatives of East Pakistan.

The Bureau of the Socialist International *believes* that the situation in the Indian sub-continent constitutes a threat to peace as defined by the U.N. Charter

The Socialist International *deeply regrets* that the world community has not responded with sufficient urgency to this crisis and urges :—

1. That the U.N. should involve itself directly in working for a political solution which is in accordance with the Will of the people of East Pakistan.

2. That the U.N. should assume full responsibility for the refugee aid programme through a U.N.-administered Relief Agency, and in the meantime calls on all Governments to share the burden presently being carried by India alone; and

3. All countries, and in particular the members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium, to refuse economic and military aid to Pakistan until a satisfactory political solution has been agreed.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কুয়ালালামপুরে অনুষ্ঠিত কমনওয়েলথ পার্লামেন্টারী সম্মেলনে নিউজিল্যাণ্ড প্রতিনিধি এইচ. সি. টেম্পলটন এবং গায়েনা প্রতিনিধি মি: বিসেম্বর-এর বক্তব্য।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. H.C. TEMPLETON (NEW ZEALAND), AT THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE, KUALA LUMPUR

September 13, 1971

We ourselves, as a country, have emphasised that we believe that the Commonwealth and the United Nations must assist the Indian and Pakistani people in solving this problem. We have raised this directly with the Pakistan Government. The Prime Minister of New Zealand has written to the President to emphasise the rights of the people of East Pakistan. We believe that he and his government must come to terms with the elected representatives of East Pakistan, and that they must call off the mockery of a trial of the elected leader of East Pakistan: they must recognise his rights. We must all call for this shift in policy.

STATEMENT BY MR. BISSEMBER (GUYANA), AT THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE, KUALA LUMPUR

September 13, 1971

I do not believe, I do not disbelieve rather, the international norm that we must not interfere in the internal affairs of another independent territory, but what I do submit, Mr. Chairman, and distinguished Delegates, is that where there is human suffering, where there is human degradation, and where there is a renunciation of all the rules of public morality, and of all the rules of international justice, it is the right and duty of every Commonwealth Parliamentarian to air their views at a conference of this nature. I submit that the happenings in India and Pakistan are of tremendous importance not only to us in the Commonwealth but to all those who believe in international justice and the rule of law in the world......

....I thought that Mr. Zafar (Pakistan's Minister of Law some years earlier), and those who live in that great country of Pakistan, believe in parliamentary democracy, that is why they were trying to host the conference there. Mr. Chairman, with the greatest respect for those who live there, how could we think of having a conference in Pakistan when they themselves called elections—and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won those elections, they won the elections but they were not allowed to form a government in Pakistan.

Mr. Chairman, I mentioned that because a certain colleague of mine said that the elections were not conducted properly, but Mr. Chairman, the fact of the matter is just as Red China exists and must be seated in the United Nations,

the same fact exists that East Pakistan entered into the elections, they won by a majority and they got majority seats, therefore they should run the country, the same way Red China must be seated in the United Nations. We cannot sit in Kuala Lumpur and tell the man in Colombo how to put his furniture in his house, it is none of our business, but what we can say is this; that if we find that things have been taking place which are against the international norms, international policies of the rule of law, etc., it is our right as parliamentarians to say and to condemn here and ask our respective Governments to speak at the United Nations, for there is no greater tragedy in the world today than what is happening in India and Pakistan....

....I, therefore, feel, Mr. Chairman, that we assembled here in this August body, a body which represents over 30 independent nations I am told, should spare no means whatsoever in condemning atrocities, in condemning violation of the democratic principles and in condemning all those who try to wreck constitutions and who try to bring disaster to the people of this world, as the disaster and atrocities are being brought on the people of India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে দিল্লী আন্তর্জাতিক সম্মেলনের প্রস্তাব এবং বিভিন্ন দেশের প্রতিনিধিবৃন্দের ভাষণ।	বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেন্টস এবং আন্তর্জাতিক সম্মেলনের প্রতিবেদন। উদ্ধৃতি : ওয়ার্ল্ড মীট অন বাংলাদেশ।	১৮-২০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BANGLADESH HELD IN NEW DELHI

September 18 to 20, 1971

The International Conference on Bangladesh, consisting of more than one hundred and fifty delegates from all continents and 24 countries, met in New Delhi on September 18-20, 1971, to consider the recent events in Bangladesh which have resulted in one of the major disasters in human history, and to suggest effective action for a satisfactory solution.

2. The International Conference wholeheartedly *supports* the struggle of the people of Bangladesh against West Pakistani dominance. The Conference *feels* deeply shocked at the ruthless military campaign of wanton destruction, amounting to genocide, directed against the people of Bangladesh, especially against the Awami League which won an overwhelming popular mandate on the December, 1970 General Elections to the Pakistan National Assembly, the intellectuals and the minorities. This has resulted in the death of million and in the exodus of over eight million refugees into India—an exodus which still continues and has placed tremendous economic and social burdens on India.

3. The Conference *expresses* appreciation of the commendable work done by the Government and people of India in giving relief to the refugees from Bangladesh and of the assistance offered by the international community for this deeply humanitarian work.

4. The Conference *declares* that the political struggle of the people of Bangladesh should be viewed by the international community as a national struggle for freedom.

5. The Conference especially *condemns* the gross violation of human rights in Pakistan which continues to this day and *urges* upon the members of the United Nations to place this problem before all organs of the United Nations as a violation of human rights and as a threat to the peace of the world.

6. The Conference *affirms* that a political settlement acceptable to the people and Government of Bangladesh as now constituted under the presidentship of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is an urgent necessity. The Conference *further affirms* that the return of the refugees to their homeland in safety and confidence depends on such a settlement and is an essential pre-condition for a solution of the present crisis.

7. The Conference *recommends* that the Government of Bangladesh be recognised by the Governments of the world, as Bangladesh has all the geographic, historical, ethnic and linguistic characteristics of a sovereign nation.

8. The Conference *recognizes* that there is moral support for the freedom struggle of Bangladesh in many parts of the world. However, in order that this moral support may be translated into effective action, the Conference *appeals* to the Governments of the world to stop forthwith the supply of arms, ammunition, spare parts, and all military facilities to the Government of Pakistan. The Conference also *appeals* to the governments of the world, international finance institutions and aid agencies to stop forthwith all kinds of economic aid to the Government of Pakistan.

9. The Conference *further appeals* to the Governments and peoples of the world to offer immediate and effective assistance to the Government of Bangladesh : for some, this may in clude military assistance; for others, it may mean economic and other kinds of assistance including non-violent action.

10. The Conference *appeals* to the United Nations and to all international organizations to channel aid meant for relieving suffering in Bangladesh through the Government of Bangla Desh under international supervision in order to ensure that such aid reaches those for whom it is meant.

11. The Conference *requests* the International Committee of the Red Cross to take an immediate initiative, under Article III of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which is fully binding in the present circumstances, to take direct responsibility for the organization and distribution of relief supplies in Bangladesh. The participation of the Government of Bangladesh is essential and consistent with the terms of this Convention. In no circumstances should this task be entrusted to the Pakistani Martial Law Authorities.

12. The Conference *urges* that all governments, inter-governmental agencies, and non-governmental organizations waive all restrictions as far as the life and health of the children of Bangladesh is concerned, and, where difficult choices must be made between national liberation and human survival, to protect in every way the lives of children as the most precious legacy for the future of Bangladesh and the world. In this regard, the Conference *suggests* the possible creation of internationally-controlled emergency sanctuaries for children inside Bangladesh.

13. The Conference *recommends* the establishment of an International Committee of Friends of Bangladesh to disseminate information based on authoritative sources to peoples, governments and non-governmental agencies and to take other effective measures with a view to fostering public support to the liberation movement in Bangladesh.

THE VOICE OF THE COMITY OF NATIONS*

Qudratullah Hadad
Afghanistan

Let me express sincere thanks on behalf of my organisation—the Afghan Social Democrat—for your invitation to take part in the discussions in regard to the problem of Bangladesh . Our organisation and many people in Afghanistan have great sympathy with the struggle of the people of Bangladesh.

Our organisation, the Afghan Social Democrat, depends on the national culture, national economy, national heritage and national history and the united feelings of Pashtoon for great historical glory of Afghanistan in the heart of

*Speeches delivered at the plenary session on September 18, 1971.

Asia. It continues to struggle against imperialism and feudalism with the sole objective of keeping Afghanistan for the Afghans.

We believe that after achieving national democracy and national economy, we will continue our struggle against exploitation and capitalism in order to establish a real dynamic national Afghan society.

Our aim is not only to fight against foreign imperialism but also against internal exploitation.

We believe that we will shed our blood for every inch of great and historical Afghanistan and we will strive for a national state and national revolution.

Our great nation for more than 100 years waged a struggle against British and other intruders. Our national leader late Amanullah, 50 years ago when signing the 1921 treaty of independence with the British in Kabul, stated to the British Mission : "In general we are in favour of independence of all nations and we always express our concern at the loss of liberty of any nation".

Since the aim and policy of our organisation and the feelings of Afganistan are for the liberty and self-determination of people everywhere, we naturally support the struggle of the people of Bangladesh and we will continue to follow this policy because this is a traditional view of the Afghan nation to fight imperialism and exploitation.

On the other hand, there is a similarity of views between the problems of Pashtoonistan and Bangladesh. Pashtoonistan too like Bangladesh, without much difference, is under exploitation and suppression of a few families in Punjab. Today the people of Bangladesh are suffering because of atrocities occurring there. As in the past, the Pashtoon and Baluchs also suffer because of their just struggle for self-determination although it is not easy to impose any kind of foreign will on the twenty million armed Pashtoons.

We also pay attention to the question of Bangladesh because it is an international problem, it is a Moslem problem, it is a humanitarian problem, as well as a problem linked closely with the peace and security of this area.

We will never forget that three years ago, the nationalists of Bangladesh in the central part of Pashtoonistan in the city of Peshwar stated that "the people of Bengal consider the revolutionary land of the Pashtoons because of their struggle as their second "Mecca" (which is the Holy City of the Moslems) and we always get inspiration from the spirit of resistance of Pashtoon people."

From the 19th century when the British by military intervention separated the Pashtoonistan area from their fatherland, their struggle was continued just like that of the people of Bengal to live as a minority within Pakistan. They always dream to join their fatherland in order to represent a greater Pashtoon State to play the proper political and economic role in Asia.

It is worth mentioning that on 16th April, 1971, in Waziristan—the home place of the late Faqir of Ippi (Mirza Ali Khan) in a meeting of fifty thousand representatives of free tribal area the question of definite independence of Pashtoonistan was raised with the aim of supporting greater Afghanistan.

It was possible for the people of Bengal to achieve democracy and self-determination in a peaceful way because the geographical, cultural and economic requirements have no similarity with West Pakistan; but unfortunately they were unable to achieve this through the election of last December and they were faced with brutal suppression by army, which the people of Afgaganistan view with great anxiety and condemnation.

Our newspaper—the Afghan Millat and other papers representing the sentiments of the Afghan nation support the struggle of the people of Bangladesh for self-determination. In many demonstrations, which took place in support of Bangladesh in Kabul and Jalalabad our people expressed their warm sympathies.

In conclusion our advice to the Military Government of Pakistan is to end this tragedy in East Pakistan and recognise the right of Pashtoons, Baluchs as well as the people of Bengal.

We assure the people of Bangladesh that the sentiments of the whole world are with them and we assure that the victory is within their reach and we also believe that their brethren and sisters who have fled to India because of suppression will return to their homeland.

B.P. Koirala

Nepal

We are meeting today under the shadow of a great tragedy, enacted in Bangladesh. Seventy five million people of Bangladesh, unarmed or poorly armed, are being gunned down by a brutal military machine and are being subjected to all kinds of indignities and humiliations by the occupation forces. About eight million Bangladesh people have been driven out from their hearths and homes and made to take shelter in India. It is a great tragedy indeed.

But there is a heroic aspect also of the struggle of the people of Bangladesh who are facing the mighty military regime of Pakistan. It is this aspect which should concern us now. How are we going to help them? It is not enough to pass resolutions showing concern over the calamity. We should do something more. If it were merely a question of eight million people taking shelter in India as refugees we could wash our hands of it and say it is for India to make her mind and act the way she likes. If it were merely the question of East Bengal fighting for some constitutional gain, then it would be of no concern to us. It is the people of Bangladesh fighting to uphold a principle, to uphold the dignity of man, to uphold the democratic way of life. They are in a way fighting for us also.

It is because of this that we in Nepal reacted spontaneously to the events in Bangladesh. Whatever may be the attitude of the Government, the people as a whole have enthusiastically supported the cause of Bangladesh. Why is it so? Because if the people of Bangladesh go down fighting and if the light is extinguished there, our light in Nepal will also go out. Even in India, which is a democracy, I may warn my Indian friends that if the light goes out in Bangladesh some of their lights will also be knocked out. The brightness of democracy and the way of life of the Indian people will also

be affected. It is from this point of view that we have got to face the problem. It is not merely a question of refugees who have taken shelter in India.

The hope that the dictators will respond to the appeals or diplomatic pressure of big powers or listen to their advice is a fond delusion. I can speake with knowledge when I say that dictators ewill not listen to any pressure except the pressure of arms. They know the language of arms. I will be deeply intereste to see what this conference does for the people of Bangladesh materially.

I fully endorse whatever the Chairman has said. I do not think the case of Bangladesh can be better presented than the way he has done. I am looking forward to the decisions this Conference will take. If we take concrete steps to help the people of Bangladesh, then we will have done something for them. I Would like to repeat that if Bangladesh is lost, then the people's fight for the democratic way of life will also be lost elsewhere. We in Napal know that if the Bangladesh people win, half of our struggle will have been won already.

Knud Neilsen

Denmark

It is indeed a great honour for me to be allowed to speak on behalf of the whole of Scandinavia. It is a big responsibility. I am also speaking in a different capacity in which I am here, that is, as Chairman of the Council of World Association of World Federalists. The World organization was very much cnoerned withe the crisis in Bangladesh. The United Nations is a place where this crisis should be placed, it being the concern of the world community. Article 21 refers to national sovereignty. This is a right which the United Nations should defend. Every nation. every culture should thrive through its own inner freedom.

What can we do with the present United Nations? What is the present international society? We can use the United Nations as an instrument where we can hammer out agreements at best and channel our influence and that is what I would like to happen. Now what have we done? We are one of the great organsiations of the world. 22 organizations, among these my own, have already taken it up in the United Nations. Just a week ago the case was presented on behalf of these organizations to the Human Rights Commission. There was an exchange of hot words between some countries but the issue was placed on the agenda. It is there.

Secondly, the World Federalists themselves at the Council meeting last month issued an appeal where they called upon all l the nations of the world to come to the help of India and share the burden of the 9 million refugees. The World Bank has just issued an economic report showing the scope and overwhelming burden of feeding and sheltering nine million refugees. We have called upon the world governments to excercise pressure on West Pakistan and to stop supply of arms and war equipment to her. Finally, we have called upon the agencies of the United Nations for relief to the displaced persons who have come to India and also in East Bengal.

Any solution of the crisis in East Pakistan must be based on the free choice of the people of East Pakistan regarding religion and political status of that area in the future. Some of the organizations, including my own, are in an advisory capacity in the United Nations. The Federalists have

a voice there. We will continue, I promise you, to exert pressure. We have parliamentary groups of the Federation and we have instructed our representatives at the United Nations to see that their ambassadors are there and they sit together and create an atmosphere for positive support to the people of Bangladesh for their right of freedom, freedom from suppression. They can create a psychological background at the United Nations. Can it be done? I do not know. In the next general elections there will be a discussion on the United Nations future. We will wait for it.

Homer A. Jack

United States of America

I have probably the dubious distinction among all those present] in this room of having been in Dacca, in Karachi and on the Calcutta border in the past six days. I have travelled almost 10,000 miles in doing so, and I won't take time to tell you my insights. However, I would like to relate just one story. On the last night of my stay in Dacca in the Intercontinental Hotel, which was burnt, as some of you know, on March 25, there was a knock on the door. An anonymous person was at the door who gave me a type-written message in English and this was addressed to a woman in Calcutta. They knew I was going and, it said, "we regret to inform you that your son was shot, was cut down in cold blood by the Police in Chittagong, not on March 25th but on September 2nd. It concluded, " please accept our regrets and convey our regrets also to his wife and two children". It was signed anonymously 'friends.' I was glad to be able to transmit that letter to the mother when I came to the Indian side two days ago. Just one terrible brutality, not only in the past but it is continuing. I wish I had time to tell you of the continued insensitivity of the intellectuals of the community in Karachi as I met them a few days ago. I wish I had time to tell you of the sufferings which I saw yesterday on the Jessore-Calcutta border of 600,000 refugees just in that one sector. As if it was not enough to have refugees from political oppression, there were terrible floods. In Dacca a week ago when I was told in detail the crimes against huminity in Noakhali, I remembered the words of Gandhiji in that very region during the twilight of his life. I would like to think of the Hindu-Muslim unity for which Gandhiji worked and for which he died. This dream of huminity is not dead, and in that sprit of the words of Gandhi and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman we have come together in this international conference with great expectations and yet also with great huminity.

Tsuyoshi Nara

Japan

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

This is my second visit to this great country. I have this time two definite purposes; one is of course to attend this Conference in order to apprise myself of the present situation. It is useful to listen to the opinions of the people of other countries on the solution of the refugee promblem and the restoration of peacceful conditions in the East Bengal region which otherwise may lead to a conflict not only between India and Pakistan but also in the Asian world supported by other big powers.

The other purpose of my visit is to inspect the camps and visit the border to witness as a whole the incoming refugees from East Pakistan and hear

what the evacuees, the Bangla Mission and the Indian people have to say about this problem. All the experience that I have obtained during my short stay in India this time may provide sufficient data which enables me and the Japan-Bengal Frienship Association to take what further action is needed to help the affected people. In Japan I have heard a lot of pathetic stories about the people of Bangladesh. It is most cowardly and uncivilised for any one or any nation to use military measures against unarmed civilians just because they have a different opinion or demand human rights in a democratic way. But at the same time I do hope and believe that this Conference is not meant to create hatred among the people of the world against the people of West Pakistan. It should remind the leaders of West Pakistan of the need to respect human rights and to arouse the world opinion to take practical measures for helping the suffering people of Bangladesh so that real prosperity and permanent peace is established very soon in Asia which had been perpetually suffering from exploitation and conflict. It is very significant that this Conference is sponsored by the Gandhi Peace Foundation. What I did first when I come here was to visit Rajghat and pay my homage to Gandhi.

Recognition of Bangladesh must also be studied from this viewpoint, of human rights and dignity. I think I have already succeeded in focussing Japan's attention on this Conference because the Pakistan Embassy in Tokyo has protested to the Japanese government regarding my coming here.

Clovis Maksoud*

U.A.R.

Mr. Chairman and Friends :

This Conference which has been called by the Gandhi Peace Foundation was overdue if I may so so. Of course the human dimensions of the tragedy of nearly 8 million East Bengalis who have taken refuge in hospitable India has become widespread and to that extent shaken mankind. Stories have been related of the brutality of the Pakistani authorities against the East Bengalis. All of us who have listened to and witnessed a part of this tragedy identify ourselves with the sufferings of the East Bengalis. It becomes imperative that we accelerate the peace of amelioration of the conditions of the East Bengal people.

Yet in identifying ourselves with the humanistic aspect we are only making a projection of an elementary call of duty. An elementary call of duty in these circumstances is not sufficient. The Palestinian refugees are suffeing the brutality of Israel and the Jordanians in a similar manner as the people of Bangladesh. For a long time in East Bengal freedom has been deliberately denied. They are being denied their right and urge for full participation in the political, cultural, social and economic uplift of their country. Such a situation must be rectified. We must emphasise that the fate of East Bengal is not and cannot and should not be a part of the India-Pakistan dispute. If unity is to be preserved, it must be on the basis of secularism. To that extent we fully appreciate the urges of the people of Bangladesh that they should be free.

We must equally be concerned about 75 million people of Asia being denied human dignity. This is not on internal matter. It is a matter for

* Attended the conference as observer.

the human conscience of the people of the world as a whole. It is true that there has been a struggle and the Bengali people must have freedom as well as equality Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should therefore be released. It is not a political cause but a human cause. In March when free elections took place in both wings of Pakistan many people viewed this development as a purifying process for Pakistan. It was a historic moment. Parliamentary democracy was being established in Ceylon, India and Pakistan on the basis of secularism. We welcomed this development in Pakistan as Bengalis had been discriminated against for many years. A new Pakistan was born after the elections. I think the dignity and equality of Bangalis remains the primary concern of their struggle. It is only in this context that we fight for the right of people to equality in all matters. Friends, we have come here to learn more about this and as I said in the beginning we want to understand. Perhaps our understanding has not been as total as it shoould be. Our most positive contribution should be that dignity returns to the 8½ million people of East Bengal who have been driven out of their homes.

Rev. Fr. Ismail Quiles
Argentina

It is an honour to me to talk here in the name of Latin America and Argentina. I would only repeat the words of President Giri that it is a colossal human problem. It is not really a problem of Bangladesh alone but a problem of the whole huminity because the freedom of huminity means the freedom of all nations. How can this problem be solved? This conference will have to apply its mind to it. It must arouse the conscience of the world, of the United Nations about Bangladesh. I cannot do better than quote from Gandhiji's commentary on Bhagavad Gita. He said we have to follow truth, follow reality. But that is not to prevent us from fighting for human dignity. Therefore, I think we can help the people of Bangladesh by arousing international conscience and then we can be sure that truth will be sustained. In the words of Mrs. Gandhi, world opinion is so forceful that it can influence even the most powerful. So from this conference we can move the world opinion.

Senarat Gunawardena
Ceylon

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates:

I am grateful to the organisers of the conference for giving me the opportunity to express the view point of a vast number of people in Ceylon, your neighbour. A committee for the human rights of the people of East Bengal has been set up and this committee has on it representatives of all political parties, trade organisations, and religious bodies. I happen to be the chairman of the committee and have been deputed to attend this unofficial conference.

One important point that I would like to emphasise is that the freedom of the peoples of the world depends on world public opinion exercised in the right way. That the story of 8 million refugees coming to this country is a matter of internal concern of Pakistan is no more tenable in this century. It would not do to say that it is as much an internal matter

as was in the case of Algeria, Indonesia or anything like that. I reject it. The right of self-determination has been enshrined in the United Nations. It is a sacred principle. I particularly refer to the question of Hungry. It was not an internal matter. So I refuse to accept the position that Bangladesh is an internal question. It is proper to have it included in the agenda of the United Nations. Bangladesh has exercised its right to self-determination in no unmistakable manner.

It is a humanitarian question. One million people have sacrified themselves for the cause and 8.6 million had to flee from their homeland. Surely it is a tragedy of the first magnitude. There are many aspects of the question which I cannot deal with in a short time. Suffice it to say that we must see that this question is brought before the United Nations. In point of fact, I do not see any reason why, irrespective of the attitude of the Government of India, this International Conference should not have a team of observers to see that the item is properly thrashed out in the United Nations and all support and assistance is given to the nations that are prepared to support the cause. It is an extremely important matter. We also must demand that every soldier should be withdrawn from East Bengal. Their leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, should be released immediately. Unless and until the military occupation ends, there can be no peace. No military solution of the problem is possible. Even for a political solution, I am afraid, it is far too late in the day. There should be nothing short of independence of Bangladesh and I strongly appeal to all sections to support this as it would be a victory for morality, for decency and for civilisation.

Sigrid Hannisdahl
Norway

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is a privilege to be here and have the opportunity to try to contribute in the solution of the immense problems of Bangladesh. I am the Chairman of the World Association of World Federalists INGO Committee, Oslo. We in our country, as people in all countries of the world, are deeply concerned about the unbelievable tragedies we daily hear from the newspapers, radio and television. As Chairman of the INGO Committee, I think our immediate task will be to work hard through non-governmental organisations to create public opinion and pressure groups strong enough to influence the political decision-makers. And last, but not the least, I challenge the women in the world : Let us not any longer be pessimists. Let us step forward and cry out a "NO" to all the ever increasing aggression on our planet. We have the most glorious example in this country of what can be accomplished by the ability and will-power of a woman. Let your Prime Minister be the guiding star in the freedom fight of Bangladesh.

John Dunham
Australia

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I will make my remarks very short partly because Australia's contribution is not always important in proportion to the size of the Bangladesh problem

and partly because of the potentialities of Australia. I have to emphasise this very much. As Australians we want to learn from this Conference just precisely what action should be taken and in which way we can rightly coordinate with those who are interested in this problem. The Australians have unfortunately taken a rather ostrich-like attitude which the Chairman has referred to in his opening address. Our government has insisted, as many other governments, that this is an internal matter of Pakistan. It has made some contribution towards the relief of refugees. The Prime Minister in reply to a question in Parliament has said that he has written several times to Yahya Khan appealing for the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and setting out his ideas or some terms for a political settlement. A much brighter picture, however, exists at the non-official level and there are the beginnirgs of systematic campaigns in support of Bangladesh. In some states of Australia committees have been formed in support of Bangladesh and they are working primarily to publish information for the benefit of the Australian public to involve Australia more actively in the political rather than the obvious humanitarian aspect of the problem.

Australia needs much more information and communication with the Bangladesh Provisional Government. The newspapers face a problem because Australia has no permanent newspaper representative in India. These Committees are thinking in terms of sending newspaper reporters to India and are organising dissemination of information in Australia in support of Bangladesh. I would close this very brief report with reference to an appeal that was signed by more than 400 academicians and other professional men and politicians.

Fred Evans

Britain

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is true that I am a Member of Parliament from the United Kingdom—a Socialist Member—but I would like to emphasise that I am not here as a Member of Parliament. I am glad that this is a non-official Conference. I am here as a representation of the Bangladesh organisation in my own small part of Great Britain, a very small part of it known as Wales. It should be, I think, known in the world, in your country and in many other countries in the developing world because Wales is known for its hospitality. It is known for so many other things. There is complete absence of recialism. It is a country which I must say is almost a classless country. The people there are also conscious of their colonial history. It is a country which is known for its distinguished culture allover the world. It is known for its music also.

We have formed in Wales a Bangladesh Organisation which includes all the political parties in Wales and incidentally we have a nationalist party in Wales. The aim of this party is to obtain separation from England. I am a socialist and the freedom and equality of man to me are indivisible as world peace is indivisible. There is a great tragedy in Bangladesh today. I tried sometimes to understand the psychology of this. The scale of the tragedy is so immense that the people there cannot dare to think of it. I have watched some of the scenes in East Bengal or East Pakistan. Sometimes their emotions are so worn away that there is lesser and lesser reaction. We must face the facts. We must awaken the conscience of the people in the world and certainly in my own country every determined effort will be made to do it. I can only speak for my own country

from this reostrum. As you know, the British have always been insular, not only geographically but possibly because of geography in some other things too, about the rest of the world, Because of this insularity it is often very difficult to get across ideas to the general public in my country with such force that they will feel driven to act. But what the British Government has done is to condemn in quite unequivocal terms all that has been happening—I mean the great tragedy in Bangladesh. We have had the Parliamentary delegations like the one led by my colleague Mr Arthur Bottomley. You recently have had a visit from another colleague of mine Mr. Peter Shore. We have also passed in the House of Commons a resolution like the one you passed early this morning calling for the release of Mujibur Rahman in the interest of national justice and for the recognition of an Independent Bangladesh.

All these are general steps and my own party could not press for more in the House of Commons. There seems to have been some difficulty in making declarations of this kind. A settlement of this terrible problem can only be brought about with the cooperation of the people of Bangladesh. As you know only a couple of days ago Mr. Bottomley spoke so strongly at the meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association that he has arousad their of Yahya Khan who is now saying that the CPA has been interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The point was made very well this morning that if we are going to achieve the preservation of equal rights and equal justice for all citizens allover the world, if we are going to talk in terms of world-wide recognition of basic rights and justice, than any talk in terms of national sovereignty is a contradiction. At almost every point world recognition is bound to impinge all ideas of sovereignty and indeed there would often be conflict between these two points. Therefore, I am happy to accept in this situation that the argument adduced in the early stages in the House of Commons that the British Government could not interfere with the action of a sovereign state is one which can never be recognised as valid.

I would only say that the magnitude of the problem will be realised and there will be stirrings of the conscience among the ordinary people. I am certain that the organisations working to relieve the sufferings of the refugees are doing very good work, and I hope the day is not far off when we can say not "Joy Bangladesh" but "Joy Freedom Fighters" all over the world and "Joy Universal Peace".

Stanley Plastrik

U. S. A.

Respected Chairman and Yellow Delegates :

I have come here from New York together with Mr. Michael Harrigton, who is Chairman of the American Socialist Party, on a mission of education, I would say our self-education through participation in this Conference. We expect our education will be successful. We have a lot to learn, and we have already learnt a lot. When the Conference is over I plan to go to Calcutta and visit some of the camps for a short period. I am a little hesitant about that because I feel that by now the refugees in the camps have perhaps had more than enough of people from foreign lands walking around and seeing the misery and sufferings in which they dwell. My friends in the States and in New York have asked me to go there.

I come from a country which, perhaps next to the military junta of West Pakistan, is most responsible for what is happening in Bangladesh. I say that

in full realisation of the fact that as an American, when I go out, I am not supposed to criticise my country. However, I would take the risk, and it does not matter who hears me here, but we, the American people, have a very heavy responsibility which we cannot shuffle off. When first the tragedy began in March there was immediate recognition that this was the beginning of a big disaster for the human race and that unless some immediate changes were made many of the people of the United States would be held responsible for it. We know nothing can be done without public opinion, without organisation, public demonstrations and so on. So we went up to the authorities in Washington, Mr. Kissinger, whom we could contact, some Senators and others, and urged on them that we should act on humanitarian grounds and from our Government some kind of a general declaration of sympathy for the people of Bangladesh should be made. Besides, we should prevent any kind of military aid to the Pakistan regime. As everybody knows, the response was unfortunately negative. It is not that the United States has been adhering to military ideas, but if you examine it objectively it does not amount to very much, which I believe is true. It has perhaps more symbolic than military significance. But the position is that anybody who speaks such a thing will reject it fortuitous and hypocritical. If this aid is symbolic then it will be even a more symbolic and significant act of war. You are all familiar with the story and you know that some of our leading authorities, like the Secretary of state, can be charged, if one should want to do, with concealment of truth. But as an American I am aware of the fact that credibility has become as issue in American life and in the American system.

The story of Vietnam and the story of Bangladesh—these are the illustrations. There has never been from the present administration or any leading spokesman any statement condemning or even hinting at condemnation of what has taken place or even an expression, a clear-cut expression of sympathy for the Bengali refugees and the people of East Bengal. Unless I am mistaken, under the present administration there never will be such a declaration of such a statement, unless, of course, the public opinion in America is so strengthened, so organised and so expressed as to change that policy. Being a realist, I am convinced that at the present time this is not likely.

However, I would not give the impression that indifference on the part of most Americans to the events in East Bengal during the first three or four months has continued. There has been a distinct and decided change which came about under rather curious and strange circumstances. Believe it or not, perhaps the one thing that brought home to the American people that something was happening which concerned them and which they ought to know was through a concert given in New York Madison Square by a member of the former Beatle group, George Harrison. This brought together fifty to sixty thousand people, young Americans, students and youths who up to that point were unaware of and lacked in understanding as to what was going on. Out of this concert, as you know, this song Bangladesh came which has become a popular hit in the United States. I have brought a record with me thinking that possibly it was not known here, which I will be glad to turn over to the Secretary.

At the same time, the popular media like Newsweek and Time Magazines featured stories and overnight the atmosphere with respect to Bangladesh changed. At that point the question was how this could be channelled into some tangible form or some expression which would materially affect and influence the withholding of war aid, symbolic or otherwise, and some expression of our deep seated anxiety and condemnation of what has been done. At this point,

once again the administration had another opportunity to show some initiative. It rejected this opportunity also.

I would say that only on the question of release of Mujibur Rahman will the administration be able to achieve some concrete and specific result. The highest circles of American authority did express to the Pakistan regime their desire that either the trial should not be held and if it were to be held, there should be no death sentence or execution of Mujibur Rahman. Otherwise this would create even a more dangerous situation. That is the only specific result that has been obtained.

In the United States, any successful influencing of the administration and of those who make decisions can at this point come only through the American Congress. There exists a sizable bloc of Senators and Congressmen who are less known to you but who have already expressed themselves either individually or in the form of their action where in the last session of Congress they struck off Pakistan from the list of those who would receive aid in future. This is a tangible and concrete action, the only one that I can cite, of any significance, up to the present time.

The new session of Congress is now meeting and we have agreed among ourselves to work for the adoption of resolutions and above all for refusal to vote monies which would be used for aid to Pakistan. Whether we shall be successful remains to be seen. It is every difficult to predict.

In spite of anything which you may have heard, the American public opinion is overwhelmingly against the Pakistanis. If you have heard to the contrary, I am here to tell you that this is not so. The intellectuals, students, youths and others unquestionably know what is happening to the people of Bangladesh. Had it not been for public opinion, it would have been completely a different story.

Finally, a word of caution. You must understand that the American people are now at the fag end of a very bitter and negative experience—the Vietnam story. They have reasons to believe or to hope that it will soon be over. Whether they are deceiving themselves once more or not, we cannot say. They certainly want it to be over. They want to see that it is over with the complete withdrawal of the American forces from Vietnam. Now this has its effect so far as Bangladesh is concerned and I think you can understand that. One Vietnam is more than enough—more than enough not in a decade but in a century so that when any question of conceivable or possible involvement in some other international sphere arises the reaction is one of withdrawal, of anxiety and of a wish, a conscious wish, not to have anything to do with it. I know and you know that there is no comparison between the Vietnam experience of America and what is going on in Bangladesh. That is true. But the mass of people cannot think on these lines and if they are approached in the wrong way and in any way that they feel can conceivably lead to some kind of a new military adventure they react very strongly against that. And I hope that is understood by all.

But leaving that aside, I want to say again—this would by my last word—make no mistake about it. The American people have absolutely no sympathy for the Rawalpindi Regime. None at all. Any possible sympathy that Pakistan

may have had in the United States was long since lost when the Generals and the leaders of that country persisted in insensible genocide. Nobody supports them as far as the general people are concerned. If the administration pursues the policy that it has pursued up to this time it is for other and completely different reasons—reasons which are alleged to be of strategic importance. The administration is trying to work out a fresh approach towards China. But you see, this split between public opinion not yet properly organised or mobilised, and the administration on political matters is a bogey which some of us realise in our own area. If those of us who are working for the Bangladesh cause succeed, and let us hope that we will succeed, the result would be that public opinion will once again assume the upper hand. That is what the issue in the future will be—particularly in next year's Presidential campaign. I cannot predict the outcome. I can only say that here is a growing number of people in the States who understand what the issues are and who will do everything that they possibly can to see that the outcome is favourable. I am personally convinced that once the American strategy becomes what it ought to have been from the very beginning, the days of this criminal regime in West Pakistan will be numbered.

Mohammed Roem*

Indonesia

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Delegates :

I came here in my personal capacity. I know the man who is at the head of the Committee and who issued the invitation and I could not refuse. What I am going to say is strictly my personal opinion. I hope it will contribute to the solution of the very grave problem with which this conference is faced. The identity of East Pakistan is of much interest to many Indonesian circles. But I myself was attracted when you came to Jakarta and addressed the Foreign Relations Association on the question of East Pakistan, and what you said, Mr. Chairman, at that meeting impressed us very much. You had said : "Friends of Pakistan are friends of India. And Indonesians are friends of Pakistan and friends of India." We had in mind the undivided Pakistan.

If one hopes to solve this problem he must participate in seeking the solution. And, therefore, we have supported wholeheartedly that the Conference come out with a solution. At one time there was a talk in Jakarta between two friends—one Indonesian and the other from West Pakistan. The Indonesian said that the most dangerous thing was the arrest of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The Pakistani friend agreed.

Mr. Chairman, I do not agree that Bangladesh is a domestic problem of Pakistan. If that as the theory, Indonesia would not have come into being.

I want to tell you a story which is now history. And sometimes this is also called one of the very few successes of the United Nations. It is the story of the successful U.N. intervention in the problem of Indonesia. U.N. intervention can take the form of good offices, not necessarily mediation which has the deciding power. Good offices bring with it more power and are supported by public

*Attended the Conference as Observer.

opinion of the world. I think this is one of the ways we have to pursue. There was a conflict between the Dutch and the Republic of Indonesia. May be that conflict was in a sense different from the tragedy in East Pakistan. But I think in the long run it is the same thing. If a situation in some country is a threat to international peace, it cannot remain an internal problem. It is clear that the situation in East Pakistan is a threat to international peace. It can develop into much graver things. There is no reason why the United Nations and Security Council should not interfere. In Indonesia's case the Dutch claimed that it was an internal question of the Dutch Empire but the Security Council was not of the same opinion and it appointed a Committee of good offices. The presence of the Committee in our country at that time was very useful. So I would submit this idea to the conference. I think that in this case India is not the proper country to bring the issue before the United Nations. There will be many sympathetic countries who would be willing to do this job.

Dentel Mayer

France

Mr. President and Delegates :

You will kindly excuse me if I speak in French. What we must first do is to explain to the public that there is no conflict between Pakistan and India. No country should give any more arms to Pakistan which is committing homicide and genocide. We must also give relief to the refugees not only in Indian territory but also in Bangladesh. Let us not go to war because war will solve nothing but increase the plight of the unfortunate refugees.

It was a great pleasure to be welcomed here by young girls, almost children. What this means as far as I am concerned is that we must take responsibility on the human plane and leave it to the Bangali people to organise their political life. We should convey to the Pakistan Government our disgust against its brutalities and urge it to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or hold a public trial. We must know that he is alive. It is the duty of the Western democracies to defend the elections fought by the Bengali people on the issue of autonomy.

Pavle Jevremovic

Yugoslavia

About the recent events in Bangladesh we can say without exaggeration that they have taken back the human civilisation thousands of years. Why did the refugees leave their homes ? I think they simply wanted to live in a democratic society which would enable them to utilise the resources of their country to get rid of their backwardness. Instead of that, the people of Bangladesh are facing a cruel war. One cannot believe that mass killing on such a scale is possible, Millions of innocent people have been killed. The constant stream of refugees is causing great concern in my country and I think, to people in other countries as well. There are two separate points—one is purely humanitarian. For refugees in India we can do more than has already been done. The International Organisations and the United Nations particularly should take some more concrete steps. I think we can come together and do something but this cannot lead to a permanent solution. It will not bring homes to the homeless. We should create conditions for their return. I would like to discuss the political aspect leaving aside legal theories. The basic principle of self-determination should not be denied to the people of Bangladesh and the

opinion of the people cannot be suppressed by military repression. The Government of Pakistan should realise this.

We cannot say what developments will follow. It depends on many unpredictable things what will happen in Pakistan and in Bangladesh itself. But sooner or later the rights of the elected representatives of the people, I think, must be restored without any discrimination. We have already made a public statement in Yugoslavia about the trial of Mujibur Rahman. We cannot be spectators and in this conference we may consider some joint action. Definitely this action will differ from one country to another.

Rishikesh Shah

Nepal

We have set up a Committee in Kathmandu to help the cause of Bangladesh and the refugees from there who have made their way to India Speaking in physical and geographical terms, I think Nepal is closer to Bangladesh than any country other than India. Let me tell this internatioal gethering that the events in East Bengal have aroused the conscience of the Nepalese people. We in Nepal have asked for the unconditional release of the unquestioned leader of East Bengal, or for that matter the whole of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur because we have felt that his release alone will help the political settlement of the question of East Bengal.

I do not think it is not a matter within the jurisdiction of the U.N. Charter. It has been my opinion for a long time that in a question concerning the natural rights of man himself, it we are not prepared to look at it in the proper perspective, we certainly cannot find fault with other countries like South Africa for denying human rights to certain sections of their population. I am sure this Conference will look at this problem in this perspective.

Our Committee has sent several representatives to this Conference and I assure you on behalf of every one of them that we shall do everything possible to help the cause of East Bengal. Of course, we are a non-official body. The least we can do is to make an appeal to all members of the United Nations to extend recognition to the new Government of Bangladesh.

V. David

Malaysia

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates :

I bring the warmest gettings from the people of Malyasia to this International Conference on Bangladesh. We have come here to show our feelings and express our solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Bangladesh. We are here to be with you, to sharpe your views and express our concern at the horror and massacre in Bangladesh during March 1971. At this juncture I am sure my colleague will share with me the feeling that never was much information regarding Bangladesh available in Malaysia. Our Government has been absolutely silent on this issue. But the people are concerned. They want to see freedom flourish in Bangladesh. There have been many schools of thought. Some believe that it is a war between Pakistan and India. Others believe that in

Bangladesh the people are fighting for freedom. If we respect the right of self-determination then no nation and no people can remain silent on the rights of the people of Bangladesh. Secondly, if at all there is a leader with whom anyone would like to talk about Bangladesh, he is the rightful and popularly elected democratic leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. If peace and prosperity is to be preserved in Asia, then he should be immediately released and any talks that are to be conducted should be conducted by any power with him.

We in Malaysia are perturbed and disturbed at the manner the United States has been behaving. Though the people of the United States on many occasions during the last few months have expressed support to the people of Bangladesh, the Nixon Administration his been playing a very cunning role and this exposes beyond any doubt all talk of the right of self-determination in the United States. So long as it suits its purpose it is prepared to come forward. Here the basic issue is humanism. This butchery and massacre of the people and this horrible situation need to be condemned and we people from Malaysia will stand with the people of Bangladesh in their just and fair struggle to live as a free people.

M. Soorian

Malaysia

We in the Democratic Action Party Malaysia are a little surprised that our Government leaders think that the Bangladesh affair is still an internal problem of Pakistan.

Bangladesh, having declared independence, is no longer a part of Pakistan. Bangladesh complies with all international norms and conditions in the set-up of its independence. It has all the requirements of sovereignty that a country requires for such a start.

It has well defined boundaries and commands absolute loyalty of its population. It has its own national flag and national government over all branches of civil administration. It has linguistic and racial homogeneity. In the recent election, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of the Awami Legue won 167 of 169 seats for the Constituent Assembly—which is about 99%.

The birth of Bangladesh was formally aptised at Mujibnagar in East Bengal on 17th April 1971 by the nation-nouveaux's acting President Sayed Nazrul Islam. History was made with the unfurling of the Bangladesh flag to the accompaniment of Tagore's "Amar Sonar Bangla". The acting President pointed out that the function was designed to show to all and sundry that the provisional Government did not exist on paper.

This ritual was attended by officials of the Government, including members of the National Assembly, T.V. cameramen and foreign correspondents and over 10,000 freedom fighters,

Article 20(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says that the "will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of Government; this will shall be expressed with periodic and genuine elections and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent voting procedure". But unfortunately the will of the people,

which should be the basis of the Government, was not respected. Instead military might was unleashed to crush the aspirations of the people, but what Yahya Khan and Co overlooked is the fact that although you may kill some people you cannot kill the will of self-assertion and self-respect. Exterminating the dissenters does not solve the problem. For every Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that is imprisoned there are 10 others to take his place and fight the cause just the same.

The sub-paragraph in the preamble of the Article 20 (3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which speaks about equal rights of....men and woen also reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human persons". The Universal Declaration of Human Rights also lays down in its preamble that member-States have pledged themselves to achieve "the promotion of universal respect for an observance of human rights and fundamental freedom". Therefore, the saga of Bangladesh is not and cannot be construed as an internal matter. Racialism was being practised and fundamental human rights were being denied. This matter is of international concern. If the United Nations was entitled to intervene in South Africa, then intervention in East Bangal could have been equally, if not more, justified. It is ironical that Mr. Bhutto who was shouting at the top of his head at the United Nations against repression of the African majorities who are seeking liberation in Rhodesia and South Africa, is pursuing methods which are no different from those of Ian Smith and John Vorster. This is a case of the kette calling the pot black. Can it be regarded that the systematic annihilation and terrorisation of defenceless civilian population of Bangladesh by the West Pakistan junta fall exclusively within the internal jurisdiction of Pakistan, so that the other nations of the world have no moral or legal obligation to check these excesses ?

It is difficult to be a passive spectator to the outrageous and macabre inflictions imposed on one race by another as is going on in Bangladesh. What in actual effect Yahya Khan is practising is genocide which has been delared a crime under International Law. The UN General Assembly in 1948 laid down that genocide is a crime and persons responsible for it are punishable under International Law. If Pakistan has any international obligation to observe human rights, any breach of such an obligation cannot be dismissed simply as an internal problem.

The West Pakistan action constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Under Article 39, Chapter VII of the Charter, the UN has a direct obligation to determine the existence of any such breach of the peace and has equally an obligation to decide what measures it should take in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security. This part of the world has now become another Vietnam and that it is ironical again that West Pakistan which has been eloquent in denouncing the killing in Vietnam, should mow down by machine-gun fire in four days more civilians than have been killed in four years in Vietnam.

The holocaust in Bangladesh has cost the Inevitable spill-over of refugees into India. Over 8 million have fled to India. This number is increasing at the rate of about 40,000 daily a poor country and the refugee problem should be tackled by the nations of the world in a concerted manner. It is gratifying to note that the Scandinavian countries have offered money to the refugees but this is not enough. The floods in West Bengal have aggravated the situation.

It is hoped that our meeting would be fruitful and not an exercise in futility. We want to see result—tangible results.

We recommend :

1. The immediate unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

2. The withdrawl of all Yahya's troops from Bangladesh.

3. The recognition of Bangladesh as a separate foreign sovereign State.

To this end, we urge—

(A) Application of pressure on Ceylon and UK to stop the use of Colombo and Maladive Islands for the ferrying of troops to Bangladesh.

(B) Mass media of India should be turned on full blast to play Bengali sentimental songs to the freedom fighters of Bangladesh.

All India Radio should broadcast intermittent statements on curent developments on the border so as to give further moral support.

(C) The super-powers should be actively persuaded to try intially the gentle art of persuasion on Yahya Khan and his henchmen to stop insensate killing.

(D) The Scandinavian countries have given money to help the refugees. Please of help should also be made to the Red Cross and other International Bodies for similar monetary and medical aid.

M. Basavapunniah*

India

Let me, at the outset, thank you on behalf of the Communist Party of India(Marxist) for the kind invitation extended to us for participating in this non-official International Conference on Bangladesh.

This Conference is the first of its kind on the important and burning international issue of Bangladesh, and thus its special significance is sharply emphasised. I assure the Conference of our Party's full support and whole-hearted co-operation to the great cause of Bangladesh, and all the secular, democratic and freedom loving aspirations this cause has come to symbolise.

It is by now full six months that a reign of armed terror is let loose and genocide is practised on the seventy-five million poeople of East Bengal by the military Junta of General Yahya Khan which is heading the Government West Pakistan. Men and wome , in tens of thousands, are being arrested, tortured, maimed and shot dead. More than eight million people are uprooted from their hearths and homes and are driven out of Bangladesh. into Indian Union across the international frontier as helpless refugees. The entire Bangladesh is now reduced to an occupied territorv by the military rulers of West Pakistan who represent none except the rapecious capitalists and landlords of West Pakistan and who do not hesitate to perpetrate any bestial crime on the different nationalities of Pakistan in order to perpetrate their savage rule of pillage and plunder.

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* Text of the statement made by Mr. M. Basavapunniah as member, Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

A fortnight ago our Party's Central Committee discussed the issue of Bangladesh and adopted a resolution on the same. It explains our stand on a number of points connected with the issue of Bangladesh.

The Secretary of the Preparatory Committee in his circular letter dated 10th September 1971, after detailing the atrocities committed by the Yahya regime in Bangladesh, observes : "Yet, the world has failed to respond adequately to the cry of the suffering people of Bangladesh for sympathy and support to their struggle for existence with dignity and honour"; and "it is hard to understand the inordinate cynicism and indifference of the world governments towards such a grim human tragedy".

I do share these feelings and only add that it is not at all surprising certain Governments and parties who believe in varied forms of colonialism and its perpetuation don not and cannot extend their sympathy and support to the struggle of Bangladesh. What is regrettably shocking is that several Governments and political parties which openly proclaim their support to the cause of oppressed nations and nationalities and their struggles for national liberation are either lukewarm in their response to the Bangladesh struggle or in some cases even hostile. It may not be relevant that I attempt here the possible reasons for this sad state of affairs.

However, it is extremely heartening to note that all the democratic and progressive forces in our country—and in fact the entire people—have magnificently responded to the cause of Bangladesh and its suffering and fighting people. It is this massive popular support and sympathy that pressurised the Government of India to openly associate itself with the cause of Bangladesh, and the unanimous resolution adopted by the Indian Parliament is a proof positive of the same. I am of the firm opinion that the measure of success we achieve in securing the ever increasing sympathy and support of the international community depends, first and foremost, on the tenacity of the armed resistance of the freedom fighters of Bangladesh and on the solid and united sympathy and support provided to this struggle by the democratic forces in our country. It is again this that can prevent the frequently found vacillation and hesitation on the part of the Indian Government, the vacillation and hesitation which, in the present contex, may prove disastrous to the whole cause which we all hold dear, unless it is arrested in time.

In order to secure ever wider movilisation of our people in support of this great cause of Bangladesh it is not enough to have a mere sentimental approach to the issue, an approach which plays on the crimes and horrors of Yahya's militarist regime. Nor is it sufficient to highlight the problem of refugees and its socio-economic consequences on the Indian Union.

However important all these are by themselves, they are not sufficient to deepen the mass political understanding on the question of Bangladesh and the democratic values this struggle upholds. I an of the view that very few people in our country, even the newspaper reading public, are clearly aware of the well-known six-point programme set forth by the Awami League, as early as 1966, even though it is vaguely talked about. In the absence of a concerted campaign regarding this six-point programme and its rejection by the then Ayub Khan regime and subsequently by the Yahya Khan

Junta, despite the massive electoral verdict in its favour in the elections of 1970, the Government of Pakistan, in some measure, may succeed in confusing the public opinion in India as well as in the world outside. The mischievous campaign that Indian support is motivated by its antipathy to Islam, that it is "interference in the 'internal affairs' of Pakistan", and that it is aimed at disintegrating a 'strong and united Muslim Homeland' etc., should be counteracted effectively from a fully democratic and secular angle. I hope different democratic and progressive parties and groups which proudly associate themselves with the cause of Bangladesh would give serious thought to this aspect and do the needful.

We, very often, hear of the slogan of political settlement of the Issue of Bangladesh. I am afraid that quarters which seriously project this slogan either do not realise that now there is no other political settlement except to concede a free and independent Bangladesh, or indulge in such delightfully vague talk so as not to offend the militarist rulers of West Pakistan.

The Awami League secured massive electoral mandate for its six-point programme and it was this that was sought to be trampled under foot by the dictators of West Pakistan. The demand for equality, autonomy and democracy is met with genocide by the West Pakistan military regime. It is anybody's guess, what sort of political settlement there can be now, short of independent Bangladesh, and how else conditions are created for the return of the eight million refugees and other political emigrants?

This struggle for Bangladesh is bound to be very stubborn and probably prolonged. The parties, class and mass organisations, enlightened individuals and Governments which throw their weight in genuine defence of Bangladesh and its courageous freedom fighters must be prepared for such a sustained and prolonged struggle.

I, once again, assure you that our Party will strive its utmost to faithfully discharge its commitments on this issue, and thus fulfil its calss as well as national duty in meeting this challenge, no matter how our familiar opponents malign us.

Raj Narain
India

Whether we are socialists or not, we want the release of Mujibur Rahman. History, geography, entity, culture, and above all popular support— these are the most important things that will determine the issue. Please have a look at West Pakistan and also at Bangladesh and you will see that from the point of view of history, geography, language, script, culture, economic affairs, the two are entirely different. Above all, the main thing is when democratic elections took place in Bangladesh, 167 seats were secured by the Awami League out of 169 and out of the total votes polled, Mujibur Rahman's party secured 85%. After that there can be no question of discussion whether recognition is an issue or not. Recognition will have to be given and we must accept the popular verdict and recognise Bangladesh. If we donot do so then our declarations of socialism, democracy, anti-colonialism have no meaning at all.

M. L. Sondhi
India

I feel is to be of the essence at this stage in the plenary session to have made the basis on which the massive popular support exists in India for Bangladesh. To my mind as follows from three basic points. One, Indo-Muslim unity which is of very great importance for our country and for our part of the world. The second is the Asian contex of Bangladesh. A manifestation of Asian nationalism has been seen by the people of the world and we know that nationalism has asserted itself and no force on earth can check this nationalism in Asia. The third aspect of interest from the point of view of popular support in our country is the capacity of the people, their Government, that is the Government of Bangladesh and the people of Bangladesh, to assert themselves and to make it clear to the people of the world and to the people of our region that they intend to follow the course of independence of action to secure political rights in the family of nations. In other words, it is not Indian aggrandisement or Indian expansionism that is to be seen in the present political support of the Indian people. What is to be seen is the effort of the Indian people to delink the problem of Bangladesh from the super power context, because once this problem begins to be dealt with by the super powers it loses its significance. This is an international conference, but at the same time we cannot ignore the Indians, the Chinese, the Indonesians, who make up the bulk of the population of Asia. Therefore, in this context Asian sentiment must express itself in all the commissions of this conference.

Dauji Gupta
India

Much has been said regarding the problem of Bangladesh. It is true that the military rulers of West Pakistan are committing wanton acts of murder in Bangladesh. Writers, poets, intellectuals and humanists throughout the world are condemning these acts. But one thing I want to say is that the military leaders of West Pakistan do not represent the people of Pakistan at all, not even the people of West Pakistan. I had the opportunity to meet a few intellectuals from West Pakistan and they were saying that the founder of Pakistan was not Quade Azam Jinnah but Katle Azam Jinnah. So this kind of feeling is growing there. The killing of people must stop immediately.

At the same time we must think of the causes and the basic elements that give rise to such situations in the world, whether in Biafra, Vietnam or Bangladesh. Everywhere we find that there are forces behind the acts of muder. I will not forget to mention here the problem of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. I would request the delegates who have come from abroad that when they go back they should persuade their countrymen to compel their Governments not to manufacture arms and ammunition and supply it to any part of the world.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার প্রশ্নে ফিনল্যান্ডের ছাত্র সমাজ।	'ইণ্ডিয়ান এক্সপ্রেস'	৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

Finland Students for Bangladesh Freedom

Mujibnagar, October, 4 : The Students' National Union in Finland has said that the only way to ensure safe return of the Bangladesh refugees from India was "the establishment of an independent republic of Bangladesh.

The union at its recent executive board meeting condemned the "brutal slaughter" of thousands of innocent people by the "fascist Yahya regime" and said it was the main cause of the flow of eight million refugees into India, according to a Bangladesh students' union Press release issued here today.

The union said : "It has been established that the sanguinary repression of the struggle for democracy, violation of political rights, throwing the country into economic chaos and letting loose the most inhuman and brutal reign of terror left no alternative to the people of East Bengal but to declare independence and start an armed struggle to gain the same".

It called upon the students of Bangladesh to join the cadres of the freedom fighters. "This is the only possibility left to you", it added.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বেচ্ছাসেবী প্রতিষ্ঠানসমূহের ইন্টারন্যাশনাল কাউন্সিল প্রধানের আবেদন।	আই.সি.ভি. এ'র প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

11th October, 1971

To member agencies of ICVA

Dear Colleagues,

Through the mass media and through your own constituency and field workers you will have followed with the greatest attention and concern the dramatic and catastrophic situations in East Pakistan and in India that have developed in recent months. On the one hand succeeding natural and man-made disasters in East Pakistan have devastated the country-side, and uprooted and improverished whole populations. On the other hand India has had to cope with an influx of refugees now totalling 9 million, a predicament leading to health, nutrition, population, social and other problems of a magnitude unprecedented in our history. The fabric of society in East Pakistan may run the risk of collapse while at the same time its neighbour, the second most-populous country in the world, is having its forward movement in the fields of economic and social development jeopardized by the enormous burdens the country has to bear in caring for these refugees.

Men of goodwill everywhere have risen to this challenge. The United Nations and other multilateral governmental institutions have reacted, notably through the establishment, on the one hand, of the United Nations East Pakistan relief operation, and on the other hand by the coordinated efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as the Focal Point for assistance to the refugees in India.

For both categories of need a number of governments have been extremely generous either through multilateral channels or through bilateral activities. The voluntary agencies for their apart, many of whom have worked in these countries for many years, have redoubled their efforts and have contributed exceptional amounts of aid in cash and in kind. Governmental and voluntary bodies have also appealed to the conscience of the world to respond to the needs.

And yet we all know that in this situation of unprecedented deprivation, the amount remaining to be done in the humanitarian field surpasses what has already been achieved. Both in East Pakistan and in India the extent of the needs by far outstrips what the voluntary sector can do, and yet we must do more. I therefore appeal to you all both as international and national agencies to once more examine your resources and appeal to your constituencies for further humanitarian assistance in favour of the population of East Pakistan and the refugees in India. I further suggest that we all use every avenue open to us to influence governments to be much more generous than they have yet been in

responding to these needs. It is not too much to say that the future economic and social development of the entire sub-continent depends upon the alleviation, to the greatest extent possible, of the massive stresses and strains endengered by the present situation. All efforts that you can make to keep this in the forefront of the attention of governments and the public will be of immense importance. Please redouble the pressure that you are able to exert nationally and internationally to this end.

As far as concerns ICVA as a collective voice of voluntary agencies in addition to regular contact with the international governmental and other bodies engaged in these programmes of humanitarian assistance, we have recognized a responsiblity to demonstrate our collective concern to the governments concerned. The officers of ICVA have therefore agreed that advantage should be taken of the presence at the UN General Assembly in New York the representatives of all member governments and of a host of other institutions to press in the strongest possible terms :

(a) for greatly increased humanitarian action and contributions for Pakistan refugees in India and rehavilitation needs in Pakistan;

(b) for a meaningful General Assembly Resolution on this subject leading to further humanitarian action.

In implementation of this we were glad that the Charirman of one of ICVA's member agencies, Mr. Micheal Rowntree of Oxfam, was able on our behalf to spend some time in New York shortly after the opening of the General Assembly. To carry on from this beginning, the Executive Director of ICVA, Mr. Cyril Ritchie, will be going to New York this week to maintain liaison with Assembly participants. Subsequent to that, Mr. Jacques Beaumont of IRFED and IORD, will carry on the mission, and will be followed by Mr. Leslie Kirkley, Director of OXFAM. Mr. Beaumont is currently a Vice-President of the ICVA General Conference, and Mr. Kirkely was of course President of the 1971 ICVA Conference. We hope to continue this mission until the end of November with the same or with other representatives. While we cannot claim in advance that the influence we shall exert will be decisive, nevertheless we feel that to do any less would be in some way failing in our duty to the millions enveloped in the tragedy that has unfolded on the Indian sub-continent.

I appeal to those of you who have your own NGO representation at the United Nations General Assembly to give every assistance possible to the members of the ICVA mission. I also ask you to have your own representation accord the highest priority to pressure for humanitarian action on the scale I have described.

Yours sincerely,

James E. Edgar
Chairman, Governing Board.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ফ্রান্সের বাংলাদেশ সংহতি কমিটির ম্যানিফেস্টো।	বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেন্টস	অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THE FRENCH COMMITTEE OF SOLIDARITY WITH BANGLADESH—OCTOBER, 1971

Before the immense distress of East Bengal and the tragic situation which will only get worse in the coming months, particularly on account of the ruin of agriculture, the French Committee of Solidarity with Bangladesh appeals to French public opinion to take note of the following facts :

The Bengali people, maintained in a situation of colonial type by West Pakistan since the creation in 1947 of Pakistan, almost unanimously pronounced itself, during the first free elections based on universal suffrage organized in the country, for a very wide regional autonomy. This autonomy had been provided for as early as 1940 by the founders of Pakistan (Resolution of Lahore).

In its electoral programme, the Awami League resumed this claim for autonomy. On the basis of this legally defended platform, it won 167 seats out of 169 in East Bengal and ensured itself an absolute majority within the new Constituent Assembly for the whole of Pakistan, with 167 seats out of 313. In front of the transformation of the demographic majority of 75 million Bengalis—as against 55 million West Pakistanis—into a democratic and parliamentary majority, the military Government of Islamabad reacted by trying to drown in blood this majority's determination for autonomy. In fact, it only succeeded in transforming it into a determination for Bengali national independence which expressed itself by a refusal to co-operate, by the constitution of the Provisional Government of Bangaldesh, and by the guerrilla which has been a proof for the last six months of the implacable determination of the Bengali people.

The savage repression being continued by the Pakistan Army since 25th March, 1971, has already caused serveral hundreds of thousands of deaths. It provokes misery and famine entailing an exodus of 9 million Bengalis to India. The flow of refugees still amounts even now to several tens of thousands per day.

These facts constitute a deliberate and continued violation of exceptional gravity and scope by the Pakistani Government, and in particular of :

1. The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, Article 21;

2. The Charter of the United Nations, Articles 1 and 25 of the International Pact concerning political and civil rights;

3. The Convention for the Prevention and Repression of the Crime of Genocide (ratified by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9th December, 1948, and coming into vigour on 1st December, 1951).

In fact all the accounts prove that there is a systematic elimination of the elite and leaders of the Bengali people and decimation of the population throughout the whole country.

The fate of tens of millions of men is at stake, just as essential principles and values are involved. A nation is deprived by force and repression of its right to dispose of itself. It is no longer possible to take refuge behind the alibi of an internal affair of a single State. The very dimensions of this tragedy makes of it an international matter. The official silence of most of the Governments makes it our duty to speak out and act. Our action must particularly be exerted in the following directions :

1. *The despatch of help.* The sums allotted so far our Government are out of proportion with the needs and only supply a trifling part of international aid, which itself only represents 10 per cent of what has been spent by India for the survival of the refugees. Our country is in a position to do more and to do it quickly. As regards the assistance to be sent to the population of East Bengal, it would be advisable to guarantee that it will not be diverted and used as a means of political pressure by the Pakistani authorities.

2. *The pursuit of a political solution.* This will necessarily be through a negotiation with the authentic and admitted representatives of the Bengali people. It implies the liberation of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The freely consented return of the refugees will have to prove that a satisfying settlement has been reached.

3. *Suspension of deliveries of arms.* Our country is one of the principal suppliers to the Pakistani army. The last agreement concluded involved several dozens of "Mirages". We learn from foreign sources that our Government would have undertaken not to deliver these arms and not to conclude these contracts. The stake would certainly merit an official declaration from our Government on this subject. We consider that the embargo ought to be decreed on all deliveries of arms, munitions and spare parts to Pakistan as long as the military operations in East Bengal are carried out.

4. *The suppression of economic aid.* France, member of the International Aid Consortium to Pakistan, should propose maintaining the suspension effected in the Consortium's aid as well as the discontinuance of the bilateral aid allocated to Islamabad as long as the Pakistani Government continues to want to impose itself by force on the Bengali people.

The French Committee of Solidarity with Bangaldesh intends to encourage the adoption of the measures advocated above, to inform French public opinion on the situation in East Bengal and ensure a liaison between all those who refuse to succumb too easily to a feeling of powerlessness.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ শরণার্থী প্রশ্নে হাঙ্গেরীর শান্তি পরিষদ প্রধানের বিবৃতি।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১১ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE HUNGARIAN PEACE COUNCIL- NOVEMBER 11, 1971

The following is a statement issued by Lenin Peace Prize Laureate Dr. Endre Sik, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary and President of the Hungarian Peace Council, on the problems and consequences of the exodus of East Bengal refugees to India:

We are deeply concerned by the fact that the situation on the Indo-Pakistani border is growing worse and worse. In the present circumstances, there is no single spot in the world, however far it may be, where if a warlike conflicts breaks out, we could afford to be indifferent. The peoples of the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent are especially near to us. The traditional cultural relations, marked by names such as Sandor Korosi Csoma, Anrel Stein and Ervin Baktai, have still further been strenghthened in recent years by a multitude of political and trade relations, not only with India but also with Pakistan. India and also Pakistan are good friends of the Hungarian people and in the trenches on both sides of the border there now lie people whose lives are dear to us.

We are also aware of the fact that in to days world there are no guarantees that wars will remain local. Dangerous, narrow-minded interests can easily escalate into continental, and even more dangerous dimesions, conflicts which appear to be of a local nature. We can follow closely the development of the tension. We are aware of what happened in Pakistan last year and specially in the spring of this year when the legally elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan were arrested, carried off and murdered. We are informed of the horrible massacre unleashed in Dacca at the end of March after which hundreds of thousands of people fled to India. We are deeply moved by this human suffering—the spread of epidemics in the refugees camps and the hunger and the misery of the millions of people leaving behind their country and their homes. The great concern of our people mainfested itself in the fact that, through the representative of the Hungarian Peace Council, we sent 85,000 doses of cholera-vaccines to the refugee camps. Already a Hungarian peace delegation is in India and it has brought with it blood plasma, medicines and blankets for the refugees. The entire population of our country is not more than the number of refugees staying in India. We are aware of what an immense burden this means for India and that is why, according to our modest abilities, we make every effort to help.

The peoples of both India and Pakistan are our friends. Their efforts for national independence, economic self-reliance and for full self-determination are evoking sympathy in us and we are standing side by side with

them. But we cannot hide our conviction that the source of the present tension is in Pakistan. Pakistan has to find a solution: not for their relations with India—this in our judgment is only a secondly question—but first of all for overcoming its own internal crisis. Pakistan cannot remain indifferent to the destiny of the millions of people who have fled to India. There will be no tranquillity in the sub-continent as long as they do not find a possiblity to settle the matter in dispute, on the basis of respect for the rights of the peoples, with the legally elected leaders of East Pakistan—first of all Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. If the Government of Pakistan takes the bold step—reconsidering its policy followed since March—if it opens the road towards settlement, if it releases the representatives of the people of Pakistan and start negotiations with them, the whole world would look at them with respect and honour. The question of East Pakistan has to be solved, the refugees have to receive the guarntees to dare to return home—that is the only possibility to avoid war.

We are concious that being a small country and a small nation, our wards cannot solve such a grave conflict between nations. But in the present critical situation it is not only the right but also the duty of each man to take up a position . The word, the standpoint of the Hungarian Peace Council, represents the opinion of ten million Hungarians.

This opinion is absolutely unequivocal: it desires a political settlement of the issue, for without it the relaxation, the dissolving of the tension in the sub-continent cannot be imagined. We are in the eleventh hour, but the outbreak of war can still be prevented through soberness, through high statesmanship.

আন্তর্জাতিক দলিলপত্র

বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র নেতৃবর্গের বিবৃতি

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র নেতৃবর্গের বিবৃতি।	'বাংলাদেশ ডক্যুমেন্টস'	এপ্রিল—ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. WILLIAM McMOHAN, PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CANBERRA ON APRIL 22, 1971

In the House on April 22, Prime Minister replied as follows to question from Mr. Bryant as to why he had made no public protest at slaughter of people of East Pakistan by military Government of West Pakistan:

Of course, we regret the loss of life, and I can make it known here in the House just how much we regret that there should be bloodshed, particularly because as we have pointed out, recently there had been an election in both East and West Pakistan and the Awami League had received strong approval from the people of East Pakistan. We also welcome the statement by the President of Pakistan that he will try to ensure that civil power is resumed as soon as possible. We hope that he can very quickly put his statement into practice and, above all, express the view that there should be no more loss of life and that the leaders of the Awami League should be given full authority, civilly to represent their people in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND ON MAY 24, 1971

The following is a report on the statement made by the Rt. Hon. Sir Keith Halyorke, Prime Minister of New Zealand on May 24, 1971 :—

"New Zealand has been neither silent nor indifferent to the tragedy in East Pakistan", said the Prime Minister.

Sir Keith had been asked to comment or remarks made by the leader of the Opposition when he was in Singapore on his way back to New Zealand. Mr. Kirk was reported to have said that "by not taking any public stand, we can only blame ourselves if people think our silence is a wall of indifference."

When he made his remarks, Mr. Kirk was apparently not aware that on 14th April the Acting Prime Minister issued a public statement expressing the Government's concern at the suffering and loss of life that has accompanied the civil strife in East Pakistan. Stressing the human aspect of the situation, Mr. Marshall called for an early end of the bloodshed and for the renewal of attempts by Pakistan's political and military leaders to reach agreement by negotiation and compromise.

"Mr. Marshall's statement received widespread publicity", the Prime Minister went on. "It was also drawn to the attention of the Pakistan Government through its High Commission in Canberra.

Sir. Keith added that New Zealand had supported the right of India to raise the question at the recent session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. On 17th May the New Zealand Permanent Representative reiterated to the Council's Social Committee the deep concern felt in New Zealand about events in East Pakistan. "It is the human aspect of the situation, the bloodshed and suffering, that has distressed New Zealanders most" said Mr. Scott, "but we are also increasingly worried about its implications for the peace of the sub-continent."

"The Government has not only made clear the concern felt in this country about the situation in East Pakistan" said the Prime Minister, "we have also recognized that international action is required. There are now three million refugees from East Pakistan in neighbouring parts of India and their needs cannot be met without large-scale assistance from abroad. I understand a public appeal is now being considered within New Zealand, the Government is prepared to lend its support to this humanitarian effort and to contribute whatever it can."

THE HOLY FATHER'S APPEAL FOR EAST PAKISTAN ON JUNE 2, 1971

During the general audience held on June 2, 1971, after having spoken on the economy of salvation Paul VI had drawn the attention of the faithful to the sad conditions existing in East Pakistan, upset by the war. The following are the words of the Holy Father :

Permit us now to say a word on another topic.

Among the trials that afflict us now during this period there is that of the sad situation of the population of East Pakistan The causes of this are known and it is not for us to judge its political value. We look at the condition of the region already terribly tried last year by the devastating floods of the Ganges for which even we tried to render some assistance and invoked the help of the Church all over the world. It was then that the charity of the Catholic Breathren and Catholic aid instutions came forward immediately with their generous proof of solidarity towards Pakistan hit by the serious calamity. We too, while on our way to the Philippines last November, decided to make a short night stop at Dacca in order to bring testimony to the Authorities and the population of our special interest. A few months later, another and still more serious disturbance has upset the eastern region of the country, stirring up a civil conflict of no small proportions. Two painful phenomenon call for the solicitudes of the good ; the phenomenon of the fleeing of a large number of the inhabitants they say some two or three million of the poor people—who are now in a very pitiful condition. The other phenomenon concerns those who have remained in its own territory, and of whose difficult and grave situation the public opinion, during recent weeks, has been sufficiently informed and pained (Lit. painfully hit). We

know that from various parts attempts have already been made to send assistance, both to the multitude of refugees and to the population that has remained in its own territory. Human solidarity, once again, shows itself to be provident and generous; and we encourage it as well with our means notwithstanding the fact that it may not be adequate to meet the great needs, and still more, by our exhortation.

But what is more necessary is peace, and we shall pray that peace may be quickly re-established and defended from the dangers of wider conflicts in the best manner possible taking into account the particular conditions of the population and the common necessity of preventing Asia from being disturbed by new and dangerous conflicts, and (so) that Asia may rather be preserved in its free concord and in its original evolution towards its modern civisation.

I OSSERVATORE ROMANO—June 3, 1971)

TEXT OF STATEMENT BY FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY ON THE CONCLUSION OF FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO BONN, DATED JUNE 14, 1971

On the invitation of the Federal Government, Foreign Minister of India, Mr. Swaran Singh visited the Federal Republic of Germany on 9th and 10th June 1971 in the course of his world tour

On 10th June, the Foreign Minister had talks with the Federal Chancellor, the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs and the State Secretary Doctor Frank.

On 9th June, the Minister was received by the Government of North Rhine Westphalia and in the afternoon had the occasion to meet the representatives of relief organisations and the representatives of press and television. In the evening he had an opportunity of talks with the Speaker of the Parliament (Herr Von Hassel), Minister of Economic Co-operation (Herr Eppler) the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament (Doctor Schroeder) and other distinguished personalities.

In talks with the Federal Foreign Minister, subjects of mutual interest were discussed. The Indian Foreign Minister expressed great concern of his Government about the huge influx of refugees into India, numbering about 5 million in a matter of few weeks, as a result of the developments in East Pakistan. The Minister pointed out that this had not only imposed heavy financial burdens on the Government of India but that it had also created socio-economic tensions and posed a threat to the peace and security of the region.

The Indian Foreign Minister thanked the Federal Government for all official and private assistance which was being offered in the context of refugee relief and for the understanding and concern displayed by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the difficult situation created in India. The German side expressed interest of the Federal Government in peace and

stability in the sub-continent and stated that it followed the developments with great concern and was aware of the dangers to the security of the region. There was agreement that India alone has not in a position to solve the enormous task of caring for the refugees. The German side pointed out that the Federal government in response to the appeal by the Secretary of the United Nations had already made available first contribution to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and that the Federal Cabinet was going to consider the question of more assistance for the refugees at its meeting on 10th June.

The two Foreign Ministers agreed that an early political solution of the problem was essential for the return of the refugees to their homes.

The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs explained to his Indian guest the present state of the problem of Germany and Berlin and German relations with the countries of the East and West Europe

The Indian Foreign Minister conveyed high appreciation of the Government of India for the initiative undertaken by the leadership of the Federal Republic in the interest of detente rapproachment and co-operation in Europe

The discussions took place in a spirit of friendship and understanding which a characterise the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and India "

STATEMENT BY FERDINAND F. MARCOS, PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, ON JUNE 15, 1971

Following is the text of the letter from the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Honourable Carlos P. Romulo, to the Indian Ambassador, Shri Deva Rao. "I have the honour to inform you that in response to the letter of Her Excellency the Prime Minister of India, dated May 18, 1971, addressed to the President of the Philippines, on June 15, the President issued the following statement to the press.

"The Government and the people of the Philippines wish to express their deep concern for the plight of the Bengali people adversely affected by the conflict, in East Pakistan.

"Although initially a political problem of internal governance in Pakistan—in which the Philippines does not wish to be a party—it is now a humanitarian problem involving the suffering, mounting daily in its intensity, of millions of Bengalis. To date the movement of refugees out of East Bengal to the West Bengal region of India has reached tidal proportions, close to five million and a raging cholera epidemic is wrecking havoc among them.

"In the face of this situation the Philippines feels that swift and substantial succor must immediately be mobilized by all. The nations concerned including the Pakistan authorities, the Government of India which has jurisdiction over West Bengal, and all the members of the United Nations.

"In the name of humanity, the Philippines joins the Secretary-General U Thant and his Holiness Pope Paul VI in an appeal for a concerted action to alleviate the misery of the Bengali people and to help bring back the necessary conditions for peace in the area if disaster is to be averted.

"In token of its concern the Philippine Government, through the Philippine National Red Cross, is sending a shipload of commodities, principally one thousand tons of sugar, to be placed at the disposal of the Indian Government through the Indian Red Cross, for emergency relief work, among the refugees in West Bengal".

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENT BY MR. MITCHELL SHARP, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON JUNE 16, 1971

Mr Speaker, all of us are pressing for a political solution. It is the only possible way of dealing with the present situation. Unless there is a political settlement in Pakistan the refugees are going to remain in India and continue to be a thorn in the side of peace, if I may put in that way. Therefore we are all working with everything at our command and using every possible means of impressing on the Pakistan Government the need for a settlement, one that is democratic and made under civilian control.

* * * *

Yes, Mr Speaker, we are studying this question now. There is a meeting of the Aid Consortium on Pakistan at the beginning of next week. I hope that by about next Wednesday I will be able to make a statement on matters including the one raised by the Hon Member Perhaps I might also add that today the Minister of National Defence has offered two Hercules Planes for the immediate transport of supplies including some of the ambulances which have been donated by the Ontario Government. These Hercules Planes will be leaving tomorrow morning directly for Pakistan.

* * * *

Mr. Speaker, if you will permit a short answer, the preferred settlement, of course, would be one in which those individuals who have been elected pursuant to the recent election in Pakistan should be given the responsibility of governing Pakistan, particularly East Pakistan.

(Extracts from HANSARD—June 16, 1971)

YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT ON INFLUX OF REFUGEES FROM EAST PAKISTAN ON JUNE 17, 1971

Following is Yugoslav Official Spokesman's statement at a weekly press conference held on June 17, 1971.

"Yugoslav Government and public are following with great concern the hardships of millions of refugees from East Pakistan in India and therefore we have understanding for the problems and anxiety of the friendly India. In this connection we have noted the statement of Prime Minister, Indira Ghandhi. We feel that measures should be taken urgently to prevent further exodus and create conditions for the return of refugees to their homes."

Finding of political solution in the interest of people of Pakistan would undoubtedly help to normalize the situation in East Pakistan and eliminate difficulties concerning refugees. Similarly we feel it is duty of the international community to offer urgent and adequate help for settling this difficult problem. Yugoslav Red Cross has already sent certain aid to the refugees and has issued appeal to public for fresh aid".

STATEMENT BY MR. ABBA EBAN, ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER, IN THE KNESSET, TEL AVIV—JUNE 23, 1971

I welcome the initiative of members of the Knesset to bring to full expression Israel's deep shock at the terrible acts perpetrated by Pakistani Army in East Bengal. It is important and necessary that we should express our sympathy for the sorrows and tribulations of the people of East Bengal and the refugees escaping, hungry and sick, across the Indian border. I welcome this initiative on this important problem. It is difficult to measure precisely the size of the catastrophe which has swept that country, but there is no doubt that this is the largest and most terrible human spectacle on earth at this time. The regime of Yahya Khan has so far prevented foreign observers and journalists from investigating the true situation freely or reporting upon it in public. News of events in East Bengal are therefore drawn largely from eye-witnesses and the stories of refugees, and while the full details of facts are not known, the general picture is as clear as it is terrible. There is a dark and cruel tale of death and destruction, persecution and torture, which has overtaken young and old, men and women.

Without elaborating of the long and sorry background to these events, I would note only that ever since Pakistan was established, inhabitants of the Eastern wing have felt discriminated against. The feelings of bitterness and frustration which this maltreatment caused over a long while found expression in the results of the recent elections. The Awami League, the national Party of East Bengal, won a majority. In defiance of generally accepted principles of democratic society. President Yahya Khan rejected the demands of the leader of the Awami League to consider the result of the elections when establishing the Government and determining the internal regime of the Province. In the face of this refusal, the Awami League declared the independence of Bangladesh. The Pakistani Government replied immediately and

harshly. Its army, well-equipped with modern weapons, took over the disputed area and the rebel fighters, inexperienced and unequipped, were unable to stand up against the regular army of West Pakistan, which did not shrink at using any means of terror in order to put down the Bengali population.

At this point I do not wish to refer to the constitutional solutions of this problem. That does not mean to say that Israel will not refer to the matter in the proper contest. I support the approach of Member of Parliament Horowitz who spoke before me and who suggested that the major problem today is not the structure of the State of Pakistan but the silence of the world in the face of the terrors and fears and the immediate need that Israel too should be represented both in awakening the conscience of the world and in granting measures to alleviate this distress.

According to all information, we are witness to a human tragedy amounting to genocide. Warriors who know no bounds have murdered defenceless civilians, have violated women, tortured old men and children and turned many millions into helpless refugees. These poor people torn from their land by no fault of their own, are now reaching refugee camps in India, weak having lost all, destined for hunger and disease The cholert epedemic which has swept through the East Benagl refugees has already killed thousands. Conditions of living sanitation and food in these camps are terrible The monsoon adds to the severity of the situation. There is therefore a real danger that the number of casulties will grow.

The Government of India is making all possible efforts to alleviate the bitter sorrow of the refugees, to give food, to inoculate them against diseases and to improve, even marginally, their living conditions But the resources of India are insufficient and alone she cannot withstand the mounting wave of destitute refugees seeking shelter on her territory. Only if the world will come forward to offer immediate and large-scale help, can a most terrible calamity be averted. The Jewish people, which has suffered much sorrow and misery in its history, must be specially aware of and sympathetic to human suffering wherever it may be, and the State of Israel cannot stand aside inactive, when faced with a disaster engulfing masses of humanity. The Government of Israel have already transferred through the Red Shield of David Society to the Indian Red Cross a large quantity of anti-cholera vaccine and the General Federation of Labour (Histadrut) has answered the call of help by sending a large consignment of medicine....

CHILEAN PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO U. N. SECRETARY GENERAL RELEASED ON JUNE 26, 1971

The folowing is the text of a message from the President of Chile to the United Nations Secretary-General regarding East Bengal refugees, as released by the Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations on June 26, 1971:

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE AND INVOLVEMENT 505

The Ambassador Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations Dr. Humberto Diaz Casanueva has transmitted a message by the President of Chile, Dr. Salvador Allende.

The President of Chile expressed to U Thant his preoccupation and sorrow over the terrible sufferings of the Pakistanis who fled to India, thus creating dramatic refugees problems for this country as well as for the hardship the people of East Pakistan are going through yesterday because of the natural phenomena and today on account of the disturbances widely deplored. In Chile, U Thant's various messages were received with deep satisfaction. The United Nations is fulfilling its humanitarian mission by doing every effort to intensify its presence in this region and channel the reliefs which are now being dispatched from all parts of the world. President Allende hopes that East Pakistan will again enjoy security, peace and stability so that the Pakistani refugees could return to their homeland and social harmony be re-established in this region. The President of Chile does not conceal his concern that this situation might become even worse and increase tensions to the extent of endangering peace in this region He states that the Chilean people are very sensitive regarding human sufferings and express their solidarity with all peoples, especially those of the Third World affected by misery and helplessness. Distance is no excuse to feel unconcerned. Chile, said President Allende, is ready to co-operate within the United Nations with a view to finding a solution that would alleviate a situation that should be considered a universal catastrophe and a tragedy for all mankind.

Ambassador Diaz Casanueva stated that the Chilean Government has offered contribution according to its possibilities in money or in kind.

FEDERAL CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT'S STATEMENT AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON JULY 23, 1971

During a Press conference in Bonn on July 23, 1971, Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt made the following statement in response to a newsman's question :

"We have approved an additional 10 Million Marks (Rs. 2 crores) and humanitarian relief organisations have by now contributed from 15 to 20 Million Marks (Rs. 3—4 crores). All of this amounts to little. I don't want to appear presumptions enough to sketch out a plan here in Bonn for this especially difficult subject and then say, 'now we Germans know exactly how to cope with this difficult matter'. We have expressed our interest in the appropriate form. After my meeting with the Foreign Minister of India, last month, I discussed the subject with the American President and the U. N. Secretary-General and I notified Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of this and of my opinion. I have also had direct contacts with the President of Pakistan and recently wrote him again.

I should like to say this frankly : A satisfactory solution is possible only when the refugees have the possibility of returning to their country. Otherwise, this problem cannot be solved in areas that are already overpopulated."

Asked whether this implied a political solution, the Chancellor replied in the affirmative.

POPE PAUL'S STATEMENT IN THE VATICAN CITY OCTOBER 10, 1971

The following is a report on the statement:

To help East Bengal means to contribute to genuine peace. Pope Paul VI declared here yesterday (Vatican City, October 10) reports DPA.

He said this in a brief address on the occasion of the day of prayer, fasting and collections for refugees from East Bengal and the people in distress there.

The holy father voiced his satisfaction over the large number of people following his appeal to help Bangladesh. The appeal was still in force, he added.

Distress in East Bengal had possibly no parallel in world history, the Pope said.

STATEMENT BY DR. BRUNO KREISKY, AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR OCTOBER 27, 1971

Following is a report on the statement made in Vienna:

The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Kreisky, said today (October 27) he would write or convey to President Yahya Khan his own views on the Bangladesh crisis which, he added, was extremely complicated and posed the danger of a military confrontation between India and Pakistan.

Dr. Kreisky told Indian journalists accompanying Mrs. Gandhi that it was the right of the Bangladesh refugees now in India to return with the guarantee of their safety.

He admitted that a communication he had received from President Yahya Khan made a "controversial presentation of the problem".

STATEMENT BY MR. WILLIAM McMOHAN, PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA, AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON

NOVEMBER 3, 1971

I don't think that either the Government of India or the Government of Pakistan want war. The real danger arises from the fact that the people of East Pakistan are being trained in guerrilla warfare, and by accident it could so happen that armed attack might occur either from the Pakistan army or the freedomfighters in East Pakistan itself. No one, I believe, can tell you what the prospects are likely to be. What we must all do, and I will certainly be playing my part, I will have the good fortune to talk to Mrs. Gandhi tomorrow, is to press with her and to press with the President Yahya Khan

that war must not take place. It can't benefit India, it can't benefit Pakistan and, above all, it cannot benefit any of the people of these two countries. Those of us who feel we can play a part, however humble it might be, have got to bring home to everyone the lesson that war will benefit no one. The sooner we can persuade the Pakistanis to permit democracy or democratic regime to be established under the Awami League in East Pakistan as part of a total Pakistan solution, the better it will be. He has made his promise. I only hope he will be able to live up to it.

STATEMENT BY MR. LEE KUAN YEW, PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

NOVEMBER 3, 1971

Following is a Reuter Report on the statement:

The Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, said in London yesterday (November 3) he believed India did not want a war with Pakistan.

Mr. Lee, who was answering questions at a diplomatic and commonwealth writers' luncheon, said: "I think the Indian people themselves believe their Government missed a chance early in the year when they could have whacked the Pakistanis. I believe now that the Indians do not want to whack the Pakistanis as they have held back so long."

Exchange Unlikely

Mr. Lee, who had talks earlier with the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said he was due to be in India on November 21 and he hoped it would be peaceful.

Mr. Lee, who, according to informed sources, discussed the situation in the Indian sub-continent at his one-hour meeting with Sir Alec, ridiculed suggestions of an Indian "take-over" of East Bengal.

"The Indians have had so much trouble by admiting nine million refugees. Why should they want to take 70 million people ? ", he asked, adding: "It does not make sense".

SPEECH OF CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT OF FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AT A DINNER GIVEN IN HONOUR OF PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI

NOVEMBER 10, 1971

It gives my wife and me great pleasure to welcome you, Dear Mrs. Gandhi, and the members of your party to Germany.

You know our country from previous visits. In July 1956, you came here with your father, whose memory is cherished in the Federal Republic of Germany. Your last visit of any length was in 1960.

I also remember with pleasure our meeting in new Delhi in March 1959, when you had just been elected chairman of the Congress Party, and your stop-over in Frankfurt in September 1968. This time we have an opportunity to discuss in detail the problems which are of concern to both our countries.

To begin with let me say that we in Germany follow with great sympathy developments in your sub-continent. They fill us all with deep concern.

We share India's view that the conflict in East Pakistan is primarily Pakistan's affair and that any effort to find a solution must consequently be made for the most part in Pakistan.

But, of course, we also know that this internal conflict has caused millions of refugees to flow into India, thereby causing not only much human suffering but, in addition, a dangerous state of tension.

It is certain that it will not be possible for these refugees to return—and this is surely the most crucial and immediate problem for India—until they can be persuaded that they can do so without fear for their lives.

It seems to me that it is necessary in the interest of peace to establish a procedure for an objective discussion of the possibilities and conditions for their return.

We Germans know of the distress of refugees so there has never been any question about our willingness to help. The spontaneous expression of public sympathy in this country for the suffering of the refugees is manifest not the least in the donations which enable humanitarian organisations to do their useful work.

All the same, we realize that the main burden rests on India. Whilst encouraging the Indian Government to continue their circumspect policy, it is only right that, together with others, we should also help to make the burden, which India has taken upon herself, a little easier to bear.

But above all, we address an urgent appeal to all those in position of responsibility in your part of the world to quell the dangers of military conflict and seek ways and means of reaching understanding, both internally and externally.

Here in Europe, we are trying in our own way to remove sources of tension and to pursue a policy of reason. You yourself, and on other occasions your Foreign Minister also, have spoken with warmth and appreciation of our efforts to bring about *detente* in Europe. We value that highly, and are grateful for the understanding and support we have received from India. This policy, I feel, is also beneficial to others, not only in the general sence that we are rendering a contribution to the organization of peace, but also in the particular sense that we find solutions capable of avoiding burdens for India and other countries.

Political relations between India and the Federal Republic of Germany are, I am happy to say, not under the constant pressure of complex, unresolved problems. We are gratified to note an identity of views both as regards our aim and our methods of achieving them. We seek to devote our energies to the cause of peace.

India has made great progress in many fields of modern life and especially so in the time since you, Madam, became her leader in 1966. We congratulate you on your achievements.

There were many who, only a few years ago, thought it impossible that India would today have achieved her aim of producing enough food herself to feed her population. Industrial production has been increased further still. India's successful foreign trade policy is reflected in her increasing foreign exchange reserves. We share your satisfaction at these favourable results.

I feel sure that on this basis the economic partnership between Germany and India will continue to develop favourably. Mutual visits by delegation from trade and industry promise fruitful co-operation. And I hope that exchanges in the cultural, scientific and technological spheres will also continue to increase.

In the past, we have allocated a considerable proportion of our public aid to development projects in India. We shall continue, both on a bilateral basis and as partners in multilateral projects, to do all we possibly can to support your Government's development policy oriented as it is to progress and stability.

In this way, we wish to render a contribution, beyond the bounds of our continent, to the establishment of a lasting peace system. If your and our efforts meet with success then this will benefit not only our two countries but the family of nations as a whole.

The bonds of friendship between India and the Federal Republic of Germany are firmly established. Our intention is that it remains so.

I now raise my glass and drink a toast to you, Madam Prime Minister, and to India's happy future.

STATEMENT BY SIR KEITH HOLYOAKE, PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND—NOVEMBER 25, 1971

The Resolution and the Joint Statement the (U. N.) Third Committee have adopted on the East Pakistan refugee problem are a timely reiteration of the conditions that need to be created in the area for the early and safe return of the refugee to their homeland......

This result, although limited only to a consideration of the humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem, has taken us some weeks of close consultation with other interested delegations. The discussions in New York revealed again, as we found earlier this year in ECOSOC, that few others are prepared to take a stand on this sensitive issue, however simple it may seem to some New Zealanders. What we and the Netherlands (later joined by Sweden) co-sponsored was what we regarded as a minimum humanitarian appeal to those directly concerned. Even in that form, it encountered opposition from various quarters. In particular, it aroused suspicion of those elements in it designed to place the refugee question, as a humani-

tarian issue, in its political context. There was even a concerted move made by some to prevent the adoption of any resolution at all. In the end, New Zealand and the other co-sponsors reluctantly accepted a number of modifications proposed during the debate. These had the effect of making the resolution less specific in its terms and its application. In that more general form its acceptance became possible.

The Third Committee has provided the only setting for a full discussion within the current General Assembly of the refugee problem. Out of a deep concern for the refugees themselves, the New Zealand delegation asked at the outset for adequate time to discuss their plight. We called for reports by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the Secretary-General. And we sought to ensure that the Third Committee's response to the very disturbing reports they presented to the Committee should provide a useful basis for subsequent action by the Secretary-General and the Security Council. In view of the latest serious deterioration in the situation, the action taken by the Third Committee, and the part our representatives played in company with the Dutch, was both timely and well-conceived to indicate once more the urgent need for a reduction of tensions and the beginning of consultations by the Pakistan authorities towards a realistic political settlement within East Pakistan. The initiative has at very least had the virtue of bringing the membership of the United Nations at large, for the first time, to acknowledge that it has responsibilities towards this vast human tragedy.

EXCERPTS FROM POLICY STATEMENT MADE BY MR. WILLI STOPH, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE GDR, BEFORE THE PEOPLE'S CHAMBER—NOVEMBER 29, 1971

The Government of the GDR will continue to devote great attention to developing and deepening friendly relations with the anti-imperialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The joint tasks and joint responsibility in the anti-imperialist struggle form the basis on which the collaboration of the GDR with these countries will develop further.

Conscious of this joint responsibility, the Government of the German Democratic Republic is following with great attention and concern the threateing situation which has arisen in East Pakistan and on the Indian sub-continent. A further aggravation of the situation would be useful only to the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism which want to hold up the consolidation of national independence and the social progress of the peoples.

The Government of the GDR holds that a peaceful political settlement of the problems which have arisen in East Pakistan should be brought about in agreement with the Will of the people of East Pakistan and their elected representatives to ensure the speedy and safe return of the refugees to their homeland and to prevent military conflicts between Pakistan and India.

The Government of the GDR will continue to support the initiatives of all responsible forces directed at maintaining peace on the Indian sub-continent....

STATEMENT BY MR. NIGEL H. BOWEN, AUSTRALIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS—DECEMBER 5, 1971

Following is a report on the Statement :

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bowen, announced Australia's neutrality in the conflict between India and Pakistan last night (December 5), and will make a report to Federal Cabinet in Sydney today(......December 6)

Mr. Bowen said in a statement issued in Canberra last night that the Australian Government was "gravely concerned" at the outbreak of full-scale war between India and Pakistan.

He said that although it appeared that neither Government had made a formal declaration of war on the other, both parties had now made clear that a state of war existed between them.

Mr. Bowen said that in recent weeks, as at earlier stages of the crisis over East Pakistan, Australia had been in close touch with both parties and with other interested governments, in efforts to reduce tension and promote a political settlement.

The Government deeply regretted the turn that events had now taken but would continue to do whatever it could to help end the fighting.

Mr. Bowen noted that the Security Council was at present meeting in emergency session to consider the situation.

The statement was issued before the Soviet veto in the Security Council.

Australia would not supply arms or warlike stores to either party but would maintain its humanitarian and economic aid within the physical limits set by the fighting and subject to necessary security precautions.

Australia had good relations with both India and Pakistan, which were fellow members of the Commonwealth, and we were engaged in programs of economic and technical assistance to both countries.

Mr. Bowen said the Government was in close and constant communication with the Australian High Commissions in Islamabad and New Delhi about the development of the situation and the safety of Australian citizens.

(THE CANBERRA TIMES, Sydney—December 6, 1971)

APPEAL ISSUED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF SUDAN DECEMBER 5, 1971

The Foreign Ministry has issued a statement about the war between india and Pakistan. The statement conveyed that the Democratic Republic of the Sudan made a warm and brotherly appeal to India and Pakistan to do their utmost for cease-fire and for withdrawal of their forces to inside borders, and to adhere to the solid fundamentals agreed by the world community, i.e., respect for the sovereignty of states and unity of their land and people, and to keep the way of peaceful solutions of any conflict.

The statement confirmed that the Democratic Republic of the Sudan respects the unity of Pakistan and the sovereignty of its people over its land, and decides that whatever happens inside the territory of Pakistan and amongst the people of Pakistan, is their internal matter concerned to the Pakistani peoples only.

The statement stipulates that the Government of the Republic of the Sudan has asked her Permanent Representative in the United Nations to invest his utmost efforts and associate with the friendly States in the Sociecty for creation of the best ways for halting those armed conflicts.

(AL-AYYAM, Khartoum—December 6. 1971)

STATEMENT BY MR. EDWARD GIEREK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY, AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY

December 6, 1971

In view of our feelings of deep sympathy towards both India and Pakistan, we are distressed by the new armed conflict it the Indian sub-continent. Many times we have expressed our concern over the situation which after the December, 1970, elections developed in East Pakistan forcing 10 million people to leave their homeland and to seek refuge in the territory of India, placing a great responsibility and economic burden on that country. Inevitably, this was bound to lead to dangerous social and political tensions in that region. We continue to be convinced that only a political settlement in East Pakistan which meets the aspirations and the will of the population of that country and brings about the return of the refugees could lead to the cessation of the present tragic bloodshed, to the end of the conflict that causes an increase in international tension.

THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ON THE DEVELOPMENT ON THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT—DECEMBER 6, 1971

On December 6, 1971, the GDR news agency ADN released the following statement on the events on the Indian sub-continent :

With great concern for the cause of peace and the peaceful devlopment of the peoples on the Indian sub-continent, the people of the German Democratic Republic have learnt that the Pakistani armed forces, by lounching air raids on Indian towns and operations of their ground forces, have triggered off fighting all along the Indian-Pakistani borders. The people of India and Pakistan suffer heavy and bloody losses.

The foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic pursues the aim of maintaining international peace, of contributing to international *detente*, and of eliminating the causes of conflicts and tension. Therefore, it was and is not indifferent to the situation on the Indian sub-continent.

On 29 November, 1971, Willi Stoph, Chairman of the GDR Council of ministers, in his policy statement, pointed to the necessity of preventing a military conflict between Pakistan and India. On behalf of the GDR Government, the came out for bring'ng about a peaceful political settlement of the problems on East Pakistan in accordance with the will on the people of East Pakistan and their elected representatives so as to permit a speedy and an absolutely safe return of the refugees to their home country.

There were enough examples of responsible government interested in world peace which appealed to Pakistan to guarantee a political settlement in East Pakistan. The Soviet Government in this spirit again and again appealed to the Pakistani Government. The Indian Government repeatedly has made proposals for a peaceful, political settlement.

Regretably, the Pakistani military authorities have refused a political settlement of the East Pakistani problems, they intensified tension with India and actively prepared war against India.

In view of the imperialist manoeuvres to veil and to distort the real reasons for the outbreak of armed actions on the Indian sub-continent, it must be stated that the main reason for the military conflict is the policy of the Pakistani military regime *vis-a-vis* East Pakistan.

It is known that the Awami League of East Pakistan gained an overwhelming victory in the first general parliamentary elections of the country in December, 1970. This party's election program envisaged far-reaching autonomy for East Pakistan, progressive socio-economic reforms and Pakistan's withdrawal from the imperialist military pacts SEATO and CENTO. The Pakistani military authorities brutally ignored the election returns, prevented the convocation of parliament and banned the Awami League on 25th March, 1971. West Pakistan military units brutally suppressed the population of East Pakistan. The Leader of the Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was arrested.

Nearly 10 million people—about 13 per cent of the East Pakistani population—fled to India from the the outrages by the West Pakistani Army. The provision of accommodation and food for them is an almost unsolvable economic and social problem for India. The creation of conditions enabling the return of the refugees to East Pakistan is one of the key problems for relaxing this situation on the Indian sub-continent.

A political settlement of the problems of East Pakistan is doubtlessly only possible on the basis of the interests and justified demands of the 75 million inhabitants of East Pakistan and by negotiations with their elected representatives.

In order to secure the Indian and pakistani peoples a peaceful and independent development, the bloodshed on the Indian sub-continent must be halted immediately and political settlement reached on the problems which have arisen in East Pakistan.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT SOEHARTO OF INDONESIA, DJAKARTA

December 7, 1971

Following is a report on the Statement :

President Soeharto said yesterday (December 7, 1971) Indonesia is ready to act as mediator in the Indo-Pakistan conflict if the two warring parties request it.

The President made this statement in yesterday's limited cabinet meeting at the Bina Graha building in relation to the current crisis between India and Pakistan.

Indonesia, being friendly to both India and Pakistan, is always following with great concern the India-Pakistani relations.

"The concern has grown greater with the open war flaring between the two countries at present", President Soeharto stated. Indonesia, through its development process also faced various problems such as rebellions and separatist movements, has realized that war is not the only way to achieve the solution, the Head of State said. War obviously will bring about victims and greater misery to the people, he added.

The Indonesian Government, therefore expects the two warring countries to realize the results of war and will seek efforts to find a peaceful settlement.

(THE DJAKARTA TIMES—December 8, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. LEE KUAN YEW, PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE AT THE 17TH CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S ACTION PARTY, SINGAPORE

December 19, 1971

Making the first public pronouncement on the issue, Mr. Lee said although West and East Pakistanis belonged to one religion, "they are different peoples with different cultures and the unequal treatment of one part led to the final tragedy".

Departing from his prepared text at the 17th Congress of the ruling people's Action Party, of which he is Secretary-General, Mr Lee emphasized the need for tolerance in multi-racial societies inhabited by different peoples as in Singapre.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Rajaratnam, said the conflict in Bangladesh was the most recent illustration of how domestic conflicts could become cold war conflicts.

He said during the voting in the U. N. General assembly on the cease-fire resolution, it was cold war realities that determind the line-up, "not the concern for the sufferings of the people of East Bengal, nor considerations of right or worng".

That was why Singapore abstained, he added.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—December 20, 1971

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জাতিসংঘ দলিলপত্র

বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে জাতিসংঘের

বিভিন্ন কর্মকর্তা, কমিটি ও উপসংস্থা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
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COPY OF PRESS RELEASE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, GENEVA

Dated April 14, 1971, regarding ICJ's "opposition to special tribunals in Pakistan

The international Commission of jurists yesterday sent a telegram to President Yahya Khan of Pakistan in the following terms :

"Further my telegram 2 April International Commission of Jurists deplores reported intention establish special Military Tribunals to try Awami League Leaders. Respectfully urge proceedings before normal civilian courts will alone satisfy International opinion that rule of law observed".

MACDERMOT,
Secretary-General.

The International Commission of Jurists has always disapproved of the establishment of special tribunals to try political opponents for alleged political offences. There is nothing easier than to give a semblance of legality to the assassination of political opponents by having them condemned by special tribunals which lack the independence the respect for legal principles of a properly constituted court of legally trained judges. If Sheik Mujibur Rahman or other Awami League Leaders have committed any offence under the law of Pakistan there is no reason why they should not be brought before the internationally respected civilian courts of the country.

The above telegram is a follow-up to a telegram sent to the President on April 2, reading as follows :—

"International Commission of Jurists deeply anxious about tragic events East Pakistan. Request all possible steps to reduce death toll and urge moderation and respect for Law in treatment oplitical prisoners".

MACDERMOT,
Secretary-General.

The international Commission of Jurists, whose headquarters in Geneva, is a non-governmental organisation having consultative status with the united Nations Economic and Social Council, UNESCO, and the council of Europe. It is on the International Labour Organisation's Special List of N. G. Os. Essentially, its task is to defend the Rule of Law throughout the world and to work towards the full observance of the provisions in the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a strictly non-political organisation and has carried out its work, for more than fifteen years, in complete independence and impartiality. It is supported by jurists from all continents and has built up an authority which has gained recognition and respect in legal and inter- national cricles.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জেনেভায় সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের শরণার্থীদের সম্বন্ধে জাতিসংঘের শরণার্থী বিষয়ক হাই কমিশনার প্রিন্স সদরুদ্দীন আগা খানের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৫ মে, ১৯৭১

Statement by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, about refugees from East Pakistan, at a Press Conference in Geneva, on May 5, 1971

Now, I am sure you must all be extremely interested in the recent developments in that part of the world, and I can tell you that following the influx of uprooted people from East Pakistan into India, which has been widely reported in the press and which I believe, was mentioned *inter alia* by the Secretay-General when he met you a few days ago during his visit to Genava, we received a request from the Government of India transmitted through the Ministry of Rehabillitation, asking my Office to promote and organize assistance to help these people who have been displaced and who find themselves now in India. In the light of this I immediately decided to send a mission after assessing the request very carefully and discussing it with other UN colleagues, particularly the Secretary-General himself. This mission is leaving to night for New Delhi headed by the Deputy High Commissioner, Mr. Charles Mace, and composed of Mr. Jamleson my Director of Operations who has been to India before quite frequently to deal with the Tibetan refugees, and of my Leagal Consultant, Dr. Weis. They will be discussing the problem in Delhi with the Indian authorities to see in what way the Office might be instrumental in seeking some kind of permanent solution in due course to the problem of the uprooted who find themselves in India. I want to stress here, that as in all previous requests and as in all previous action this Office will be stressing very much once more the human itarinan non-political role of UNBCR. This may be a political problem, but the role of my Office here, and I believe I can say this also of the other United Nations humanitarian agencies like Food and Agricultural Organisation, the World Food Programme UNICEF, the World Health Organisation, all these agencies will be dealing with the problem in a humanitarian and non-political spirit. There is a need for coordination here obviously, we know how any kind of relief operation depends largely on co-ordination. We have seen how in countries like Nigeria or even recently in East Pakistan with the natural disaster of the cyclone, lack of co-ordination can be extremely counter-productive and what I hope very much to achieve by sending this team to New Delhi, is better co-ordination of the United Nations system, to try to see what the others are doing and what we can do and assess the problem in a very precise way. We also will be, of course, extremely interested in trying to do what we have always done in any problems of uprooted peoples, *i.e.* to promote voluntary repatriation. My Office tries to look towards permanent solutions. We cannot afford to just set up huge feeding programmes and temporary housing which tend to become permanent. We have seen what this has produced in other parts of the world. We have to find out quickly what the ultimate solutions will be, and no one has to be a prophet to see that the best solution would be to help

these people to return to their homes if and when the situation allows this to take place. It seems to me that the various sources of good-will should try to initiate measures which provide people with an incentive to return to their homes rather than to suffer all the terrible tragedy of being permanently uprooted living in temporary housing, make-shift arrangements, camps or what have you, for too long. There is a demographic problem on both sides of that border and if people can return home then that should certainly be encouraged. My Office can play a role here as we have in so many other situations, like in the case of the return of the Nigerians particularly the Nigerian children after the end of the conflict in Nigeria. The role of the Office would be here most valuable in trying to initiate a dialogue, to be an intermediary of good-will. We should try to encourage conditions in East Pakistan to return to normal, possibly initiate some sort of arrangement where people who want to come home can do so and be received in such a way that they are given the necessary relief that they require, even in their own homeland. These are all measures which obviously can only be assessed on the spot. Now I am in very close contact with both Governments concerned here and certainly with all my other UN colleagues, executive heads of the various agencies, and I will certainly keep you informed of the results of this mission. These are the main points which I wanted to raise with you tody and once more I would like to thank you for your understanding and your constant support in a job which could not be done if you did not assist us in getting public opinion to understand the problem and help us to solve it. I would like now to open the floor to discussions.

Voice of America : Have you an idea of how many refugees there are ? What sort of co-ordinating role will you be playing ?

High Commissioner : Well, first of all in answer to the first point, I think in any refugee problem, whether it happens to be in this situation or in any other situation like those we faced in Africa, it is extremely hard to have a very precise estimate of the figures involved. I know that the Indian authorities are now in the process of distributing identity cards to people ; that persumably is going to give them a chance to have more of a precise census. One also has to be extremely careful I think, to distinguish what particular groups we speak of when we say refugees. You know that there has always been a huge problem of displaced persons in both India and Pakistan, going back to the days of partition of India when Britain granted Independence to the sub-continent. The refugees are something that both contries have learned to live with now for more than 2 decades and therefore when we speak of refugees we must find out whether we mean people who came a long time ago, people who came during all the disturbances during the recent elections, people who came since the developments in March. It is very difficult to establish a head count because most people are living in the same areas and anybody who had been to India and particularly to the area of Calcutta, will know that many people there are still refugees in the sense that they have not been permanently resettled. The question is, when did they come ? So I think in terms of the figure, I have heard many different estimates, the one you referred to, the one mentioned on the BBC, I think yesterday which was 600,000. It is very hard to assess and especially from Geneva. This is way I am sending a mission to India. Now, on the second point, I know through this co-ordination which has been established, that the Indian Government has appealed to individual U.N. agencies. The Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Food Programme, have been approached. I know that UNICEF has an office in Delhi, and they have also

been in contact and some supplies are already in the process of being sent, some have already been sent, some food stocks which were available locally are being made available on an emergency basis. I know that there has been some bilateral assistance both offered and provided from Governments including the United States. I know that some private agencies which have considerable resources have made themselves available but in all this I think the Indian authorities are very anxious to establish their own effective co-ordination and to have all these various offers very carefully discussed and co-ordinated with them which is perfectly natural. I think Pakistan would feel the same way for relief in East Pakistan. I think this a tendency which is developing. You all recall the difficult situation in tne Nigerian crisis, where the problem of the many agencies, too many operational volunteer groups, too many people running around the country created problems, sometimes problems for the efficiency and the distribution of relief, and political problems. So I think we must be aware of this and if funds or supplies are provided I am quite sure that it will have to be co-ordinated very carefully with the Governments of the countries where help it required.

Voice of America : What would be the budget implications for your Office ?

H.C. ; We have an emergency fund of $ 500,000 in my Office, it is small in relation to that kind of porblem and obviously it would not go a very long way, but this is the only amount we have which is available for emergency situations. In Delhi my team will be able to assess what proportion we can provide and what the United Nations contribution as a whole will be. You know that U-Thant has been approached directly by the Indian Government, before UNHCR was, it was an appeal addressed by the Ambassador of India in New York, so it clear that the UN Family, will have a role to play in this.

Finnish Radio : Sir, I have been doing some additions and I want you to confirm whether two and two really make four. I am referring to your recent trip to India and Pakistan.

High Commissioner : I think it is very early to say, quite frankly. My team is leaving tonight, they will have substantial talks in New Delhi and it will be there presumably that we shall be able to assess what everybody's role will be. As far as the United Nations is concerned we are keeping each other informed. Most people realize that this is a problem of displaced persons so they get in touch with us to tell us what they are doing or ask us for our advice as to what they should be doing.

Finnish Radio : Asks whether UNHCR will be co-ordinator.

High Commissioner : I think it is premature to define our "good offices" as the role of co-ordinator. First of all what do we mean by co-ordinator exactly. I think we have to find out what the Indian Government really wants. This has not yet been very clearly established and I think that can only be done in New Delhi.

Austrian Radio : Asks how the distinction can be made between refugees and others.

High Commissioner : I am very glad that you asked that question George. because it is very fundamental. It may be difficult to assess precisely what

made these people leave. There may be people who are fleeing because they are afraid of famine. Right now, the situation in that part of the world becomes very difficult with the monsoon. Many people are afraid for their lives, always for political reasons. Now obviously for this reason the office cannot and will not proceed on the basis of individual eligibility to decide whether a man is a refugee under the UNHCR mandate or not. With these numbers of people, with the distances involved, it would be absolutely futile to try to determine whether or not people left because of well founded fear of persecution and therefore come under the mandate. This is a purely humanitarian "good offices" action. The League of Red Cross Societies has also sent a fact finding mission. As you know they announced it in a Press release. We are going to go to see what the United Nations can do just as the League has gone to see what the League can do. It is not going to be on the basis of deciding exactly what categories these people belong to, it is a basically humanitarian approach.

O. Clobo, Rio de Janeiro : Asks whether the High Commissioner has been in touch with the Pakistan authorities.

High Commissioner : Once again it would seem to me that one of the most satisfactory solutions from every point of view would be for people to go home, if they want to go home and if they can go home. That obviously means that we have to be in touch with the Pakistan authorities. My office has always been very anxious to maintain the best relations with all governments, governments of the countries from where the refugees come and the governments of the countries where the refugees go. This is essential if you want to play a role, a really humanitarian role, to try to facilitate repatriation if it is possible. Now I am very much in touch with the Pakistan Government and always available to send either a personal representative there or to go myself. This will be vital if we can effectively assist in promoting conditions for people to go home.

O. Clobo, Rio de Janeiro : Asks a question about the role of the Red Cross.

High Commissioner : The International Committee tried at one point as you know to send a plane at the beginning of the outbreak of unrest to East Pakistan and the plane came back. Now the League of couse, will be active if the Indian Red Cross requests the League for an important programme, but so far I think their mission to New Delhi is largely a fact finding mission. They want to find out what the Indian Red Cross expects from them. This is a very large problem, and I think it is a very difficult for the Red Cross alone to deal with it. Since Indian Government has appealed to the Secretary-General and to other agencies including mine, we at least have to see precisely what they expect from us and what we can provide. I think our partnership with the League of Red Cross Societies will continue in this situation as in many other parts of the world.

Agence France Presse : If my informations are correct, I believe you have waited for a week to send this mission ?

High Commissioner : The Secretary-General has communicated a week ago to us, to AAC in Berne, the request of the Ambassador Sen who represents India in New York and who had sent a letter to U Thant after meeting

him and had with him preliminary talks, requesting him to promote and encourage and aid on behalf of the family of the United Nations. In that letter it was also mentioned about us. That letter was sent to the Secretary-General. Firstly, this had taken place a week ago. Secondly we have an office in Delhi with a representative who is in touch with the Indian Government and who had talks with the Ministry of Rehabilitation which looks after the co-ordination of aid to the uprooted people who are in India and those contacts have always been preparatory contacts, requests of clarification about what we were able to do. That had never been really a formal request. That formal request had come only to us two days ago and that request should have been examined, I should have spoken about it with the Secretary-General to see to what extent he was going to proceed with his own effort. I would like to know what other specialised institutions are doing and to what extent we are able to co-ordinate our efforts. Regarding their immediate assistance the Indian Government has assumed full responsibility in the immediate future. The various means which were available in India and probably a bilateral aid, had afforded to give an immediate aid to those who came. I believe that they will continue to do that. I believe that this is an operation which will remain an operation of the Government of India. It is quite normal the Government would like certainly to remain in the control of all operations. We are there to assist to the extent where we are able to make respond to its request but till now all the operations were conducted and co-ordinated by the Indian authorities.

Figaro : Have you any contacts with Pakistan ?

High Commissioner : My contacts with the Pakistan Government have always been constant. I had never taken initiative, especially revolutionary, since I was there myself some few weeks ago. We have spoken about this problem all the time. I continue to have contacts and I am convinced that the only solution is to arrive in facilitating the repatriation of the people. There was even an article in the Herald Tribune noting a statement of Madam Gandhi. I do not know whether you have read it. The Prime Minister of India hopes that is a temporary problem. She hopes also that the people will return home.

Finnish Radio : Remarks that UNHCR appears to have taken the lead.

High Commissioner : Because, it is a situation of displaced persons. You see everybody has been talking about a refugee problem so people think of this Office. It is perfectly normal. But we have to find out first of all what the Indian Government wants, and I certainly do not want to speak of our Office as a co-ordinating point until we know exactly what the situation is and what the Indian Government wants. As far as the United Nations is concerned, certainly people have been keeping us informed and we have been an ad hoc way as a kind of focal point.

A Correspondent : Asks whether other members of the United Nations Family will take part in the discussions in New Delhi.

High Commissioner : As far as I know, most of them are represented in New Delhi. UNDP has a resident representative there, Mr. Mc. Diarmid, who represents the specialized agencies. Some specialized agencies have people there. I know, that WFP, UNICEF have people there. I do not know whether they

intend to send separate teams or whether they went to handle it with their local staff taking advantage of the visit of my team, to join in on talks with the Indian authorities. This is a matter for them to decide, but I think that it is probably the case.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘের অর্থনৈতিক ও সামাজিক পরিষদের সামাজিক সমিতির আলোচ্য সূচী ৫ (ক): মানবাধিকার কমিশনের প্রতিবেদন-এর উপর জাতিসংঘে নিযুক্ত ভারতের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধি সমর সেনের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১২ মে, ১৯৭১

Statement by Ambassador S. Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations in the Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council on Agenda item 5 (a) Report of the Commission on Human Rights on May 12, 1971

Mr. Chairman,

My delegation considers it appropriate to participate in the discussion on this important subject. The current report of the Commission indicates in a most explicit manner that the problem of adequate protection of all human rights is still a serious one. Indeed, the report reflects the concern expressed in paragraph 8 of the Commemorative Declaration adopted at the 25th Session of the General Assembly. The relevant sentence reads: "Although some progress has been achieved, serious violations of human rights are still being committed against individuals and groups in several regions of the world. We pledge ourselves to a continued and determined struggle against all violations of the rights and fundamental freedoms of human beings, by eliminating the basic cause of such violations, by promoting universal respect for the dignity of all people without regard to race, colour, sex, language or religion, and in particular through greater use of the facilities provided by the United Nations in accordance with the Charter".

The Charter itself, in Articles 1 (3), 55 (c) and 56, speaks of international co-operation for ensuring greater exercise of human rights. In 1968, which was declared as the International Year for Human Rights, the United Nations published a booklet entitled "Human Rights, —A Compilation of International Instruments of the United Nations". In the last page of this booklet is given a list of 34 instruments dealing with Human Rights. Apart from this list, during the last three years various other documents, declarations, and resolutions have also been adopted. For instance, I should mention the Declaration of Social Progress and Development adopted in 1969, the Declaration of the 25th session to which I have already referred the Declaration on principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations- all these were adopted about only six months ago. Furthermore, the Proclamation of Teheran on Human Rights is also relevant. So also is the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the protection of civilian persons in times of war. In addition, the General Assembly adopted last year four resolutions, 2674, 2675, 2676 and 2677, all of them dealing with the question of human rights in armed conflicts. India has been a member of the human rights Commission all throughout the Commission's existence and has expressed concern to the Commission and to the other appropriate forums of the United Nations about all large-scale and organised violations of human rights. All the instruments I have cited

make provisions for discussing the violations of human rights wherever they may occur. The Proclamation of Teheran, adopted unanimously in May 1968, in paragraph 5 says :

"The primary aim of the United Nations in the sphere of the human rights is the achievement by each individual of the maximum freedom and dignity. For the Realisation of this objective, the laws of every country should grant each individual, irrespective of race, language, religion or political belief, freedom of expression, of information, of conscience and of religion, as well as the right to participate in the political, economic, cultural and social life of his country."

Unless, therefore, the international community is prepared to examine violations of such obligations undertaken by states and take whatever remedial measures may be necessary, all that we have said for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms becomes a mockery. This view has repeatedly been expressed in different forums of the United Nations on many occasions and I am particularly glad to see that Pakistan, through its distinguished representative Ambassador Agha Shahi, while speaking on violations of human rights in colonial Africa and Palestine, stated on this very item of the agenda at the meeting of the Social Committee held on May 20, 1970 :

"There would be and have been other situations in which massive violations of human rights take place which call for examination, investigation and report, if the obligatory provisions of the Character of the United Nations in regard to human rights and fundamental freedoms are not to become a subject of mockery and purely of academic debate."

It is in this context and with the greatest anguish the Government of India wish to bring to your attention a current example of violation of human rights on an unprecedented scale in our age of many millions of people. In bringing this to your notice, the foremost consideration which my country has in mind is the need for urgent humanitarian relief measures for these millions of people—many of whom have been coming into India in ever-growing numbers as refugees. The problem has assumed such proportions and the sufferings of these people have been so enormous that it can not but be a matter of international concern.

In order to understand this tragic human problem it is necessary to explain its causes. This will make it possible for the world community to appreciate the consequences that have followed and to consider urgent measures in order to reduce, if not remove, the suffering of millions of people.

The Government of Pakistan have accepted or supported most of the Declarations, Resolutions and Conventions on human Rights and it must be a matter of deep concern to the international community that in recent weeks these international obligations have been breached as a result of massive military actions taken in East Bengal. I do not consider it necessary, at this stage at any rate, to analyse in depth and detail, the unfortunate events that have taken place in that region. The facts are well-known, and basically it is the accumulated frustration of the East

Bengalis and the inequalities which they have suffered over the years that have brought about a most tragic situation. These frustrations and injustices, which by themselves could constitute major violations of the many documents. I have cited, have led to the present chain of gruesome events in East Bengal. Until late in March this year our hope was that these man-made difficulties would be removed by taking into account the freely expressed wishes of the East Bengalis. But this was not to be the entire democratic process was reversed and a military campaign was launched to wipe out the political consciousness and activities in East Bengal. In a broadcast statement on March 26 the President of Pakistan said among other things:

> "I have decided to ban all political activities throughout the country. As for the Awami League it is completely banned as a political party. I have also decided to impose a complete press censorship. Martial law regulations will very shortly be issued in pursuance of these decisions."

In this context I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the main provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights, a document fully accepted by Pakistan. Article 3 of this Declaration reads: "Everyone has a right to life, liberty and security of person". The repressive measures adopted in East Bengal have denied this right. Article 5 reads: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". . The reports which have appeared in the international press prove conclusively that this right has been flouted Provisions of articles 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 have similarly been brushed aside. I could, Mr. Chairman, select any document relating to Human Rights to which Pakistan has given its support in different degrees and show without a shadow of doubt that almost all its principal provisions have been broken.

The wild destruction of life and property of the people of East Bengal who belong to different ethnic, linguistic and cultural background, by the West Pakistani army has been in contravention of Article . of the Convention approved and proposed for signature and ratification by the General Assembly on 9th December 1948 [Resolution 260-A-(III)]. Pakistan is a party to this Convention without reservations. Similarly the declaration of Martial Law, with its most stringent regulations which would inflict death penalty almost on any East Bengali who does not strictly adhere to their draconian severity, has extinguished freedom of opinion, freedom of association and other freedom which have been considered fundamental by the United Nations.

Article 3 of the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 deals with protection of civilian life in conflicts not of international character. It specifically prohibits violence to life of any person in particular, murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture. It also forbids outrage of personal dignity in particular inhuman and degrading treatment. It further bans "the passing of sentences and the carrying out executions without previous judgement pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensible by civilized peoples". All these provisions of the convention have been callously violated. It is strange that the Government of Pakistan have not even paid the slightest heed to the appeal made in this regard by the International Commission of jurist. I

should like to read to the Committee texts of their telegrams. The telegram of April 2, 1971 states:

"The International Commission of Jurists deeply anxious about the tragic events in East Pakistan. Request all possible steps to reduce death toll and urge moderation and the respect for law in the treatment of political prisoners.

The telegram of April 15 states.

"Further to (our) telegram of the 2nd April, the International Commission of Jurists deplores the reported intention to establish special military tribunals to try the Awami League leaders. Respectfully urge that proceedings before the normal civilian courts will alone satisfy international opinion that the rule of law is observed.

The International Commission of Jurists has always disapproved of the establishment of special tribunals to try political opponents for alleged political offences. There is nothing easier than to give a semblance of legality to the assassination of political opponents by having them condemned by special tribunals which lack the independence and respect for legal principles of a properly constituted court of legally trained judges. If Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or other Awami League leaders have committed any offence under the law of Pakistan, there is no reason why they should not be brought before the internationally respected civilian courts of the country".

In these circumstances we consider that international opinion, which has already been incensed and shocked, should be expressed in no uncertain manner through this Committee, as the Economic and Social Council is the properly constituted organ of the United Nations concerned with human rights and fundamental freedoms. The large-scale massacre, senseless killings of unarmed civilians, including women and children, brutalities and atrocities committed on a massive scale, widespread burning and destruction of property and the multitude of indignities inflicted on the people of East Bengal constitute a problem of such magnitude that international conscience must be roused and international effort must be made to restore some semblance of civilised existence in this part of the world.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইকনমিক এ্যাণ্ড সোশ্যাল কাউন্সিল এর সোশ্যাল কমিটিতে নিউজিল্যাণ্ড ডেলিগেট মি: জে, ভি, স্কট-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৭ মে, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. J. V. SCOTT, NEW ZEALAND DELEGATE, IN THE SOCIAL COMMITTEE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, ON MAY 17, 1971

"In the report before us there are a number of matters which are of deep concern to my Government. However, the New Zealand delegation to the recent session of the Human Rights Commission set out our attitude to them on that occasion and I would not wish to take the time of the Council in covering the same ground. I wish instead to refer briefly to one subject which is not in the Report but which has been raised under this item by the distinguished Observer of India.

There is no doubt that the events referred to by the Observer of India concerned fundamental human rights. It has been New Zealand's consistent policy that violations of human rights wherever they occur on a scale that could call into question the obligations of Member States under the Charter may be discussed in the relevant United Nations bodies. In the view of my Government, it is not inappropriate for the humanitarian aspects of the situation in East Pakistan to be raised in this forum in relation to Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter.

Events in East Pakistan during recent weeks have aroused deep concern in New Zealand as they have in other countries. It is the human aspect of the situation, the bloodshed and suffering, that has distressed New Zealanders most, but we are also increasingly worried about its implications for the peace of the sub-continent.

In a statement issued on 14 April, the Acting Prime Minister of New Zealand, Rt. Hon. J. R. Marshall, expressed New Zealand's concern at the situation. Recalling that New Zealand and Pakistan have long enjoyed a friendly relationship as fellow members of the Commonwealth, SEATO and the Colombo Plan, he said that we have followed with interest and sympathy the efforts made in Pakistan to establish and sustain a unified nation on a democratic basis. We had, therefore, been grieved to learn of the violent conflict in East Pakistan and of the toll it is taking.

This toll so far in lives, in widespread distress and destruction has been an immence one. And recent reports indicate that the amount of human misery caused by the conflict is still not fully known. Because of our concern for the human suffering we would be prepared to take a sympathetic view of calls for assistance made both on the United Nations system and on Member States,"

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব বাংলা থেকে আগত শরণার্থীদিগকে জরুরী সাহায্যের জন্য জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের আবেদন।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	১৯ মে, ১৯৭১

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S APPEAL FOR EMERGENCY HELP TO REFUGEES FROM EAST BENGAL ON MAY 19, 1971

The following is the text of the appeal of U.N. Secretary-General U-Thant for emergency assistance to refugees from East Bengal in India released on May 19, 1971.

* * * *

The international community has been seriously concerned at the plight of the sizable and continuing influx of refugees including a large proportion of women and children from East Pakistan into adjacent states of India. I fully share this concern. Mindfull that one of the purposes of the United Nations is 'to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of a humanitarian character', I am convinced that the United Nations and its family of Organisations have an important role to play in alleviating the serious hardship and suffering which these refugees are undergoing.

In order to ensure a speedy and co-ordinated response to appeals for assistance addressed by the Government of India to me and to various United Nations Agencies, I decided following discussions with the Executive heads of the various agencies and, programes within the United Nations system that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees despatched a three-man team led by his deputy in order to assess the nature and magnitude of the needs of these refugees and to discuss with the Indian Government the modalities of assistance from the United Nations system. The High Commissioner also established standing consultative machinery conmprising his office and the United Nations agencies and programmes directly concerned in order to assist him in these tasks.

While in view of the fluid situation it is not possible at this stage to assess with accuracy the total number of refugees involved there is conclusive evidence of the presence of very large numbers of people from Fast Pakistan in the neighbouring states of India who are in immediate need of assistance. I earnestly hope that these unfortunate people will be voluntarily repariated at the earliest possible time. It is evident, however, that pending such repatriation massive external assistance will be required on an emergency basis. The Indian Government's preliminary estimates indicate that such assistance might be of the order of Dollors 175 million for the next sixmonths for food, clothing, shelter, medical supplies and other essential relief items.

Several organisations of the United Nations system have already initiated action within their limited resources to provide all possible emergency relief for the afflicted people. At the same time it is clear that these resources will fall far short of the level and scope of the needs to be met.

On behalf of the entire United Nations family, I therefore, earnestly appeal to governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations as well as private sources to help meet the urgent needs for humainitarian assistance in the present tragic situation. I am certain that in responding possitively and generously to this humanitarian appeal for contributions in cash and kind , donors, governmental and non-governmental alike, will make use to the greatest extent possible of the established channels and procedures of the United Nations family, in particular, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organisation. I also hope that they will keep the office of the High Commissioner for refugees informed of all action thus taken or contemplated and will utilise the arrangements made by him to ensure the co-ordination to maximise the impact of external assistance.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব বাংলার সাহায্যের জন্য জাতিসংঘ মহা-সচিবের আবেদন।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

U. N. SECRETARY-GENERAL's APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE TO EAST BENGAL ON JUNE 16, 1971

The following is the text of the appeal of the U.N. Secretary-General, U-Thant on assistance to East Pakistan released on June 16, 1971 :

It will be recalled that on 22nd April, I addressed a letter to President Yahya Khan expressing my great concern at the situation in East Pakistan and that on purely humanitarian grounds I offered on behalf of the United Nations Family of Organisations all possible assistance to help his Government in its task of bringing urgently needed relief for the plight of the population of East Pakistan. President Yahya Khan in a letter to me dated 3 May 1971 stated that he was touched by my concern for the well being of Pakistan and added that whilst the existing situation was that adequate supplies of medicines foodstuffs and other daily necessities of life were available, an assessment of future possible international assistance which might eventually be required was under preparation. On 17 May, the Economic Adviser to the President called on me to explain the extent of relief requirements which were subsequently set out in a communication from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan dated 22nd May.

In the meantime and reflecting the serious concern of the International Community at the hardship of the sizeable and continuing influx of refugees including a large preperation of women and children from East Pakistan into adjacent States of India. I appealed to the Governments, the Inter-Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations, as well as private sources, to help supply the urgent humanitarian assistance which was needed to alleviate that tragic situation. I also decided that the United Nation's High Commissioner for Refugees should act as the focal point for the coordination of assistance from the Organisations and Programmes of the United Nations System. I much appreciate the very positive and generous response that my appeal has evoked and I am satisfied that the arrangements made to channel the assistance given by the International Community are proving effective. As soon as I received the letter of 22 May from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan. I asked the Assistant Secretary General for Inter-Agency Affairs to travel to Pakistan to discuss with the Government authorities the modalities of relief assistance to East Pakistan from and through the United Nations. He was received by President Yahya Khan and held discussions with senior authorities of the Government both in Islamabad and in Dacca. There was full agreement on the manner in which the operation should be organised and the President shares my concern that the United Nations must be in a position to assure the International Community and the donors in particular that all relief assistance will reach its intended destination—the people of East Pakistan. The President welcome the arrangements envisaged by the United Nations for the operation and I have appointed a Representative in East Pakistan to act as the focal point for ensuring proper co-ordination of the work of the Agencies and Programmes of the United Nations. The President of Pakistan has conveyed to me the readiness of this

Government to extend full cooperation at all levels to the United Nations personnel who will be associated in the planning and implementation of the relief operations.

The assessment of assistance requirements contained in the letter from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan and further appraisals of such needs currently being conducted by the Government of Pakistan and the United Nations Agencies concerned point to the urgency of mobilising substantial external resources notably food and transport for relief action. Although this is a separate operation from the programme of assistance to refugees from East Pakistan in India for which the High Commissioner for Refugees is acting as a focal point, the two operations are of course related to the extent that as conditions in East Pakistan are improved there will be a better possibility of arresting and reversing the flow of refugees.

I am sure that Governments, Inter-Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations and private institution and sources are conscious of the need to alleviate the suffering which has be fallen the population of East Pakistan and I, therefore appeal to them to contribute in cash and in kind to this challenging humanitarian effort. I hope that donors will avail themselves for this purpose to the largest extent possible of the established procedures of The United Nations Family, particularly those of the World Food Programme and UNICEF, whose association in the planning and organisation of the task of relief has been expressly welcomed by the Government of Pakistan. I trust that the World Community will once again rise to the occasion in a manner consistent with the Principles of Human Solidarity and International Co-operation embodied in the Charter.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘে অনুষ্ঠিত জাতিসংঘের শরণার্থী বিষয়ক হাই কমিশনার-এর সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনের রেকর্ড।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	২৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

RECORD OF PRESS CONFERENCE OF U. N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES HELD AT U.N. ON JUNE 23, 1971

Following is the record of the press conference held by Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on June 23, 1971, at U.N. on his mission to India and Pakistan :

"In an opening statement the UNHCR said he welcomed the meeting with the press because it was absolutely fundamental to enlist the support of the mass media on any refugee question. Efficient relief needed the understanding of public opinion which affected the generosity of Governments and the vast network of voluntary bodies and agencies.

The problem regarding the Pakistani refugees was one of colossal magnitude and a challenge to the U.N. system. He wished to speak to the Press because he wanted to avoid any misunderstanding about his role and that of the U.N. in the great human tragedy involved.

He said India had appealed for assistance to the Secretary-General. This request had been discussed by the ACC in Berne and he had been designated as the Gocal point regarding all relief emanating through the U.N. system. A three man mission had gone to India to make an assessment and had visited the areas of the refugees and had reported to him who in turn had reported to the Secretary-General. The mission had received the initial requirements for six months from the Indian Government which were now being revised because of the further influx of refugees. There did not appear to be any immediate prospects of a solution to the problem.

A standing body had been created in Geneva which covered all the U.N. agencies involved in relief in order to avoid any overlapping in channelling the assistance. He felt that this was the first time in U.N. history that those involved humanitarian project had worked together in such close harmony. He felt this was appreciated by the Indian Government which insisted that it should be in full control of co-ordination of international relief. India's resources and administration had been taxed to deal with the great problems of the refugees. However, India had insisted that it was its responsiblity that was involved primarily through the Ministry of Rehabilitation. The focal point representative in Delhi Mr. Jamieson was in daily contact with the Indian Government and also with all U.N. partners representatives in Delhi.

Prince Sadruddin recalled that the President of Pakistan had in May said that all *bona fide* Pakistanis could return to Pakistan. He himself had felt in essential that he gos to Pakistan to discuss Pakastani intentions in the light of that statement. Pakistan had invited him to go and he had substantial discussions with the Government and had met the President. He had discussed Pakistan's intended decisions on the return of the refugees and how these could be implemented.

He had then gone to Dacca where he had seen the East Pakistani authorities. He had gone to the east and west borders and seen some of the reception centres and had assessed the chances of people returning and the role of the High Commissioner for Refugees regarding voluntary repatriation.

The High Commissioner stressed this word "voluntary". He said it was fundamental to the role of his office that no refugee should be returned to a country from which he had fled or where he feared any persecution. Repatriation had to be free and voluntary. He said he felt very strongly as did the Indian Government and the International Community that the best solution was return of the people to their homes provided conditions allowed this to take place.

Prince Sadruddin said the Indian Government had stressed that the refugees could not stay in India. The generous assistance was being given on a temporary basis. There was no question however of their rehabilitation in India and they could not be considered people who would remain in Indian territory.

Therefore he continued he had had to examine purely on a humanitarian basis with Pakistan the modalities of the return of the refugees. He had received the full co-operation of the East Pakistan authorities.

He said that in the Helicopter in which he had travelled over the area he had been able to ask the Pilot to change course frequently and to go to areas not in the original plan. The helicopter had been Hedgehopping and he had been able to see people cultivating their paddies and in the markets people were selling and buying products. In these parts he could see that life was slowly returning to normal. However he said he could not vouch for all parts of Pakistan since he did not go to all parts.

He said that he had also seen villages in which houses had been burnet and traces of the unheaval. He did not see large deployment of troops or concentrations of people moving in any direction He had travelled in a helicopter which was clearly marked as being belonging to the Pakistan army. Villagers came out to wave and had not scattered at their approacn. Children came out and waved to the helicopter as they would do anywhere.

The High Commissioner said he could not however claim to give any guarantee for the overall situation in East Pakistan. He could say that the reception centre he saw were well equipped and staffed by Civilians with medical supplies and there seemed to be a well organised infra structure to prepare for the voluntary return of the Refugees.

However while the building of Reception Centres the Declaration of an Amnesty an appeal by the Pakistan President for return were excellent these were not enough perse to bring about the return of refugees. In all cases of refugees he said what brought people back was a political solution. He was certain that Pakistan would also agree that this was the case.

There were he said of course different interpretations of what was a political solution. It would have to be one which gave confidence and faith in the future and this was the only real incentive for the return of refugees.

He said he had made this very clear while emphasizing his purely humanitarian role while in Pakistan.

Prince Sadruddin said he had gone directly from Pakistan to Delhi at the invitation of the Indian Government. There he had discussed the whole question of relief the need for more assistance by the International community his role as focal point for U.N. assistance the need to improve and streamline the delivery of assistance and the problems relative to needs in cash and or in kind.

He had stressed that his mission was purely humanitarian with nothing to do with the political aspects except that of course uprooting was closely correlated to the need for a political solution.

He said he was not responsible for the press which in India was very free and active. He had seen headlines that he had been on a peace bid and his aim was to mediate in the problem. He said he did not know what he was supposed to mediate and he saw no need for a mediator between Islamabad and East Pakistan and Islamabad and Delhi.

He said he had been deeply shocked by the refugee problem in India. He had never seen one of this magnitude which was occurring in an areas which already felt the worst possible demographic explosion. There was a need for constant relief and there was the constant threat of cholera, gastroenteritis and malaria.

Of course relief depended on the generosity of U.N. member Governments. The U.N. could have an efficient working machinery but it could not supply goods unless they were given.

In the short time since the Secretary-General's appeal he said he had found the results quite encouraging and this was recognized by the Government of India. Some dollars 45 million in assistance had come to the focal point and there was another dollars 30 mission worth of assistance in associated relief. (He hoped that the U.N.'s Role in India and Pakistan would ultimately be conducive to creating peace and security in ah explosive situation.)

Prince Sadruddin then answered questions.

A correspondent said the High Commissioner said he had seen evidence that life was returning to normal. Yet he said close to a Mission further refugees had been moved out by the army since the High Commissioner had left East Pakistan. He asked why the army was still pushing the refugees into India at the rate of 575,000 between 5 and 12 June and 400,000 between 12 and 19 June.

Prince Sadruddin said he had these figures and his office had to rely on figures given by both sides. He said that when fear had been installed it took a long time for normalcy to return. The situation had not returned to normal. He had not said the situation was normal in the whole country. He had said that in areas he had seen at the time he had seen them the situation appeared to be slowly returning to normal.

"I deplore any further action which would create more refugees. How can the High Commissioner for Refugees be happy at the creation of refugees ?" The situation had to be watched closely. Help had to be given to India and a political solution regarding the refugees was necessary.

Asked to give details of his visit to East Pakistan he said he had been there on 11, 12, 13 June. He had gone from Dacca to the western border to the centre

at Chuadanga where he saw the centres to Jessore and to Benapol. After returning to Dacca the next day he had gone to Comilla to Feni and Noakhali.

A correspondent said that a Reuters dispatch from Dacca yesterday had said that civil war was continuing in Comilla and that foreign diplomats were saying the situation was still one of civil war. Prince Sadruddin said the situation might change one day to another. He could only say what the situation was in Comilla when he was there.

Asked if there had been eight bombing incidents while he was in Dacca the High Commissioner said there had been a curfew in Dacca but it had been lifted while he was there. There was still problem in Dacca linked to what had happened on 25 March. His feeling was while he was there that the situation in Dacca had not returned to normal and that a proportion of the population was not in the capital. But this city looked very much affected by events.

A correspondent asked if he had seen any bombing while he had been in Dacca and if he had contacted the diplomatic community, he said he had heard what certainly was a bombing on one occasion. There had been rumours of other incidents. The local authorities said these were cause by elements who had broken out of Jail during the troubles. He reported that the curfew had been lifted while he was in Dacca. He said he had met some members of the diplomatic community and all representative of U.N. Bodies. However, he had only been in East Pakistan for three days and for two to the days he had been in the country on his helicopter trip.

He was asked what was the evidence of the diplomats he said that their points of view varied. Some felt that the situation was becoming normal others felt the situation remined very tense. They had different assessments about the events of 25 March. All however agreed that a political solution was essential.

Asked how long the Dollars 45 million given to the Focal point would last he said it was all now used up having arrived in India or being in the pipeline. The amount was well below what India needed.

Asked for an estimate of the needs he said India had mentioned an initial requirement for six months of Dollars 175 million. This assessment had been made when there were far fever refugees and in any case the six-month period was rapidly coming to an end. The new requirements were being discussed in Delhi. India said that more than 5 million refugees were involved.

Asked how many victims of cholera there had been he said that while he had been there India had said the numbers ran into the thousands.

He was asked if Pakistan acknowledged the danger of cholera. He said Pakistan did and was very much concerned about the matter. Cholera vaccines were available at reception centres. Asked if there was cholera in Pakistan, he said Pakistan had not said so. He was asked if he had asked Pakistan about cholera in Pakistan. He said the matter had been discussed but no precise estimate of cholera in Pakistan had been given to him.

A correspondent said it was clear that cholera had come from Pakistan. Prince Sadruddin said it was his job to look after relief in India. There was no significant repatriation of refugees to Pakistan. His office was facing an emergency in India. He had discussed what was necessary if the refugees were to return. The question

of cholera had been discussed but not in detail. If there was cholera in Pakistan that was a problem for Pakistan not for the High Commissioner for Refugees.

A correspondent said that one U.S. assessment was a minimum requirement of 50 per cent for each refugee a day. This would amount to Dollars 90 mission on a month regarding the refugees in India. Was there any hope of such aid? Prince Sadruddin said this depended on the response of the international community. The figures pointed out again the need to have a solution involving return of the refugees.

The High Commissioner was asked where the refugees were coming from if he had not seen any displacement. Prince Sadruddin said he would have wanted to visit all refugee areas not just West Bengal but he did not have the time. He hoped to be able to return to the area. It was quite possible that the movement of refugees was in parts he had not seen. He did not contest that there had been further movements of refugees. He could only say that in the limited areas he saw he did not see any new influx that Day. He was however quite certain that the situation was unstable and movement of refugees was taking place.

A correspondent said that East Bengalis in London had accused the High Commissioner of partiality since he and his family had large investments in Pakistan. Would he care to comment. He said he was an international civil servant. He hoped his role would be objectively assessed by the international community. He had been involved in refugee work for 10 years and had been High Commissioner for five years. Three General Assemblies had adopted resolutions on the work the High Commission for refugees by acclamation. He had been elected and re-elected unanimously. He said his record must speak for itself. There had not at any time any questioning of his objectivity regarding refugees from Nigeria, Chzechoslovakia, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Portuguese territories and elsewhere. He said his family and his community had interests in both India and Pakistan. Those interests might even be greater in India. He was not a Pakistani but an Iranian. He said his brother had served as Pakistani's permanent representative in New York. But when there were many Indian and Pakistan Ambassadors and other Senior Officials who are brothers or relatives. This was a consequence of the partition of the sub-continent he said, "I am not pro-Pakistan not pro-India I am pro-refugees..........my constituents are the refugees and..........

A correspondent said that the High Commissioner had said the amount 75 mission in assistance was encouraging. However given the magnitude of the problem were not the figures for assistance the very reverse? Prince Sadruddin said he was going to Washington tomorrow and other capitals next week to try to get more assistance. But the machinery moved slowly and contributions often came under pressure of public opinion. He was encouraged that so much had been given after less than one month had gone by since the Secretary-General's appeal. But in relation to the problem the assistance was certainly not enough.

Prince Sadruddin was asked if after talking to the President of Pakistan he thought it was realistic to expect a political solution. He said that depended on what was meant by a political solution. Asked how soon he thought the refugees would get back he said he personally felt that Pakistan was trying its best within the possibilities but the situation was highly complex. The President of Pakistan was to mak- a declaration on 28th June. He hoped the President at that time would sketch out some kind of political solution. The refugees would only return if there was a political solution creating confidence.

Asked if the U.N. would contribute to a political solution he said the Secretary-General was very concerned precisely with this problem. It was however, a small step in the right direction that the Pakistan authorities had accepted a representative from his office. There had been no obligation on Pakistan to do this. He hoped that this would contribute to a feeling that there was a U.N. presence and may be that presence could be increased. This might encourage people to return home.

Asked what would happen if the assistance did not come, Prince Sadruddin said there would be untold misery for missions and this might escalate an already dangerous situation.

He was asked if the President of Pakistan had expressed sorrow that 5 mission of his countrymen had found it necessary to leave Pakistan the High Commissioner said that nobody could be pleased by this or ignore it. He had a very clear impression that what had happened in East Pakistan and the refugees exodus had created a major burden on the President and the Government and they were trying their level best."

On another matter Prince Sadruddin was asked if he wanted to be the Secretary-General he suggested that not everything be believed that was read in the Press. He had neither directly not indirectly at any time hinted at his candidacy. He would like to continue to serve the U.N. under U-Thant.

He was asked if he would accept the Office of Secretary-General if invited by the Major powers. He said his answer would have to be what he had just stated.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইকনমিক এ্যাণ্ড সোশ্যাল কাউন্সিলের ৫১তম অধিবেশনে জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S STATEMENT AT 51ST SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL ON JULY 5, 1971

Following is except from statement of Secretary-General U.N. on July 5, 1971 at ECOSOC (51st Session) relating to East Pakistan refugees made under reference to focal point in the secretariat concerning co-ordination of international assistance in connection with national disasters and similar emergency situations:

Nevertheless recent disasters have revealed a growing sense of frustration in an international community anxious to help and a sense too that international efforts at the time of such catastrophes fell considerably short of the needs. These concerns have been actually intensified by the tragic and unprecedented situation stemming from the sizeable influx of refugees from East Pakistan into the adjacent States of India and from the need to alleviate the plight of the population of East Pakistan itself. There is thus no doubt as to the necessity for a major strengthening of existing arrangements within the UN system and for ensuring that international action in emergency situations measures up to the resources and technical capabilities of modern society. Indeed the Council may wish to consider whether these considerations do not call for an upward revision of the very modest proposals contained in my report.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইকনমিক এ্যাণ্ড সোশ্যাল কাউন্সিল এর ৫১তম অধিবেশনে জাতিসংঘের শরণার্থী বিষয়ক হাই কমিশনার প্রিন্স সদরুদ্দীন আগা খানের বিবৃতির পূর্ণ বিবরণ।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

TEXT OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, 51ST SESSION, ON JULY 5, 1971

Mr. President, as you can well imagine, I have listened to all intervention with very great attention. There is it seems to me, a clear procedural problem here which has been referred to by a number of speakers. The outline of the decisions taken by the economic and social council in 1969 has been stressed here and the High Commissioner, of course, remains responsible under that decision to what I consider to be one of the most important Legislative organs of the United Nations. If the High Commissioner is called upon to comment on his report or answer any question which may be directed to him on the basis of the report, he can appear in front of the economic and social council. I did so, in fact, since this decision was taken in 1969 by going into some details about a specific problem of refugees in Africa. However, as far as the procedural question is concerned, raised by the distinguished representative of Pakistan which clearly outlined the role entrusted to me as focal point by the Secretary-General following his appeal issued to the International Community on 19th May, this particular function is simply not reported at all in the document before you: first of all, because that was not undertaken, strictly speaking, under the usual terms of reference of the High Commissioner for refugees but as the channel for all United Nations components channelling aid to India and secondly because this particular crisists erupted as was rightly indicated by other speakers, after the end of the particular period covered by the report. Therefore, Mr. President, though I would very much like to contribute in a very concrete way to the progress and the development of your debates here this afternoon. The fact of the matter is that, as far as the procedural aspect of the problem is cencerned, I am in the hands of the economic and social council. I am of course, prepared and quite willing to report to you on any aspect of my functions either under my mandate and statute or under my good offices but for this I have to get clearance on the procedural aspect of the problem, from the economic and social council which is a sovereign body.

Thank you, Mr. President.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইকনমিক এ্যাণ্ড সোশ্যাল কাউন্সিলের ৫১তম অধিবেশনে ভারতীয় পর্যবেক্ষক দলের নেতা রাষ্ট্রদূত এন. কৃষ্ণন-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR N. KRISHNAN, LEADER OF THE INDIAN OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE 51ST SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, ON JULY 9, 1971

With these promising growth trends characterising the Indian scene during the last few years the country was poised for a breakthrough in several new directions leading to sustained and substantial progress. Indeed after the General Elections which took place in February this year, my Government was getting ready of a determined attack on our economic and social problems. Our plans for continuing an accelerated temmpo of development in the economic and social fields have however, received a severe jolt due to the tragic turn of events in East Bengal which have resulted in a massive influx of refugees from there into India. The influx still continues unabated and has already reached a phenomenal figure of 6.3 million by the end of June. It is clear that the task of providing food, shelter and medicines to them must receive high priority. Even the token provision of 80 million in our budget for the current year for this purpose has meant an additional tax burden of 30 per cent on our people. We are therefore appreciative of the sympathetic response of the world-community in sharing this burden with us and the efforts of the UN system to channel this assistance. However, much still remains to be done to cope with the gigantic relief needs of the ever increasing number of refugees. At the same time, relief efforts, even on an expanded and accelerated scale, could at best be only a temporary palliative. The real and truely humanitarian solution, as the international community has come to recognise and accept, lies in stopping the flow of refugees and in expediting their return to their homeland, in conditions which would assure them full freedom and security and create in them confidence and faith for the future.

My delegation is grateful for the initiative taken by Yugoslavia and New Zealand in asking for a discussion on this item during the current session of the Council and the support expressed in their statements by the delegations of the Soviet Union, U.K., Hungry, Norway, and others. We await with interest the statement which the U.N. High Commissioner for refugees is expected to make before the Council next week. We are confident that the discussion will highlight the need to mobilise further assistance on a substantial scale to meet the pressing relief needs of these unfortunate refugees and focus attention also on the urgency of their speedy and voluntary repatriation. We do hope the ECOSOC during its deliberations will consider the problem in its overall perspective and endorse a viable and lasting solution.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইকনমিক এ্যাণ্ড সোশ্যাল কাউন্সিল এর ৫১তম অধিবেশনে ইন্টার এজেন্সী এ্যাফেয়ার্সের সহকারী মহাসচিব মিঃ ইসমত টি, কিত্তানীর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT MADE BY MR. ISMAT T. KITTANI, ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR INTER-AGENCY AFFAIRS, AT THE FIFTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL ON JULY 16, 1971

Mr. President,

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to inform the Council of the efforts of the Secretary-General and the United Nations system to provide humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan.

It may be useful at the outset for me to outline very briefly the background of this endeavour, in which a number of organisations and programmes are working in a concerted manner. On 22, April the Secretary-General addressed a letter to President Yahya Khan expressing its great concern at the situation in East Pakistan and offering , on behalf of the United Nations family of organizations, and on purely humanitarian, grounds all possible assistance to help the Government of Pakistan in its task of bringing urgently needed relief to the population of East Pakistan. The President of Pakistan responded to the Secretary-General's expression of concern for the well-being of Pakistan stating in a letter received on 3rd May that an assessment of possible future needs for international assistance was under way (released on 12th May). Subsequently, on 17th May, the Economic Adviser to the President of Pakistan called on the Secretary-General and, having formally accepted his offer of assistance, explained the extend of the relief requirements. These were set out in more detail in a communication from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, dated 22nd May (released on 26th May). In the same letter the Government of Pakistan informed the Secretary-General that foreign and United Nations experts and project personnel who had left East Pakistan could return to continue their work.

It may be relevant to note that in the meantime—that is, on 19th May—the Secretary-General had made an appeal for international assistance to alleviate the serious hardships and suffering of the sizeable and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan into adjacent States of India. Although that is a separate operation these two efforts of International assistance are, of course, related to the extent that as conditions in East Pakistan are improved, there will be a better possibility of arresting and reversing the flow of refugees.

Following consultations with the Permanent Representative of Pakistan in New York, the Secretary-General decided that I should travel to Pakistan for consultations with officials of the Government concerning the modalities of international humanitarian help to East Pakistan. I arrived in Islamabad in the afternoon of 3rd June and the following morning I was received by

President Yahya Khan. There was full agreement on the manner in which the relief operation, should be organized and the President asked me to convey to the Secretary-General that he shared the Secretary-General's concern that the United Nations should be in a position to assure the international community as a whole, and the donors in particular, that all relief assistance from and through the United Nations system would reach its intended destination—the people of East Pakistan.

In accordance with this agreement and as a first step in the planning of relief operarions the Secretary-General designated a Representative in East Pakistan who forthwith travelled to Dacca to take up his responsibilities. His main function is to act as the focal point for ensuring co-ordination of the work of the agencies and programmes of the United Nations family which will provide assistance in their respective fields. At the same time, a counterpart Pakistani Government inter departmental committee comprising senior officials of the Central and Provincial Government was established, and the two groups have thereafter been working closely together in planing and organising the relief operations. A direct and reliable communications link was established between the Secretary-General's Representative in Dacca and the United Nations in New York and Geneva. On 18th June the Secretary-General appointed a Headquarters Co-ordinator who exercises his functions within the framework of the office for Inter-Agency Affairs. Since the end of June he has been operating here in Geneva. An inter-agency working group has been set up with a similar structure as that of the standding inter-agency consultation unit.

On 16 June the Secretary-General issued an appeal to all Governments, inter-Governmental and non-Governmental organisations, and to private institutions and donors, to alleviate the suffering which had be fallen the population of East Pakistan by making contributions in cash or in kind. He expressed the hope that donors would avail themselves to the largest extent possible of the established procedures of the United Nations family, particularly those of the World Food Programme and UNICEF, and stressed his belief that the international community would once again adhere to the spirit of human solidarity and international co-operation which are enshrined in the Charter.

The basic framework for the provision of relief assistance from and through the United Nations has thus been established and in the month that has elasped since the Secretary-General issued his appeal a sustained effort has been made in co-operation with the Government, to evaluate and assess the nature and extent of humanitarian assistance required. The information gathered regarding the food, transportation and health conditions prevailing in East Pakistan and indication of the assistance needed to alleviate the hardship of the people there, are contained in a report which is being released today. The Secretary-General has availed himself of this opportunity to renew his urgent appeal to contribute to this humanitarian endeavour which constitues one of the major challenges that the United Nations system of organizations and programmes has faced.

Inasmuch as the afore-mentioned report is now available, I need not got into any detail about food, trasporation and health conditions in East Pakistan and the magnitude of assistance requirements. A few points, however, merit special attention and I should like to take a few minutes to refer to them.

The people of East Pakistan have been affected by a major cyclone and floods that hit the delta area on 11th and 12th November 1970 and by the hardships resulting from the civil disturbances beginning in March 1971. Reports from the Secretary-General's Representative in East pakistan indicate that there has been considerable movement of population to rural areas causing incalculable loss of crops and purchasing power as well as disruption of transportation . These situations will complicate food and relief operations now and in the near future but no mass concentration of displaced persons has been reported.

Preliminary assessments of the conditions suggest that the problem is primarily one of distribution of food and other relief supplies. Such distribution has traditionally been made through food stores and ration shops of which there are over 360 located in East Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan counterpart committee has informed the Secretary-General's Representative that the Government of Pakistan is undertaking major efforts to make the port at Chittagong fully operational and efficient. However, railway and road transportation capacities have been considerably reduced and it is clear that reliance must be placed on water transport for food and relief supplies.

The Secretary-General's Representative in East Pakistan and representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Food Programme, the World Health Organization and UNICEF, are working with the Pakistani Government counterpart committee to further plan and organise the establishment of a large scale international humanitarian effort in East Pakistan. The United Nations estimate of food stocks and funding required as a first step in providing such assistance indicates that an initial sum of $ 28,200,000 is required at this time.

The Executive Director of the World Food Programme is awaiting information from the FAO/WFP team now in East Pakistan before deciding whether to recomend to the Director-General of FAO that further emergency food aid be approved for East Pakistan. The FAO senior agricultural economist deputed to Dacca has made a few preliminary observations after visiting the port of Chittagong and its storage facilities. According to him disruption of transportation is still a limiting factor and crop estimates are difficult because of uncertainties about harvest and delivery. There are great fears for nutrition and resulting health problems. A more comprehensive report is excepted from him after he has completed his assigment.

Together with East Pakistani health authorities a World Health Organization survey team, sent by Dr. Candau, Director-General of WHO at of the request of the Secretary-General, completed an initial survey of current and anticipated medical problems between 29th June and 9th July. Specific plans have been drawn up for the initial phase of a programme to cope with major disease prevention, medical care and sanitation problems, including assistance in coping with the major anticipated infectious disease problems and in countering nutritional problems to the extent possible . In co-operation with the Government longer-term plans and estimates of needs are now being elaborated.

In response to a specific invitation of the Government, the UNICEF office in Dacca has studied the possibilities of organizing and providing supplies for a food distribution for pre-school and young school children. The Government proposed to use schools as feeding centres and it indicated that although existing staff would be able to handle the operation, there would be

need for transport and special food supplies an initial period of one year. The proposed programme in which UNICEF would be involved aims to reach pre-school and school age children through at least 25 per cent of all primary schools. It is hoped to reach about 1,200,000 young children and to provide a supplementary ration of about 100 grams per day of pre-cooked, high-protein children's food. The feeding programme would eventually have a nutrition education component and it is hoped would led to a longer-term plan which could be maintained by the Government and non-UNICEF sources after the initial emergency period is over. Concurrently with the special feeding programme, UNICEF has agreed to accelerate currently aided projects in East Pakistan, particularly in the fields of health , rural water supplies and education. Additional assistance may also be required for the displaced persons in the country and, at a later stage, for returning refugees from India, if, as it is hoped, the number increases and the recently established reception centres need to be strengthened and expanded.

Other efforts include those of private organizations such as the Leauge of Red Cross Societies, which sent two representatives to East Pakistan to make a survey with the Pakistan Red Cross Society on the conditions under which their cyclone disaster projects could be resumed. CARE aid programme continue to function in East Pakistan and are picking up momentum. A number of other private institutions have continued existing projects or initiated new programmes of assistance.

This, Mr. President, is a brief review of the humanitarian relief operations under way in East Pakistan. As I said, earlier, further details about conditions and needs as well as about contributions and pledges thus far received from individual Governments and institutions, are contained in the report which is being issued today. May I only underline that this operation is still largely at the assessment and planning stage. All estimates of assistance requirements, however, point to the urgency of mobilizing substantial external resources for relief action.

In conclusion I wish to convey to the Council the deep gratification and appreciation of the Secretary-General on the splend'd manner in which all United Nations Programmes and Agencies have responded to this challenge and acted smoothly and in concert.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইকনমিক এ্যাণ্ড সোশ্যাল কাউন্সিলের ৫১তম অধিবেশনে যুগোশ্লাভ প্রতিনিধি মিঃ এল. মোঝব-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. L. MOJSOV, YUGOSLAV DELEGATE AT THE 51ST SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL ON JULY 16, 1971

Mr. Chairman,

The High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, has described in his impressive and comprehensive statement the difficult situation in which millions of Pakistani refugees now find themselves in India and the measures he had undertaken on behalf of the United Nations to offer effective assistance to them. The HCR has described "a situation of stark tragedy effecting an immense number of human beings". The sudden influx of so many people in such a brief period of time is virtually without precedent in the recent past. The number of refugees already exceeds six million and may, unfortunately, even rise further. The expenses of the most basic accommodation, food and preventive heatlh measures are huge and certainly cannot be borne by the Indian states bordering on East Pakistan. The enormous material outlays which India has been forced to make, naturally to the detriment of other programmes and priorities in its social and economic development, cannot satisfy the requirements of these unfortunate people. Furthermore, local and other authorities in India could not possibly have been prepared for such an influx, nor could they have anticipated that such dislocations would occur as would generate social problem of no mean proportions in their country. And while the material expences could be compensated to some extent by the engagement of the entire international community the question remanis as to how to resolve or ameliorate the social and even the political consequences which are almost inevitable in such circums tances, having in mind, above all, the humanitarian aspect of this complex problem. And what are we to say of the tragic fate of those people, among whom there are many women and children who, by force of circumstances, find themselves in a situation in which they cannot provide even the basic necessities for themselves and whose lives are endangered by extremely poor conditions of health and sanitation.

For this reason, the Yugoslav Government and people, motivated by humanitarian considerations, have been following with feelings of great anxiety the drama unfolding on the Indian sub-continent and the evils that have be fallen millions of men, women and children. We share the view of many international spokesmen that it is imperative to find such a solution as will enable the refugees to return to their homes, as this would be the most humane and normal approach to the problems of these people, and at the same time in the long term interests of both India and Pakistan.

The President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, moved by the same considerations, has just expressed concern for the fate of the refugees from Esat Pakistan in messages sent recently to the President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, and the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi.

As the High Commissioner for Refugees acts as the focal point for the co-ordination of assistance from the organizations and programmes if the United Nations system, we expect that he will utilize his great experinece and authority to find lasting, long-term solutions, taking account in the first place of the express wishes of the refugees themselves and of their interests. His contacts and talks with responsible persons in Pakistan and India make it justified to hope that this problem, whose gravity weights upon the international community and burdens the relations between the nieghbouring countries involved, will ultimately be solved in a positive way. It is the duty both of the international community and of all those concerned to do everything in their power to enable the refugees to return to their homes. The successful implementation of this action would simultaneously mean the creation of conditions which would lead to a cessation of further inflows of refugees and to their voluntary repatriation.

For its part, the Yugoslav Government has approved the extending of assistance to the refugees, to the limits of its possibilities. This help has already been sent to India through the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The Yugoslav Red Cross has also issued an appeal for the collection of help which will be forwarded later. The Yugoslav Government is ready to give the High Commissioner the necessary support and help in his efforts co-ordinate assistance by the U.N. system to the millions of refugees in the territory of India. We also endores the activities undertaken so far along these lines by the High Commissioner. We are deeply imperssed by his words that the relief action for the refugees from East Pakistan represents "one of the largest and most difficult actions of our time" and we are confident that in organizing this large and complex action the HCR deserves the full endorsement of the ECOSOC.

The favourable reaction of countries members of the UN. system, of non governmental institutions and private organizations and individuals to the urgent appeal sent out by the UN. Secretary-General U Thant, holds out the hope that the humanitarian action will terminate in success and thus help create the appropriate conditions for a lasting solution to the problem of refugees. In this regard, we also express our gratitude to the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kitani, for his contribution in initiating the relief action and for his excellent report to the Council.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইকনমিক এ্যাণ্ড সোশ্যাল কাউন্সিলের ৫১তম অধিবেশনে নিউজিল্যাণ্ড প্রতিনিধি মি: জে.ভি. স্কটের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. J. V. SCOTT, NEW ZEALAND DELEGATE, IN THE 51st SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, ON JULY 16, 1971

We have heard with interest and appreciation the comprehensive statement of the High Commissioner for Refugees on his role as the focal point for international assistance to the refugees from East Pakistan now in India.

We must all have been deeply impressed by the magnitude of the task he has described and with the tremendous burden that the sudden influx of nearly seven millions of refugees has cast upon the Government of India. We wish to acknowledge again the value of his interventions on behalf of the refugees and pay tribute to the response of the Indian authorities, of non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations, and of private citizens to the stark challenge of this imcomparable human tragedy.

We are grateful to the High Commissioner for providing such a clear and detailed picture of the scope of the relief operations for which he is the focal point and for responding to the questions which my delegation asked some days ago. We can take confidence from his statement in his actions to bring about co-ordination of international relief activities. We can feel assurance that within the limits of his resources and abilities no effort is being spared to cope with the pressing requirements of the situation—a situation, in his words, created by the massive overwhelming arrival of millions of people in a state of destitution and physical exhaustion, a situation of great human misery. We were particularly pleased to hear his remarks about the climate of genuine co-operation and the feeling of common undertaking that exists among the United Nations agencies concerned.

But if much has already been accomplished much more still remains to be done.

We are all faced with the urgent need for additional assistance, for more adequate accommodation and shelter for transport, food and medical supplies to match the revised estimates of the needs of this growing human flood. The dangers are all too clear of the rapid spreading of epidemics and infections diseases brought on by inadequate sanitation, malnutrition, the lack of clean water and of medical supplies and facilities. In this connection the actions of the specialised agencies, the WHO, UNICEF, FAO, the World Food Programme and the non-governmental organizations in conjunction with the Government of India are commendable in helping to meet this emergency situation.

The High Commissioner's statement sheds new light on the extent of the human misery that has been caused. The need for urgent assistance remains and, if insufficient is done, is certain to last for a very long time. The amount of

help required has increased with the continuing flow of refugees across the border into India. This is not a situation from which the international community dare turn away their eyes.

The High Commissioner's responsibilities are crucial in channelling aid to alleviate the human misery that has undoubtedly been caused. All that he has said discloses the need for compassion and effort on the part of others in a situation fraught with great danger. His influence has been a restraining one in dealing with issues that have aroused the most intense feelings on either side. We hope that, with the encouragement of this Council, the High Commissioner's efforts will further promote an international atmosphere in which the problems that have given rise to the refugee crisis, and which have so far kept it from solution, can be dealt with.

I said in my general debate speech on 8 July that "It will not be fruitful to consider the reasons why this situation has arisen, nor is it necessary to consider in this Council the political conditions that need to exist before the refugees will be content to return to their homes". The need to avoid any action which would impair an already difficult situation is obvious. New Zealand itself has no wish to become involved in the internal affairs of either India or Pakistan.

New Zealanders, nevertheless, are deeply distressed at the suffering and loss of life caused by the refugee crisis and are conscious of its implications for the stability of the region. It seems clear to us that very little beyond immediate hand-to-mouth relief of the refugees can be achieved without the establishment of a climate of confidence in East Pakistan which will allay the fears of those who are at present taking refuge in India. The dictates of humanitarianism do not cease with the provision of food and shelter—and there remains enough to be done even in that sphere. They extend to the long-term future of the unfortunate refugees and particularly their right to return of their own free will to their homes in conditions which promise them a normal life as citizens participating fully in their society. This simple message a message of humane concern, not a blueprint for a solution which does not lie within the Council's competence is the one which my delegation hopes will emerge from the discussion in this Council.

The High Commissioner towards the end of his statement touched upon this crucial and central factor when he spoke of the urgency of voluntary repatriation of the refugees. He said and I quote.

"I have noted in this connection that the Government of India has stressed the urgency of an early return, as the refugees cannot be permanently settled in India. I have also noted the Government of Pakistan's position that the refugees should repatriate. I would like to assure the Council that I stand ready to facilitate, in any way possible, the voluntary repatriation of the refugees. That, indeed, must remain the humanitarian goal that guides our endeavours. I am only too aware of the complexities of the situation. The need above all is to ensure a climate of confidence, one in which the refugee himself will voluntarily wish to repatriate."

We endorse his view of the critical importance of voluntary repatriation as the best solution to the problem.

The fulfilment of this humanitrian purpose is itself dependent on the reduction of tension between India and Pakistan. We appreciate that in the present circumstances the creation of an atmosphere of compromise and negotiation's made especially difficult.

We all readily appreciate that the essential problems at the heart of the refugee crisis are not easy to solve, and have been made incomparably more difficult by the events which have marked recent months. None of us outside the region is in a position to offer suggestions on the nature of a solution. What can be done, however, through the Council is to focus attention on the need, for an atmosphere of negotiation and compromise and for a longer-term stettlement. The problem is already of unprecedented magnitude. If the international community do not face up to it now they will have to do so latter when its dimensions are greater and more serious.

It is with that fundamental requirement in mind that I especially commend the efforts of the High Commissioner for Refugees. I can assure him of or full support in his continuing endeavours to attain the welfare and rehabilitation of the East Pakistan refugees.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত ও পাকিস্তান সরকারকে প্রদত্ত জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের শরণার্থী ত্রাণ সংক্রান্ত স্মারক।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL'S AID MEMOIRE OF JULY 19, 1971, TO GOVERNMENTS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The repatriation of the refugees from East Pakistan now in India is a matter of the utmost concern and urgency. The Secretary is anxious to do everything possible, in co-operation with the Governments concerned and complementary to their own efforts, to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the refugees in a secure and orderly manner which takes due account of their welfare. One possible method doing this might be to establish a limited representation of the High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border. The High Commissioner for Refugees is already acting as a focal point for the United Nations effort on behalf of these refugees. The representatives of the High Commissioner would be stationed at collecting points on the Indian side, at border crossing points on both sides, and in reception centres on the Pakistan side. It is the feeling of the Secretary-General that before attempting to make such an arrangements on a large scale, it would be desirable to test it in a limited way in order to ascertain whether in practice it would serve a useful purpose in facilitating the process or repatriation.

The Secretary-General therefore wishes to suggest to both Governments concerned that representatives of the High Commissioner for Refugees be accepted in two or three selected areas on both sides of the border, the areas to be suggested by the Governments in consultation with the High Commissioner. Were this arrangement to prove useful, it would then be possible to expand it gradually to include most, or all, of the repatriation points.

The Secretary-General expresses the hope that the Government of India will be prepared to give the necessary co-operation to make this initial endeavour possible. A similar suggestion has been made to the Permanent Representative of Pakistan on 19th July, 1971.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ উপসংস্থার (ইউ-এন সাব কমিশন) কাছে বেসরকারী বিশ্বসংস্থাসমূহের আবেদন।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	২০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

NON-GOVERNMENTAL WORLD BODIES' APPEAL TO U.N. SUB-COMMISSION ON JULY 20, 1971

Twenty-two international non-governmental organisations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. petitioned the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, to take constructive action at its 24th session which commenced on August 2, 1971, "concerning the reports of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms occurring in East Pakistan".

In a statement released in New York on July 20, 1971, the organisations said that they were alarmed by these reports. In a reference to U-Thant's statement describing recent events leading to the flight of millions of refugees from East Bengal to India as "one of the most tragic episodes in human history", the statement expressed the "grave concern" of the organisations that no organ or agency of the United Nations "has pronounced itself on the implications of the events in the area for the human rights of the affected peoples."

The statement added that the organisations were convinced that the United Nations bore the responsibility to ascertain the facts of the situation "with the object of safeguarding the human rights of the population of East Pakistan including returning refugees", and called upon the Sub-Commission at the opening of its 24th session to :

(1) "Express its deep concern regarding the human rights implications of events in the affected areas with a view to assuring observance of the rights, the personal safety and the freedom of the people in the area ;

(2) Examine all available information regarding the allegations of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in East Pakistan ;

(3) Recommend to the Commission on human rights measures which might be taken to protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the peoples of East Pakistan ;

(4) Appoint the Working Group provided for under Economic and Social Council resolution and instruct it to keep under review communications on human rights regarding the situation in East Bengal ; and

(5) Consider the extent to which events in the affected areas might be relevant to the contemplated studies of the Sub-Commission on minorities, indigenous populations and genocide."

The Sub-Commission has a membership of 26 including Pakistan. The other members include USA, UK, USSR, Canada, France, Philippines, Yougoslavia, Sudan, Romania, Nigeria, Kenya, UAR, Tanzania and Austria.

The organisations include the International Commission of Jurists, International Federation for the Rights of Man, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Student Chistian Federation, World Union of Catholic Women's Organisations, International Federation of Women Lawyers and International Catholic Union of the Press.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারত সরকার কর্তৃক জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের ত্রাণ সংক্রান্ত স্মারকের জবাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

INDIA'S REPLY TO U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S AIDE MEMOIRE, DELIVERED ON AUGUST 2, 1971

Government of India share the view of the Secretary-General that the repatriation of the refugees from East Pakistan, now in India, is a matter of utmost concern and urgency. Of even greater concern and urgency is the need to stop military atrocities in East Pakistan and the consequent daily flow of refugees into India at the rate of 40,000 to 50,000 a day. The refugees already in India are unlikely to return as long as this further exodus continues. Government of India have noted with infinite dismay and grave concern that far from encouraging return of refugees or stopping or reducing the further flow of refugees from East Pakistan to India, their number has increased by nearly four million since President Yahya Khan made his statement on the 25th May that he would agree to allow these Pakistani citizens to return to their own country.

2. The root cause of the inflow of over seven million refugees into India and the daily exodus that still continues can only be explained by the total absence of such conditions in East Pakistan as would encourage or enable the refugees return to their homes. The chaos and the systematic military repression and the decimation of the Bengali-speaking people in East Pakistan continue unabated, as indeed is clear to any objective reader of the international Press. This has been further corroborated by the recent reports of the World Bank and the public statements made by independent foreign observers who have visited East Pakistan and heard the tales of woe from refugees themselves in their camps in India.

3. The burden on the Government of India in looking after millions of refugees, whose number is still increasing everyday, has been recognised by all. It has equally been recognised that in Pakistan efforts to cope with the results of two successive disasters, one of them natural and the other man-made, are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards political reconciliation and consequent effect on law and order and public administration in East Pakistan. An improved political atmosphere in East Pakistan is an indispensable pre-requisite for the return of the refugees from India. The conflict between the principles of territorial integrity of States and self-determination is particularly relevant in the situation prevailing in East Pakistan where the majority of the population is being suppressed by a minority military regime which has refused to recognise the results of the elections held by them only in December last year and had launched a campaign of massacre, genocide and cultural suppression of an ethnic group, comprising 75 million people. Unless this basic cause for the influx of refugees into India is removed, all attempts to solve this problem by unrealistic experiments are bound to fail. Not only will they fail but they will tend to divert attention from the main issue and so encourage the continuation of military repression undertaken in so wide and horrifying a manner as in East Bengal.

4. Prince Sadruddin told the Prime Minister of India in New Delhi some time ago that the process and organisation of repatriation would be hampered by posting a number of personnel drawn from different parts of the world, speaking various languages with diverse backgrounds and following an assortment of tech-

niques. UNHCR made no suggestion in the ECOSOC meeting held in Geneva on 16th July that the establishment of a limited representation of High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border would in any way encourage the return of refugees to their homes in East Pakistan.

5. In these circumstances, the Government of India are unable to understand what purpose the posting of a few men on the Indian side of the border will fulfil. Our conviction is that they can in no way help or encourage the refugees to return home and face indiscriminate and deliberate massacre by the West Pakistan military authorities. By attempting to subdue, through brute force, 75 million people of East Pakistan and by refusing to recognise political, economic, social and administrative realities of the situation prevailing there, Pakistan Government has not only made it impossible for the refugees already in India to return, but is deliberately forcing further inflow of refugees into India.

6. India has no desire to prevent the refugees from returning to their homeland, indeed we are most anxious that they should go back as soon as possible and as a first step, conditions must be created in East Pakistan to prevent the further arrival of refugees into India. In this context, the Secretary-General must have seen the report and statement of 30th June by the UNHCR refuting Pakistani allegation that India is obstructing the return of refugees. Prince Sadruddin is further reported to have said there was absolutely no evidence for the host Government having obstructed the refugees if they wanted to go. Again in Paris on 10th July the Prince in reply to a question said that it would not be logical to say that India was in any way holding back their return. On July 19, at Kathmandu, two volunteers of the British organisation "War on Want" described as "rubbish" Pakistani allegation that India was holding refugees and preventing their return. At Calcutta on July 22, Mr. Manfred Cross, an Australian MP, described as "impossible" the Pakistani propaganda that refugees are being prevented in returning to Bangladesh. Hon'ble Mr. Cornelius E. Gallagher, Member of the US House of Representatives, made a statement on the 10th of July in the House stating that "the response of the Indian Government to the crisis created by the action of the Government of Pakistan has been magnificent. They have demonstrated almost unbelievable restraint in view of the provocative effects of the army's brutal sweep, and they have shown inspiring compassion to the refugees. If it can ever be said that any Government is truly moral and humanitarian, the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has earned that distinction in the weeks since the first refugee crossed her border. The sheer number of refugees is irrefutable evidence of the brutal policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan to crush the people who won the election. Based on interviews I conducted with a cross-section of the refugees, I now believe that a calculated attempt to crush the intellectual life of the Bengali community occurred because of mass killings of professors, students, and everyone of any distriction by the army. This, in my judgment, gives credence to the charge of genocide". Apart from these and many other statements of this nature, not even a single responsible and reputable report has ever indicated that the return of refugees or their continued inflow is due to any other cause except the intolerable and tragic conditions prevailing in East Bengal.

7. In this background, Government of India must express their total opposition to the suggestion for the induction of a "limited representation of the High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides" and must categorically state that they resent any insinuation that they are preventing the refugees from returning to East Bengal. They allowed them to enter India purely on humanitarian grounds

in spite of the most serious impact on her social, political and economic structure. Government of India are anxious that they return as soon as possible. The presence of the United Nations or UNHCR representatives cannot help in this. On the other hand, it would only provide a facade of action to divert world attention from the root cause of the problem which is the continuation of military Atrocities, leading to further influx of refugees and absence of political settlement acceptable to the people of East Pakistan and their already elected leaders.

8. The UNHCR has a fairly strong team of senior officers located in Delhi and they have been given every facility to visit refugee camps. In fact, Mr. Thomas Jaimeson, Director of Operations of the UNHCR who is the Chief Representative of the UNHCR's office in India, has recently returned from a second tour of the refugee camps. He was allowed access to all the refugee camps and was given facilities to visit these camps including those in the border areas. Apart from this 1,000 foreign observers have visited these refugee camps and most of them have publicly stated that the refugees have taken shelter in India from the military oppression in Bangladesh and are not willing to return unless suitable conditions are created ensuring their safe return through a political settlement with the Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the acknowledged leader of East Pakistan and his already elected colleagues. In the light of the information available to Government of India and to the interested Governments and organisations, they have painfully come to the conclusion, that the time is past when international community can continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and merely hoping that the relief programmes, humanitarian efforts, posting of a few people here and there, and good intentions would be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster.

9. While therefore, the Government of India have no wish to lend their support to any proposal which will deflect attention from the basic problem or diffuse concern from the fate of the unfortunate refugees, they would welcome any action by the United Nations which would ensure and guarantee, under adequate international supervision, that the refugees lands, houses and property will be returned to them in East Pakistan and that conditions are created there to ensure the safe return under credible international guarantees without threat of reprisal or other measures of repression from the military authorities of West Pakistan. It is painful to note that even the handful of refugees who ventured to return to East Bengal have not only been not allowed to go back to their homes and villages but have been subjected to endless indignities and inequities and even made to do forced labour and face many other difficulties. Government of India should like to draw the Secretary-General's attention in this context to the New York Times report and photographs published on the 27th July, 1971. In these circumstances it is unrealistic to hope that these circumstances will begin to be changed by the posting of any personnel on the Indian side of the border. The Government of India cannot support such a facade of action in the full knowledge that it is unrealistic, Unhelpful and even dangerous. They find therefore the proposal totally unacceptable.

10. The crux of the problem is the situation inside East Bengal where an army from a distant territory is exercising control by sheer force and brutality. If the international community is serious about the need for return of refugees to East Bengal the first step that has to be taken is to restore conditions of normalcy inside East Pakistan through a political settlement acceptable to the people of East Bengal and their already elected leaders, and take such internationally credible measures as would assure the refugerous their safe return without reprisals, etc.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়াকে জেনেভাস্থ ইন্টারন্যাশনাল কমিশন অফ জুরিস্টস্ কর্তৃক প্রদত্ত টেলিগ্রামের অনুলিপি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

COPY OF A TELEGRAM DATED AUGUST 10, 1971 FROM INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, GENEVA, TO PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN

August 10, 1971
Ref. 2/103/2
NMD/ks

President Yahya Khan,
President's House,
Rawalpindi,
Pakistan.

International Commission of Jurists protests against secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Justice has nothing to hide.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সংখ্যালঘুদের রক্ষা করা ও তাদের প্রতি বৈষম্যমূলক আচরণ প্রতিরোধে গঠিত উপসংস্থা ইন্টারন্যাশনাল জুরিস্টস্ কমিশন-এর প্রতিনিধি মি: জন সালজবার্গের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	১৬ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. JOHN SALZBERG REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, TO THE SUB-COMMISSION ON THE PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES, DATED AUGUST 16, 1971.

Following is text of statement delivered on August 16, 1971, by Mr. John Salzberg, representative for the International Commission of Jurists to the U. N. Sub-Commission on the prevention of Discrimination and protection of minorities. The Sub-Commission met at the U. N. Headquarters in New York. The statement was made on behalf of 22 international non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the U. N. which has submitted a statement (U.N. Document No. E/CN. 4/ SUB. 2/NGO, 46 dated July 23, 1971), Urging the Sub-Commission to consider the reports of violation of human rights in East Pakistan.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce the document submitted to the sub-commission by twenty-two international non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the economic and social council. (Document E/CN. 4/SUB. 2/NGO 46). The international non-governmental organizations submitting this document constitute a variety of religious, legal, educational, civic, and social organization with affiliates throughout the world. My own organization, the international commission of jurists seeks to promote the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in all parts of the world and has national sections and affiliated groups in more than sixty countries.

The subject of the non-Governmental organisation statement concerns a most grave and urgent matter : The tragic developments in East Pakistan which are reported to have resulted in death of perhaps as many as 200,000 persons, the destructions of countless homes and villages, and the creation of more than six million refugees. The Secretary-General has referred to the situation as "one of the most tragic episodes in human history". Only last week the Secretary General stated that the efforts to cope with the relief problem". Are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law, order and public administration in East Pakistan the situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a serious of vicions circles which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved, these human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. The violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic groups in the sub-continent as a whole and the relationship of the Governments of India and Pakistan is also a major component of the problem". (U.N. PRESS RELEASE, SG/SM 15162, August 1971).

The Secretary-General concludes that "The time is past when the international community can contineue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions will be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential diaster. I am deeply concerned about the possible consequences of the pressent situation not only in the humanitarian sense, but also as a potential threat to peace and security and for its bearing on the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation and action. It seems to me that the present tragic situation, in which humanitarian, economic and political problems are mixed in such a way as almost to defy any disinction between them, presents a challenge to the United Nations as a whole which must be met. Other situations of this kind may well occur in the future. If the organization faces up to such a situation now, it may be able to develop the new skill and the new strength required to face future situations of this kind".

How can the submission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities respond to the Secretary-General's urgent appeal ? The Secretary-General has referred to the inter-relationship between the humanitarian, economic and political problems of the situation. I believe that none of these problems can be successfully resolved without the respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the peoples of East Pakistan.

The sub-commission is to be commended for establishing a working group to review communications sent by individuals and groups to the U. N. alleging the violation of human rights, and for drafting the rules of admissibility of communications. This historic step will remove a serious deficiency in the United Nations machinery for the protection of human rights which has existed ever since its founding in the future persons with valid grievances against their governments will have an effective right of petition to the U. N. Thus machinery for the review of communications, however, will not become operative until the summer of 1972 just prior to the next session of the sub-commission. The urgency of the situation in East Pakistan as was expressed so clearly by the secretary-General requires the sub-commission to take action at this session.

The sub-commission can act at this session under authority granted to it by its parent organs, the commission on human rights and the economic and social council. The commission on human rights in resolution 8 (XXIII) of 16th March, 1967 invited the sub-commission "To bring to the attention of the commission any situation which it has reasonable cause to believe reveals a consistent pattern of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in any country, including policies of racial discrimination, segregation and apartheid, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent territories. "Furthermore, in the same resolution, the commission authorized the sub-commission in making such a recommendation to prepare a report "containing information on violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms from all available sources." The economic and social council approved these decisions by the commission in resolution 1235 (XLII) of 6th June 1967 and in addition, authorized the commission to make a thorough study of situations revealing a consistent pattern of violations of human rights and to report, with recommendations thereon, to the economic and social council.

What information is there available to support the allegations of violations of human rights in East Pakistan ? The members of the sub-commission have

access to the communications on human rights sent to the U. N. by persons who allege they have been victims of violations. The members also have available to them press reports authored by journalists who were eye-witnesses to certain atrocities or were told of such incidents by eye-witnesses non-governmental as well as inter-governmental organizations have prepared reports on the situation on the basis of field investigation finally, the Pakistan Government has issued a white paper alleging certain violations of human rights. These sources of information might not in every instance, or in most instances, be acceptable in a court of law, but the sub-commission is not a court nor is it responsible for making a final judgment on the situation. The sub-commission is only authorized to report that a situation appears to reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights on the basis of available information. Clearly there is sufficient information available for the sub-commission to investigate the situation and make recommendations for action.

What are the violations of human rights which are alleged to have occurred in East Pakistan and to which the members of this sub-commission should consider ? Reports indicate that the following violations have occurred, killing and torture, mistreatment of women and children, mistreatment of civilians in armed conflict, religious discrimination, arbitrary arrest and detention, arbitrary deprivation of property, suppression of the freedom of speech, the press and assembly, suppression of political rights, and suppression of the right of emigration.

A report by a mission of the International Bank for reconstruction and development, excerpts of which appeared in the July 13th edition of the New York Times, described the punitive action taken by the West Pakistan army against the civilian population. The World Bank report stated, for instance, that in the town of Jessore the population was down from 80,000 to 15,000 - 20,000. Twenty thousand people were killed. The report stated that "The Army terrorizes the population, particularly aiming at the Hindus and suspected members of the Awami League."

Another authoritative report is presented by Mr. Anthony Mascarenhas in the Sunday Times of London, June 13, 1971. Mr. Mascarenhas was one of eight Pakistani journalists invited by the Pakistan Government to fly to East Pakistan and observe first hand the developments in the area. Mr. Mascarenhas has been a pakistan citizen since the founding of that country in 1947. He shas been a leading Pakistani journalist, at the time he wrote the account of his trip to East Pakistan he was the Assistant Editor of the Morning News of Karachi. The Sunday Times checked the veracity of his account with refugees in a position to have had a wide knowledge of events in East Pakistan as well as with objective diplomatic sources. I would like to quote one passage from Mascarenhas' report which is representative of the killings and other inhuman acts which he observed committed by the Pakistan Army against the civilian population.

"For six days as I travelled with the officers of the 9th division head-quarters at Comilla I witnessed at close quarters the extent of the killing. I saw hindus, hunted from village to village and door to door, shot offhand after a cursory" "short arm inspection" showed they were uncircumcised. I have heard the screams of men bludgeoned to death in the compound of the circuit house (Civil Administrative headquarters) in comilla. I have seen truckloads of other human targets and those who had the humanity to try to help them hauled off

"for disposal" under the cover of darkness and curfew. I have witnessed the brutality of " kill and burn missions" as the Army units, after clearing out the rebels, pursued the pogrom in the towns and the villages."

"I have seen whole villages devastated by "Punitive Action" and in the officers mess at night I have listened incredulusly as otherwise brave and honourable men proudly chewed over the day's kill".

"How many did you get?"

"The answers are seared in my memory".

Mr. Mascarenhas, as well as other responsible journalists, have asserted that the Government of Pakistan is pursuing a policy of genocide against the Hindu population as well as against university students and faculty and members of the Awami League. Recently fourteen diplomats resigned from the Pakistan Embassy in Washington DC and the Pakistan Mission to the United Nations asserting that their Government "violates elementary norms of civilized conduct and commits crimes against humanity". Many other eye-witness accounts are available to the sub-commission which indicate that a consistent pattern of violations of human rights is occurring in East Pakistan.

The white paper issued by the Pakistan Government alleges that "the Awami League reign of terror, unleashed from 1st March onwards claimed the lives of a hundred thousand men, women and children besides causing incalculable damage to public and private buildings, transport and communications and industrial establishments. Unmentionable brutalities were committed, with the active assistance of Indian Armed infiltrators.

A campaign of intimidation was unleashed against the Central Government personnel and instutions. Awami League militants went on the rampage in almost every city of the province. The raided fire arms shops and looted them. The laboratories of educational institutions were also looted and acids, chemicals and explosives appropriated. Attacks on Government property especially of Central Governmnt, and communications centres became the order of the day.. Trains were derailed and passengers pulled out and killed violent mobs.

Led by Awami League storm troopers attacked and burned down entir colonies of non-conformist together with hundreds of inmates. "I want to make it clear that all reports and allegations of the violations of human rights in East Pakistan should be investigated by the Sub-Commission.

There are some who may argue before this sub-commission that this organ should not discuss the situation in East Pakistan.

They may assert that no violations of human rights have occurred—That the killings that did occur were necessary to maintain law and order. However, even the Government of Pakistan has asserted that 1,00,000 were killed, in this case by forces opposing the Government. Those who oppose the Sub-Commission's consideration of this situation may argue that human rights matters are matters of domestic jurisdiction and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The General Assembly, however, in Resolution 2144 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 called upon the economic and Social Council and the Commission on human rights "To give urgent consideration to

ways and means of improving the capacity of the United Nations to put a stop to violations of human rights wherever they may occur", and the Sub-Commission at this very session has adopted procedures for reviewing communications on human rights in conjunction with its mandate to report situations which reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights.

The United Nations has clearly established that situations wihch reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights are not exclusively whitin the domestic jurisdiction of a member state, but are also within the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

We believe that the reports of violations of human rights in East Pakistan requires this Sub-Commission to exercise its authority regarding situations which appear to reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights. The Sub-Commission should set up a committee of inquiry to review the various reports of violations of human rights in East Pakistan or it should recommend to the Commission on human rights that it establish an investigatory body Mr. Mohamed Khalifa, the distinguished member of the sub-commission from the United Arab Republic, delivered at this session a very eloquent and moving statement which the sub-commission members might wish to bear in mind in considering this question. In commenting on this agenda item on the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms Mr. Khalifa stated that the discussion of this item "had reminded the members of the sub-commission of their fundamental responsibilities, which were the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities. The safe guarding of individuals and the principle of human dignity were inseparable. Individuals could not be considered to be Government property. Yet they were defenceless in the face of authority and sometimes their only recourse was to appeal to the conscience of mankind. Although the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of states limited the possiblities for intervention on behalf of petitioners the United Nations could at least listen to them and given them its moral support which, in the last analysis, might be the only way of educating world opinion and causing Governments to hesitate before adopting inhuman discriminatory policies based on religious prejudice or on nations of racial superiority."

The International Commission of Jurists has already expressed its view on certain developments in East Pakistan. In our telegram of April 15th, the International Commission of Jurists stated that it "Deplores the reported intention to establish special military tribunals to try the Awami League leaders respectfully urge that proceedings before the normal civilian courts will alone satisfy international opinion that the rule of law is observed. The International Commission of Jurists has always disapproved of the establishments of special tribunals to try political opponents for alleged political offences. There is nothing easier than to give a semblance of legality to the assassination of political opponents by having them condemned by special tribunals which lack the independence and respect for legal principles of a properly constituted court of legally trained judges. If Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or other Awami League Leaders have committed any offence under the Law of Pakistan, there is no reason why they should not be brought before the Internationally respected civilian courts of the country".

The International Commission of Jurists protests the Pakistan Government's decision to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman before a secret Military Court for "waging war against Pakistan" and other offences. The International Commission of

Jurists urgently appeals to the Pakistan Government to discontinue the military trial of Sheikh Rahman and recommends to this Sub-Commission that it makes a similar appeal. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has already expressed his own deep concern with respect to this trial and its effect on the possibility for peace in the area.

The International Commission of Jurists and the other twenty-one international non-governmental organizations who have cosponsored the statement before this Sub-Commission urgently appeal that this organ take constructive action at this session on the question of the respect for human rights in East Pakistan".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়ার কাছে প্রেরিত আন্তর্জাতিক জুরি কমিশনের তারবার্তা।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	১৭ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

TELEGRAM FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, GENEVA, TO PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN AUGUST 17, 1971

President Yahya Khan,
President's House,
Rawalpindi.

World opinion is most apprehensive that military tribunal will sentence Sheikh Mujibur to death. Should this happen, International Commission of Jurists respectfully urges your Excellency to show clemency, strength and wisdom by commuting sentence to prevent further escalations of violence, terror and suffering.

MACDERMOT,
Secretary-General.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জেনেভায় অনুষ্ঠিত 'ইউ-এন-এইচ-সি-আর' এর এক্সিকিউটিভ কমিটির সভায় জাতিসংঘে শরণার্থী বিষয়ক হাইকমিশনার প্রিন্স সদরুদ্দীন আগা খানের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৪ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT OF PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, AT THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNHCR HELD IN GENEVA

October 4, 1971

Mr. Chairman, half a century after the inception of International refugee work by Fridtj of Nansen, and twenty years after my office embarked upon a challenging task of solving refugee problem, it is painful for me to have to report that the world refugee situation has, if anything, become grimmer and increasingly explosive. Year after year, we have lived with the idealistic hope that the humanitarian work of UNHCR, would cure the disease of refugee problems. It is symptomatic that this year when observing our twentieth anniversary, present events remind us of the harsh and sad realities of a world in turmoil which is far from meeting our hopes The plight of vast masses of refugees is not past history; it remains very much a current phenomenon.

While the basic structure of UNHCR has remained the same, the problem of uprooted people throughout the world has greatly developed in dimensions and in variety. As a result of the ever-changing nature of the situation of displaced persons, my office has been called upon increasingly to perform functions not foreseen when its original mandate was evolved. The use of UNHCR's "Good offices" role is a natural by-product of this evolution. By striving to promote rapid solutions to refugee problems, UNHCR surely contributes to the lessening of tensions between states. The more a situation is complex and loaded with political overtones, the more we are required to be flexible in our work and diplomatic in our approach. While determination of refugee status remains a matter for the host country to decide upon, we must spare no effort to alleviate human suffering.

Although it is heartening to recall such highly successful operations as the repatriation of Nigerian children or the usual work carried out in delicate political, social and economic conditions in African countries and many others in various parts of the world, it is nonetheless both alarming and tragic to note that these successes are dwarfed by a challenge of unprecedented magnitude that this year has brought with it for the international community and which preoccupies you all as much, I am sure, as it preoccupies me: I am now thinking of the gigantic and cruel problem of displaced persons from East Pakistan in India and other neighbouring states.

After the events of last March in East Pakistan, the Government of India, faced with a sudden and most serious influx of East Pakistanis into its territory, requested the Secretary-General on April 23, 1971, to make avaiable necessary

assistance from the United Nations in order to alleviate the suffering of this mass of refugees and to ease the burden on the Indian economy which their presence inevitably carried in its wake. This request was brought to the attention of all Heads of United Nations Agencies and Programmes at a meeting of the administrative committee on co-ordination presided by U-Thant at Berne on April 26 and 27. It was clear during this meeting that a problem of this magnitude required a concerned and co-ordinated effort of all members of the United Nations system. The varied and colossal nature of immediate relief measures—be it food, shelter or medical care—was such that it was far beyond the financial or technial means of UNHCR alone. The Secretary-General was therefore convinced of the need to step up a mechanism of co-ordination without delay. His decision was also in line with the thinking of the Government of India which, in its request, addressed itself to the whole United Nations system. After consultations with all executive heads, the Secretary-General decided on April 29 that the High Commissioner for Refugees should act as the Focal Point for the co-ordination of assistance from the United Nations. By then, the increasingly large numbers of refugees were already imposing great sacrifices on India and its administration, and many more were yet to come.

Immediately after assuming these additional functions, I sent to India a team of three senior staff members headed by the Deputy High Commissioner to investigate and assess the situation. A succinct report of the findings of this mission was made available to Governments. An analysis of the situation and of the views of the two Governments principally concerned, that is to say India and Pakistan, made it clear from the beginning that the United Nations action was to concentrate upon two things: First, urgent relief measures for refugees in India and whenever possible, promotion of their voluntary repatriation, which was generally agreed to be the only lasting solution to the problem. Consequently, on May 19, 1971, the Secretary-General launched an appeal for assistance to East Pakistani refugees. While emphasizing his deep concern for their plight. U-Thant expressed the hope that these refugees would be " voluntarily repatriated at the earliest possible time"., I indicated that, "pending such repatriation, massive external assistance will be required on an emergency basis" and appealed "to governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, as well as private sources, to help meet the urgent needs".

I have actively followed up this appeal, and I am gratified to say that the response of the international community has been generous though it may yet seem inadequate in relation to India's needs. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude and appreciation of all donor governments and non-governmental organisations and voluntary organisations which, so speedily, made available contributions in cash and kind. While it is heartening to note that the response of the international community to this refugee problem has been of unprecedented magnitude—with contributions in cash and in kind amounting to date to some 115 million dollars—I must emphasize that much more is still required. I intend making available shortly to all governments a detailed account of priority needs for their immediate attention.

As for the actual mechanism of the Focal Point, immediately after assuming these responsibilities I set up in Geneva a standing inter-agency consultation unit. Its task is, first to mobilise and secure international support and contributions; second to arrange for the procurement of supplies in a co-ordinated manner and to deliver the supplies in India; third to maintain close liaison with the Government of India. Parallel to this consultation unit, the Government of India has

set up in Delhi a co-ordinating committee where all operational Ministries of the Central Government as well as the United Nations Agencies directly interested are represented. This double mechanism, in Geneva and in Delhi, for consultation on and co-ordination of all activities is yielding positive results to the satisfaction of all concerned. I wish here to extend my warmest appreciation to the specialised agencies of the United Nations system for their immediate response and effective co-operation.

I should like to stress, for better understanding of the combined efforts in this situation, that this new United Nations role is not an operational one. We have subscribed to the express wishes of the Government of India and left the operational responsibility to the authorities. The Focal Point, consequently, does not have any operational staff in the field. My representative in India, Mr. Jamieson, who is well known to you, and his focal point team, act essentially as a liaison and co-ordination link and their duty station is Delhi, though they frequently visit the States where the refugees are concentrated. The responsibility of the United Nations system is restricted to taking action at international level for raising funds for assistance and contributions in kind; to channel these to the Government of India and to co-ordinate activities as regards their use in order that the Focal Point may be able, with the help of the Government of India, to give a satisfactory account of the use of their contributions to the donors. The most significant characteristic of this non-operational role is that it goes against the danger of the institutionalization of refugee camps and limits the threat of this United Nations operation becoming yet another permanent political and economic burden on the international community. The principal incentive must remain the promoting of conditions leading rapidly to a permanent solution. Being non-operational on the other hand, it is relatively less easy to report on and have readily available all details relevant to the assistance measures taken. It is difficult to neglect his aspect of the work in view of the natural desire of donors to receive full satisfaction that their contributions have been used to the maximum benefit of recipient. This being said, I cannot express sufficient admiration for the countless men and women of India who are joining together against frightening odds to bring succour to the refugees.

As for the overall assessment of the situation, I need hardly point out, particularly to this committee, that relief measures now being provided in India will never be a solution in itself. What is eventually going to happen to these suffering masses of displaced persons? As is already recognised, it is the expressed wish of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan that these refugees be repatriated. You are aware that in refugee situations voluntary repatriation has traditionally served as the best solution. UNHCR has had recourse to this in many countries all over the world. I should point out, however, that UNHCR achieved results because there was a consensus of opinion between the host country and the country of origin and both sides agreed not only on the solution but also on modalities leading to this solution. In our past experience, if and when a settlement had occurred in the country of origin, a system of mutual co-operation and help was established with the active participation of UNHCR which facilitated repatriation. Until this stage is reached, substantial and well organised repatriation cannot be a success and the trend is difficult to reverse. It is with this in mind that I established contact with the Government of Pakistan at a very early stage. The Government extended full co-operation and agreed to the stationing of a UNHCR representative in East Pakistan who is now working and has a small team of field assistants. His activities are closely co-ordinated with the United Nations East Pakistan relief operation. The

Government of Pakistan has set up reception centres in order to receive refugees and facilitate their return to their homesteads and those are visited regularly by UNHCR.

Mr. Chairman, I have had myself occasion to visit both India and Pakistan in order to make a personal assessment on the spot and to consult with the two Governments regarding the situation which is causing so much concern not only to both of them but also to the whole international community. I proceeded not only to the two capitals and had discussions at the highest level but also saw the border areas on both sides. In India, I visited some refugee camps and in Pakistan, some reception centres.

The situation remains very grim indeed and demands much greater effort and more generosity on the part of the international community. Interest must not slacken and apathy should not set in. The recent floods have had a devastating effect on the camps, and distribution problems as a result of the floods have added a new dimension to this tragedy. The fragile health of the young and old will be further affected.

I have given a very limited account of UNHCR's role as Focal Point and of the magnitude of the task which confronts us. The information paper which is being made available will give you the updated details. Whilst no solution is yet in sight for this refugee problem, we must clearly not allow it to detract or monopolize our attention from other refugees in other parts of the world, and particularly in Africa where progress has been achieved.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জেনেভায় অনুষ্ঠিত 'ইউ-এন-এইচ-সি-আর' এর একজিকিউটিভ কমিটির ২২তম অধিবেশনে ভারত সরকারের পুনর্বাসন সচিব শ্রী জি.এস. কাহলন-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY SHRI G. S. KAHLON, REHABILITATION SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, IN THE 22nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNHCR HELD IN GENEVA
OCTOBER 5, 1971

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and members of your Committee for providing me with this opportunity to address you. May I, Sir, begin by extending to you my Delegation's and my own warmest congratulations on your election as Chairman of this Committee? You, Sir, and your country have taken such deep interest in refugee problems and have great knowledge of humanitarian issues involved therein. I wish you and your colleagues, the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, every success, and extend to you our fullest co-operation in discharge of your onerous responsibilities.

May I also take this opportunity to join all other delegations in congratulating The High Commissioner, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, for his most interesting and informative statement. He and members of his staff have difficult and demanding task to perform all over the world, and we in India, in our present position, would like to express our appreciation to them for prompt and efficient assistance they have kindly given so ungrudgingly.

Your present meeting has historical significance, since it coincides with 20th anniversary of setting up of Office of UNHCR. However, it is unfortunate that world should today be faced with tremendous tragedy of human situation involving over 9 million of people who have had to flee their hearths and homes and seek refuge in another country, and whose hardship we are all trying to mitigate. As the distinguished High Commissioner himself had pointed out in his statement yesterday. "The common objective—inside and outside the United Nations—should be to seek ways and means to eradicate the cause of refugee problems and to solve political, social and economic ills which trigger off all large movements of population". It is only through eradication of these causes that solution of this complex problem can be found; only then can any voluntary repatriation of refugees, like those who have crossed into India in millions, be brought about.

As you know, Sir, India is so vitally and extensively concerned with current problem of influx of refugees from East Pakistan that I feel it is necessary to apprise this Committee of some essential details of problem that India has had, and is still facing, in this context, and manner in which she is tackling it, with assistance of course from international community.

Unfortunate and unparalleled circumstances leading to enormous human suffering that caused this exodus of vast numbers from East Pakistan from end of

March, 1971, onwards are well-known already. In these most distressing circumstances, India had to extend, on purely humanitarian grounds, shelter and relief to millions who crossed over into border States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura from East Pakistan. Influx was so sudden and so rapid that India had to strain her economic and administrative resources to very great extent from very beginning. Thus, beginning from end of March, within a couple of months total influx of refugees into India had gone up to nearly four million. and today it has crossed 9 million already, without any signs of them returning to East Pakistan at all. Average inflow per day still continues to be between 30,000 to 50,000 persons, and if this rate continues at this scale we may well have not less than 12 million refugees on our hands by end of this year.

For organising gigantic programme of providing relief to such phenomenal number of refugees, Government of India has had to establish special Branch Secretariat in Calcutta under a very senior officer. This Secretariat is intended to be the executive outpost of the Central Rehabilitation Department, and has been given necessary financial and other requisite powers for undertaking and executing on-the-spot decisions with regard to relief measures, by setting up camps providing food and other necessary supplies, including medical supplies and for organising co-ordination with different State Governments as well as other voluntary agencies concerned. Also at Centre in Delhi, a Department has been established with a Central Co-ordination Committee for providing liaison, advice and assistance in implementation of Government's policies as well as various international agencies' efforts in this behalf.

The Government of India has made provision of Rs. 260 crores (US dollars 360 million) for all this relief work up to end of December, 1971. This includes expected amount of Rs. 50 crores (US dollars 69 million) in foreign aid. However, now for 8 million refugees in camps (which, it is considered, will be the figure shortly because of increased inflow, as well as demand of those who had come to friends and relatives to be helped by Government now) it is estimated that for a period of six months we would require Rs. 419 crores or US dollars 558 million, Grand total is Rs. 4,187·89 million or say Rs. 4,188 million. This is equivalent to 558 million US dollars.

Details of these calculations have been worked out carefully in Government of India and have also been duly communicated lately to Focal Point at Delhi.

It has been necessary to ease pressure in area where it had become unbearable, and so Government of India has had to disperse three million refugees to central camps into interior where properly organised arrangements under direct supervision of Centre are being run.

Even with enormous influx into India we have tried our best to provide some shelter at least to refugees in whatever way we possibly could. In this, we have had very significant assistance from U.N. Focal Point in procuring requisite shelter material. As a result, 50 per cent of families will be accommodated in improvised huts, and rest will get tents, tarpaulins, polythene sheets, etc.

Adequate medical and public health facilities have also been organised from the very beginning. Therefore, we were able to cope with outbreak of cholera in summer months when widespread infection had been brought in by refugees with them in large numbers, and it threatened to spread all over the countryside too. UP to September 20, 1971, 46,752 cases of Cholera were reported, and of these,

5,834 persons died in hospitals, health centres and camps. In this effort too we greatly appreciate the help of all the international agencies who rendered every possible assistance most urgently.

The Government of India have also been specially concerned over incidence of malnutrition among very young children in the camps. So a team of top grade medical experts, under chairmanship of Director of All India Institute of Medical Sciences, had been set up to survey the problem and suggest a programme for coping with it effectively. UNICEF organisations were also requested to suggest programme of supplementary feeding. Total proposals in this context have already been finally approved by Government of India and " Operation Lifeline " has been started. It will look after over two million children and will cost about Rs. 3 crores (US dollars 4·1 million). Both preventive and clinical requirements of the situation have been fully kept in view while devising total programme. For all medical and para-medical requirements, we have had good, all round response in the country itself, from technical personnel from all over India. That is why we have had to gratefully decline some very generous offers from outside agencies in this behalf, although we do so appreciate the spirit behind it.

For feeding refugees, Government of India have fixed scales of rations for adults and children according to advice of its nutritional experts. Thus, every adult gets 300 grams of rice, 100 grams of wheat flour, 100 grams of pulses, 25 grams of edible oil and 25 grams of sugar per head per day; and every child between the age of 1 year and 8 years gets 150 grams of rice, 50 grams of wheat flour, 50 grams of pulses, 12 grams of edible oil and 15 grams of sugar per head per day. Apart from this, a small amount is also provided for each refugee in cash per head per day for the purpose of buying vegetables, spices, fuel, washing soap, etc. Similarly for clothes, deserving people in camps are being given these—cotton or woollen. With coming of winter now there is urgent requirement of woollen blankets for which we have requested Focal Point specially.

Arrangements have also been made within these camps for providing basic education to children through refugee teachers who are given token honorarium for this work. Adult education through audio-visual methods is also organised in settled camps. However, no institutionalised form of education has been organised in view of fact that these refugees (all registered as foreigners) have to be soon returning to their homes. Refugees themselves are being encouraged to carry out recreational and welfare activities within camps on self-help basis. Unattached women's homes and orphanages have also been established near these relief camps so as to keep these women and children in their own environment and in context of their kinship and culture.

We in India are deeply appreciative of efforts so far made by several Governments, combined U.N. Agencies and other voluntary organisations for providing relief assistance to refugees. At the moment, according to latest figures, total amount committed is approximately 154 million US dollars. This, however, as Committee itself will appreciate, and the distinguished High Commissioner pointed out in his statement yesterday, is not at all adequate to the needs which today amount to 558 million US dollars. Even out of this committed amount of 154 million dollars, we have so far physically received only about Rs. 25 crores (US dollars 34·7 millions).

Sir, I have described briefly about the organisation which Government of India has had to lay on for coping with the enormous problem that just descended

on it suddenly. India has had to take on this stupendous task on purely humanitarian basis in trust for international community whose responsibility really these refugees are. But the strain—economic, social and administrative—that this serious emergency has put on India, and her finances, and general development, I am sure it will be appreciated, is of colossal magnitude. We trust, therefore, that through your good offices, international community will duly realise the gravity of the situation. Of course, ultimate real remedy for total situation lies not only in providing temporary relief, on howsoever extensive scale it may be, for these millions of refugees, but in finding permanent solution for enabling them to go back to their homes in conditions of security, peace and political satisfaction. For this, Sir, conscience and conscious effort of the world community will have to bestir themselves most urgently, lest this highly explosive situation gets further worse and goes the irreversible way.

With your permission then, Mr. Chairman, may I request this august body to appeal to the world at large to take in hand its responsibilities to meet this grave situation by providing enlarged relief assistance as required, and to urge upon the Government of Pakistan to take all necessary measures for creating a climate of confidence to encourage voluntary repatriation of these millions of unfortunate people so that they can return to their hearths and homes in peace and security.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জেনেভায় শরণার্থী বিষয়ক হাই কমিশনার প্রিন্স সদরুদ্দীন আগা খানের সাংবাদিক সম্মেলন।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGHA KHAN, U.N.H.C.R., IN GENEVA

October 13, 1971

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Jamieson, Chief of the Focal Point operations in New Delhi, held a press conference at the Palais Des Nations in Geneva on October 13, regarding the activities of his office as the Focal Point of United Nations assistance to East Pakistani refugees.

He said that he had to make a strong and urgent appeal to the international community for urgent and substantial contributions essentially from Governments, since the inflow of cash and kind had tended to dry up during the last few weeks.

"We have to fight against apathy which is beginning to set in," he stated. For the last fortnight, there had been no new funds to make allocations for purchasing much needed commodities. All the goods were now in the pipeline, but if no further contributions were received there would be a risk of a gap in supplies in two months' time and "the situation might become extremely dramatic."

The last allocation made from funds available had been used for the first purchasing order for clothing and blankets to the value of dollars 4,800,000 to the UNICEF and dollars 480,000 to the Government of India for the purchase of straw mats.

All Governments were now being given detailed information supplied by the Government of India concerning future needs. Dollars 558 million was the total amount estimated to assist 8 million refugees in camps for six months.

The High Commissioner stressed the impact on India's ecomony, of the Government having to devote energy, time and goods to relief work. He hoped that Governments would realise the value of assisting the relief work, which, from a humane point of view, was urgent but was also an element of reducing tensions in the area. He insisted on the fact that relief by itself was not a solution, underlined the stand-points of both the Indian and Pakistani Governments that the solution was voluntary repatriation, and said that the UNHCR was available to assist this voluntary repatriation in every possible way.

He referred to the presence of UNHCR officers in East Pakistan as part of the UNHCR's function to help returnees.

The High Commissioner then outlined the various ways in which nations could help. It was particularly important that substantial cash contributions are

made, as this afforded great flexibility in the acquisition of commodities. Quite a few of these could be found in India itself. Furthermore, the Focal Point would be able, through the UNICEF, the World Food Programme, and the World Health Organisation to purchase throughout the world, on the most economic terms, goods needed by the Indian Government to assist the refugees.

Regarding the immensity of task, it was necessary to mobilise public opinion and appeal to all voluntary organisations to co-operate. The League of Red Corss Societies was already closely associated with the work of the Focal Point. It was already giving logistical support to the Indian Red Cross.

Mr. Jamieson said that the Government of India had made arrangement whereby voluntary organisations established in India could associate themselves with the relief work, and that there were regular joint meetings with them and the Indian Red Cross and the Government of India representatives in Calcutta.

The High Commissioner explained that the Government of India had advised him that there was no need for helpers from abroad as enough qualified personnel had come forward from India. The UNHCR, as the Focal Point,was ready, as in the past,,to transfer to India donations from the private sector.

Both the High Commissioner and Mr. Jamieson explained the working of the Focal Point in Geneva as the co-ordinator of United Nations action and, in India, as the link with the Government of India and the United Nations Agencies. The *ad hoc* arrangements worked smoothly.

In reply to questions, it was stated that, of dollars 115 million contributed to the Focal Point, dollars 11 7 million in cash had been transmitted to the Government of India, dollars 24·5 million worth of goods had been delivered, and the rest were on the high seas, being loaded or brought, and would all be delivered before the end of the year.

As for future requirements, attention was drawn to priority items such as clothing and blankets for 6·5 million adults and 2 million children to the amount of dollars 15·5 million.

In this connection, the High Commissioner mentioned that he had just been informed by the Netherlands Committee for Aid to Refugees that they had allotted dollars 1,929,000 for purchasing clothing of 600,000 adults and 300,000 children in the Northern part of West Bengal, Assam and Meghalaya. In addition to clothing, shelter material for 4 million persons was needed on the priority list in an amount of dollars 43 million, as was the support to be given to "Operation Lifeline," which required some 92,500 metric tons of protein rich food.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের তৃতীয় কমিটিতে প্রিন্স সদরুদ্দীন আগা খানের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGHA KHAN'S STATEMENT IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

November 18, 1971.

Madam Chairman, when I spoke to this committee earlier, it was the sixth report that I presented to this distinguished form on the regular work of my office since my election as High Commissioner for Refugees. Each year, I have pointed to the changes in the refugee situation and our efforts to deal with them. Whilst new and serious problems have arisen in the course of these years, I have been immensely grateful for the growing support and understanding of the international community. It has helped immeasurably infacing the situation effectively and with courage, and in fostering permanent solutions which remain the constant objective of my office. Today, unfortunately, I speak with urgency of an overwhelming problem. A problem that has grown in dimension and anguish, almost beyond comprehension and endurance. That this should coincide with the Twentieth Anniversary of UNHCR, when we had been appealing for, and working towards, an end to the refugee problem, is the starkest commentary on the times in which we live. Four months ago, on July 16, informed the Econimic and Social Council of the humanitarian efforts of the U. N. system to alleviate the suffering of East Pakistani refugees in India. Early in October, I spoke to the Executive Committee of my regular programme of the situation as it then existed. But this is a situation that has relentlessly grown more tragic from day to day. The suffering is not over, but continues ; the number has not lessened, but has increased; the gap between needs and resources, which has consistently been adverse, threatens catastrophically to become a chasm. And all this, despite a truly remarkable relief effort being madey the Government and people of India and an unparalleled response by the internaional community. Where will this deteriorating spiral end?

If I have, at the very outset of my statement, shoulded a voice of deepest concern, it is because that indeed is what the situation demands. It is not for me, today, to analyse the complexities of the policitical, econimic and social factors that are responsible for this situation. The analysis of the United Nations is clearly expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the organisation (document A/8401/Add. 1 of 17 September, 1971). What I shall speak of is the purely humanitarian task entrusted to me on behalf of the United Nations. It is a task in which I seek your assistance as never before, for it touches the life of many millions of refugees—upon the fate of whom depends the restoration of tranquillity in a sub-continent. I could do no less for the refugees. They would expect no less from us, here in the United Nations. It has been quite evident since April 23, when the Government of India requested the Secretary-General for assistance from the United Nations, to alleviate the suffering of the refugees and to ease the burden on India that their presence entailed, that this was a problem the magnitude of which required exceptional measures of the U. N. system. The varied and colossal nature of immediate relief requirements—whether for food, shelter, medical care or logistical support—was far beyond the financial or technical means of UNHCR alone. Accordingly, following consultations in a

meeting of the administrative committee of co-ordination, the Secretary-General decided, on April 29, that the High Commissioner for Refugees should act as the Focal Point for the co-ordination of assistance from the U. N. system. This decision was also in line with the thinking of the Government of India which, in its request, addressed itself to the whole U. N. system. Immediately after assuming these additional functions, I sent to India a team headed by the Deputy High Commissioner to study and assess the situation. A succinct report of the team's findings was made available to Governments. An analysis of the situation and of the views of the two Governments principally concerned, namely India and Pakistan, made it clear that United Nations action had to concentrate on two objectives: First, urgent relief measures for the refugees in India ; second the promotion of their voluntary repatriation—it was generally agreed that only this could provide a lasting solution to the problem. Consequently, on May 19, 1971, the Secretary-General whilst expressing deep concern for the plight of the refugees, expressed the hope that they would be "voluntarily repatriated at the earliest possible time". He further indicated that, "pending such repatriation, massive external assistance will be required on an emergency basis" and he appealed "to governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, as well as private sources, to help meet the urgent needs. At that time, it was estimated by the Government of India that some dollars 175 million would be required to meet the minimum needs of three million refugees for a period of six months. Neither needs, nor numbers, have stood still since, and our efforts have had to race against them and time. On June 26, 1971, the Government of India indicated that the requirements would be dollars 400 million for six million refugees for six months. Subsequently, on October 1, 1971, and essentially as an illustration for the broad order of magnitude, we received from the Government of India a calculation estimating that dollars 558 million would be required in expenditure to care for eight million refugees for six months. More recently, a special meeting of the consortium of Governments and institutions interested in India's economic development was held in Paris on October 26, 1971, under the Chairmanship of the World Bank. According to the announcement issued, the meeting "discussed the impact on the economy of the recent large and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan and assessed the cost relief at dollars 700 million in the financial year ending March, 1972".

I quoted this from the actual announcement of the World Bank; the consortium had before it a report on the cost of refugee relief prepared by the World Bank, which worked on an estimated 9 million refugees in camps by December 31, 1971. The precise costs will naturally be proportionate to the caseload of the refugees who are in camps by that date. The direct costs of refugee relief are governed, broadly, by three considerations : first, the number of refugees involved ; second, the length of time over which relief is provided ; and third, the norms of assistance. As regards the first and second of these factors, we have been kept informed continuously by the Government of India of the position as they have registered it over the past seven months. As of November 12, the Indian authorities indicated that the number of refugees is 9,744,404. Members of this committee are also aware that the Government of Pakistan has informed the Secretary-General on September 2, 1971, that it estimated the number of persons displaced from East Pakistan to be 2,002,623. I shall not endeavour here an independent projection of numbers into the future, since clearly there are far too many conjectural elements involved. In particular, I would not do so because of the ever present hope that the uprooted people may soon be able to returr to their homes. Nevertheless, there can be no preparedness without working hypotheses, and I wish to assure this committee that we are conscious of the contingent. Turning to the third

factor, *i.e.*, the norms of assistance, these are well known to us. They comprise the base and the common element in each of the calculations that have been made of anticipated costs, calculations to which I have referred earlier. Broadly, these norms draw a distinction between recurring costs (such as food, medicines, salaries for relief personnel, maintenance of facilities, etc.) and non-recurring costs (such as shelter, medical and other equipment, vehicles, etc.). For the purpose of all the calculations made so far, the non-recurring costs have naturally been treated as one-time expenditure. However, should the problem continue for any length of time, certain of these costs would need to repeated—for example, on some of the polythene flown out as shelter material. As regards the norms themselves they are modest indeed. They have been worked out in close consultation with the Focal Point and the staff of the other U. N. Agencies associated with this effort treating, as already indicated, non-recurring cost as one time, it has been calculated that average relief expenditure amounts at present to Rs. 2.74 *per capita* per day (or less than 37 US Cents).

Such, briefly, are the direct costs of the relief programme with which we in the Focal Point are concerned. There are other indirect costs, that have a widespread effect on the Indian economy. These have been discussed, *inter alia* in the recent meeting of the India consortium, at which my office was represented. I wish to make it quite clear, however, that consideration of these indirect costs and the long term economic repercussions of the refugee influx go beyond the concern of the Focal Point. Here , I wish to address myself strictly to the direct costs of the emergency relief operation. And these direct costs, a based on the three criteria I mentioned earlier, namely the numbers reported, the period for which assistance is provided and the norms of assistance, lead to the staggering requirement that I have referred to earlier. It is not hard to conclude from this that he expenditure involved in sheltering, feeding and treating this mass of several million refugees is already far in excess of the international assistance pledged or delivered. Turning now to the response of the international community, may I say once again, that it is unparalleled in U. N. experience and I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude forit. Till November 16, 1971, the Focal Point had received pledges totalling dollars 161,412.986.84 in kind.Of this amount, dollers 89,261,753were pledged in cash and dollars 72,151,233.49 in kind. Lists of thise contributions are annexed to an informaton paper that I have made available to this committee. The paper, in essence, recapitulates and brings up-to-date information that I provided to my executive committee in Geneva last month. Also contained in this paper is break-down of the actual and prospective deliveries by the U. N. system to India, as of October 31, 1971. I wish to thank most sincerely all these Governments, non-governmental organisations and private indivuduals who have channelled their help through the U. N. system.

I would also like to mention our deep appreciation of those who have contributed bilaterally or directly. This is clearly a situation that calls for universal response and the greater the universal effort the better. Taken together, all pledges from external sources now total an estimated dollars 247.6 million. Need I amplify on the gap ? Seeing how patent it is, and after a summer of following up on the Secretary-General's May 19 appeal, I addressed a comprehensive aide-memoire to Governments again on October 11 and appealed on Television and Radio for further generosity. In particular, I stressed the need for unearmarked cash contributions to allow the greatest flexibility. I further pointed out that whilst some of the requirements could be met expeditiously in kind (*e.g.* Rice, Pulses, Sugar), the Focal Point, in line with the express wishes of the Government of India, would welcome contribution in cash to enable the purchase of as many commodities in

India as possible. By mid-October, practically all the aid, whether in cash or kind that had been pledged to the U. N. system had either been transmitted to the Government of India or was in the pipeline for delivery before the end of this year. It had been committed for the purchase and movement of shelter material, medicines, food supplies, blankets and clothing and for the provision of logistical support.

In consequence, the flow of material and financial resources was in imminent danger of interruption. Since this latest appeal, there have been further generous contributions, but the position remains exceedingly grave.Without wishing to belabour this committee with the details of the operation, which can be gleaned from the information paper, permit me to illustrate the dimensions of the effort, with a few vivid examples of the response through the U. N. systemi: Food: nearly 142,000 MT of rice have been pledged and 62,671 tons delivered ; transport over 2,200 vehicles have been ordered of which over two-thirds have been delivered; shelter : polythene sheeting, providing roofing for over 3 million refugees, has reached from abroad; blankets: about three million have so far been located and are being transported after a world-wise search; medicines: in one of the longest humanitarian airlifts ever, over 700 tons of medicines and medical supplies have been flown to India; health: provision is being made to combat malnutrition in its early stages and to cure it when it exists in camps scattered along the length of the border. None of this would have been possible without the excellent co-operation and co-ordination that has grown between my office and the other members of the U. N. system principally concerned. Which leads me to the actual mechanism of the Focal Point. Immediately after assuming this responsibility, I set up in Geneva a standing inter-agency consultation unit. Its task is, first to mobilize and secure international support and contributions; second to arrange for the procurement of supplies in a co-ordinated manner and to deliver the supplies to India; third to maintain close liaison with the Government of India. Parallel to this consultation unit, the Government of India has set up in Delhi a co-ordinating committee where all the ministries concerned of the Central Government as well as the U. N. Focal Point and the U. N. Agencies directly interested are represented.

This double mechanism, in Geneva and in Delhi, is yielding most positive resulus to the satisfaction of all concerned. I wish to extend my warmest appreciation to the specialized agencies of the United Nations for their immediate response and effective co-operation. It is important, too, that I should clarify for a better understanding of the combined efforts in this situation, that the role of the United Nations is not an operational one. Subscribing to the express wishes of the Government of India, we have left the operational responsibility to the authorities. My representative and his Focal Point team act essentially as a liaison and co-ordinating link and their duty stations is Delhi. From there, they frequently travel to the States where the refugees are concentrated and they have visited numerous camps in each of the States. Additionally, staff members of UNICEF, WFP and WHO have undertaken missions to the refugee areas, UNICEF also having an office in Calcutta and Liaison Officers in the States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. The responsibility of the United Nations system is essentially to take action at the international level to raise contributions, to channel these to the Government of India and to co-ordinate activities in regard to their use in order that the Focal Point may be able, with the help of the Government of India, to give a satisfactory account of the use of their contributions to the donors. Additionally, the team in Delhi is associated with the planning of needs and priorities, particularly in regard to items that have to be obtained from abroad or for which financing from the Focal Point is feasible.The utility of the

Focal Point mechanism is being proved by the results obtained. A centre exists within the United Nations system to co-ordinate information and acivity. This facilitates contacts both with Governments and non- governmental organisations and is convenient for all concerned. Additionally, the United Nations system has been especially suited to offshore procurement of items, such as shelter material, vehicles, blankets, etc. I believe this has been of real assistance in the emergency. The mechanism has also enabled flexibility in seeking commodities at the most economic world prices and has thereby assured an optimum use of aid for the cash pledged. With all these advantages, I think it is important to stress that the United Nations does not have the means to operate itself a relief programme of such magnitude for an indefinite period of time. This is all to the good, for to try to do so would be to run the risk of institutionalizing and perpetuating a situation that no one desires, least of all the host country. It would also expose the international community to an economic and political burden without end, affect the morale of the refugees and become a confession of hopelessness. The principal objective must, therefore, categorically remain the promoting of conditions leading rapidly to voluntary operation. On the other hand being non-operational, it is relatively less easy to report on and have readily available all details relevant to the assistance measures taken. For obvious reasons it is essential not to neglect this aspect of the work in view of the natural desire of donors to receive full satisfaction that their contributions have been used to the maximum benefit of recipients In this regard, I am sure I can count on the full co-operation of the Government of India. I cannot express sufficient admiration for the countless men and women of India who are joining together against frightening odds to bring succor to the refugees. You have heard at length of the relief operation, of the funds needed and contributed and of our efforts to be of assistance. Critically, important as this is—and it is clear we need to more than double our efforts—the only viable and lasting solution lies, as obviously, in another direction.

This is the terrible paradox of the situation. We all know and agree that this crual and gigantic problem can only be resolved by the repartriation of the refugees; the question is, how can this best be achieved, particularly since it is the expressed wish of both the Governments principally concerned that the refugees be repatriated. The life of the uprooted refugee is a tragic one. Undoubtedly, the best solution for a refugee lies whenever it is possible, in voluntary repatriation back to his home, where he can live again a normal life among his own people. This has been the experience of my office throughout its twenty years of work all over the world and was indeed reiterated yesterday by many speakers in the Third Committee. In our past experience if and when a settlement had occurred in the country of origin a system of mutual co-operation was established with the active participation of UNHCR which facilitated repatriation. Until this stage is reached, substantial and will organised repatriation cannot be a success and the trend is difficult to reverse. I should point out additionally that UNHCR has achieved results only when there has been a consensus of opinion between the host country and the country of orgin leading to voluntary repatriation. This consensus must apply not only to the solution, but also to the timing and modalities. It has been with this in mind, and to further the two objectives of our effort to which I referred earlier, that I have travelled twice to India and to Pakistan in the last six months, my latter journey just being completed last week. In India, I had an opportunity of seeing for myself refugee camps in northern West Bengal and in the State of Meghalaya. In the latter, I particularly saw the way in which refugees are methodically registered and issued ration cards and I witnessed the distribution of rations. I then proceeded to Delhi for useful and productive talks with the Foreign Minister and his colleagues. I also held detailed technical discussions with

senior officials of the Government in regard to the assistance programme. I wish to thank the Indian authorities for the full co-operation they have extended to my representatives in India and to me personally. In Pakistan, I called on the President and met once again with the senior officials concerned. As you know, the Government extended full co-operation in the stationing of my representative in Dacca. He is now working there with a small team of field assistants. During my latest visit, I was informed by my reprsentative that returnees who are seen coming back are sent to forward reception centres some miles inland where they are registered and innoculated. After a-day or two, they are given a bus ticket to their village, clothing if need be, food for fifteen days and five rupees each. I was also informed that they are given a note for the village authorities, asking that every help be given to them for their rehabilitation. The Government of Pakistan has informed us that so far 200,000 refugees, of whom 30 per cent belong to the minority community, have returned to East Pakistan, some 64,000 through the reception centres and the rest on their own. When considering my annual report, this committee reacted once again yesterday with understanding of and support for the functions of my office. It was with good reason indeed that the General Assembly, in drafting the statute of my office, called upon the work of the High Commissioner to be purely humanitarian. I must respect this obligation as you would wish me to. Till such time as the refugees return, and they will only repatriate in significant number when here, as elsewhere in the world, they are convinced that real peace and security prevail, I would appeal to Governments and the people of the world to assist them generously. Away from their homes, living in an accumulation of despair that can destroy the fibre of the strongest, these people have suffered many times more than is inherent in normal human false. Words without generosity and generosity without a permanent solution that would apply to all of them will make a mockery of their hopes. Need I add that the challenge is immense, and that we must pursue every worthwhile lead to meet it. I wish I could say today that a solution to this vexed problem is imminent and that we are moving with certainty in the right direction. But I cannot say so as yet. This does not mean that there shall be no change. Peace and the suffering of millions demand it. "For peace", as Auden has written in his hymn to the United Nations, "means to change at the right time". I would hope that this change comes soon, for it certainly would be calamitous if it came too late.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের তৃতীয় কমিটিতে ইউ-এন-এইচ-সি-আর' এর প্রতিবেদনের উপর ভারতীয় প্রতিনিধি মিঃ সমর সেনের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY THE INDIAN DELEGATE, MR. SAMAR SEN, ON UNHCR'S REPORT IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY—November 18, 1971

We have followed with great interest the statement of the distinguished High Commissioner for Refugees on the latest situation of the East Pakistani refugees in India. It is particularly gratifying to us that the High Commissioner has, in spite of his remarkable diplomatic sweep and skill, confirmed in every important particular the account we have been giving of all aspects to this formidable problem. He has just returned from India where he visited some refugee camps of his choice and was given all facilities to put his understandably limited time to the best use. On several occasions, we have expressed our appreciation for the work being done by prince Sadruddin Agha Khan. His statement here has confirmed once again the full co-operation that he and his representatives in India have been receiving from the Government of India in carrying out their duties. We should not like to recall the tragic course of events in East Bengal which forced the massive number of Pakistani citizens to leave their homes and come and live in India in most difficult conditions. Nor is it our wish to speak about the efforts made by India to deal with the intolerable burdens inposed on us by the actions of Pakistani military junta. A detailed account of these efforts was placed before the recent meeting of UNHCR's executive committee in Geneva. At present, we shall focus our attention mainly on steps to be taken to relieve the misery of the refugees, to the extent possible, through the United Nations.

The tragedy and the immensity of the problem can be described in the High Commissioner's words. At the ECOSOC meeting in July this year he said:

"There is no doubt, therefore, that we are confronted with one of the major population movements of modern history, with all the tragic aspects of human misery and sufferings that such movements entail."

Reporting to his executive committee three months later in October he described it as a :

'Challenge of unprecedented magnitude".

And this month he said in a broadcast message over All India Radio,

"I have no doubt that the influx of refugees from East Pakistan into India, since six months, in terms of its magnitude is the worst problem of uprooted people that the world has ever faced."

It should be clear to all, who have any feelings or objectivity, that never before have so many people fled across an international frontier in such a short period or in such distressing conditions. When we first approached the United

Nations on April 23, 1971, for assistance to meet the needs of the refugees, they already totalled half a million. This number continued to increase as Pakistani military regime carried on with murder, loot, rape and other unspeakable atrocities.

On October 26, the Special Consortium of the World Bank meeting in Paris announced that "more than 9·5 million refugees have entered India by now and the influx is continuing". The latest figure is 9,608,901 on November 5, the daily average influx in September was 27,000 and in October 17,000.

This meeting in Paris was held to discuss the impact on the Indian economy of this large and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan. With your permission, I should like to read the communique issued, it is not long.

"A special meeting of the consortium of Governments and institutions interested in India's economic development was held in Paris on October 26, 1971, under the Chairmanship of the World Bank. It discussed the impact on the Indian economy of the recent large and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan, and assessed the cost of relief at dollars, 700 million in the financial year ending March, 1972. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Governments of Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, and by representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Representatives of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand attended the meeting as observers.

The meeting heard statements by I.G. Patel, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, and by Charles Mace, Deputy United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and considered a report on the cost of refugee relief prepared by the World Bank. More than 9·5 million refugees have entered India by now, and the influx is continuing. Delegates expressed deep concern about the situation and its serious consequences for the economic development of India and unanimously recognised the need for special assistance to offset the burden of refugee relief. Members emphasised that assistance for refugee relief should be additional to normal development assistance. Considering the nature of the problem, this assistance should preferably be in the form of grants. To prevent drastic cutbacks of development expenditures in India, commitments of special assistance are required urgently and should be in a form which would provide immediate support to the budget of the Indian Government and the Indian economy generally.

It was the sense of the meeting that the problem of refugees in India was an international responsibility. The meeting noted that world-wide contributions pledged to date came to over dollars 200 million. Delegations urged the UNHCR as the Focal Point of the whole United Nations system to continue his efforts to seek contributions from the international community to cover the cost of relief estimated at dollars 700 million. countries represented at the meeting agreed because of their special interest in India, that they would make efforts to meet a substantial part of the total need."

We in India deeply appreciate the offers of help from wherever they come and I should like to thank all Government international agencies, non governmental organisations, voluntary agencies and private individuals—all of whom have done so much to help. But this response, generous as it is, takes care of only a small part of our needs. Between the requirements as assessed by the World Bank and the pledges so far made, the difference is nearly dollars 500 million. The actual gap is even wider since all the promises of help have not yet been fully kept.

The presence of millions of refugees has brought grievous impact on the economic, social and political life in India and is a continuing threat to India's stability and security. We wonder how many States in the world can receive nearly ten million refugees, with more coming every day, and still survive for six months. The driving of millions over millions of people into neighbouring country in a manner and in such conditions as would endanger the existence of the receiving state is nothing but a civil invasion and an intolerable interference in its domestic affairs.

That is what we are facing today and India has become a victim of a new kind of aggression by the military regime of Pakistan. The High Commissioner has spoken of two principal fields of action: first, urgent relief measures for refugees in India, and secondly, the promotion of their voluntary repatriation. The action so far taken for relief measures has been described fully in the statement of the High Commissioner himself. Voluntary repatriation is the only lasting solution to the problem. We emphasise that this is not only the best but an imperative solution. And that must come soon. The international community as a whole is responsible for caring for the refugees, and if today India is looking after the massive millions of Pakistani refugees, she is doing so as a trustee on behalf of the international community and strictly for the shortest time possible. Conditions which will persuade them to return home must be created without further delay. We cannot and do not accept their indefinite presence in India. We agree with the High Commissioner that the relief operation should not become yet another permanent political and economic burden on the international community. Since most of the burden has to be borne by India, what the High Commissioner has said is much more true for India herself.

In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General stated that "efforts to bring about the repatriation of refugees have so far been unavailing. Since President Yahya Khan announced his agreement to allow the East Pakistan refugees to return on May 25, the total number of refugees in India has steadily increased. The crux of the matter is that international and Government efforts in East Pakistan are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation".

To this reason for the lack of progress in repatriation, must be added another and more basic explanation of why the influx has continued over these six months. It has been described indeed as a haemorrhage. Unless we can diagnose the disease, we cannot provide any effective cure. Volume of reports from impartial international observers which explain the causes exists, but we do not have time to discuss all the details; chiefly, the basic cause of this unprecedented movement of people is to be found in the massive, systematic and continued violation of the most fundamental human rights, including the right of life itself. It amounts to a genocidal punishment to 75 million people. Seldom before, and certainly

never after the U.N. Charter was promulgated, have human rights and fundamental freedoms been violated on such a vast scale and with so many brutalities and with such cynicism as has taken place this year in East Pakistan. This latter half of the 20th century, when man is striving to conquer space and time we have had the misfortune to see a gigantic operation of medieval leutchery. There has been an attempt to crush and humiliate a people simply in an attempt to suppress their freely and democraticaly expressed will. I do not wish to recount the events that led to this grim drama staged in East Pakistan since the mid-night of March 25, although we can easily and readily place before this committee unassailable facts of the entire situation as it unfolded from day to day. But we must emphasise that no solution to the problem of East Pakistan refugees in India can be found without discussing the nature and extent of massive violation of human rights in East Pakistan.

Ever since the tragedy started, there have been attempts to mislead and confuse the basic and root cause of this unprecedented movement of population. We understand these attempts by desparate and unwise men, and we cannot and will not sympathise with them. At first, all was sought to be hidden and protested by citing domestic jurisdiction and internal affairs. Subsequently, persistent efforts have been made to present the problem inside East Pakistan as an India-Pakistan dispute. Yet another argument is that India is preventing the return of the refugees, as if India could afford, under any circumstances, to feed or look after nearly ten million refugees for any length of time, and now estiblished facts are perversely challenged in the hope that impact of public condemnation will be diffused, and so, reduced. But truth is hard to conceal; Pakistan's propaganda figures for refugees have been contradicted by President Yahya Khan himself who the other day, when discussing the question, said : "two or three million, there may even be four million." The President is obviously in doubt and is aware of the canard whose only purpose is to involve India in a process which has never been followed in any refugee problem, and yet his delegation continues to give figures as if they are based on anything except political imagination. It would indeed be a remarkable feat to count absent people. It is also noteworthy that Pakistan's figure of 200,000 refugees having returned to their homes has remained unchanged over the last three months. And then the figure is nicely divided and rounded up to 140,000 muslims and 60,000 Hindus, at the same time as the High Commissioner has been informed that 640,001 passed through reception centres and 136,000 came back on their own. Here again is another instance of counting people who, no one knows, how they came; but then people, who first described all the refugees as "criminals", who define all free voters as "anti-state" elements, who call all freedom-fighters as "miscreants" or now "indian infiltrators", cannot be expected to be too scrupulous about facts.

To discuss the mechanics of repatriation before creating the basic conditions for making repatriation possible and practicable, is unrealistic and inaffective. for facilitating the repatriation of the refugees, the High Commissioner made a pertinent comment to his executive committee in Geneva last month. He repeated the same comment today when he said : "In our past experience, if and when a settlement had occurred in the country of origin, a system of mutual co-operation and help was established with the active participation of UNHCR which facilitated repatriation. Until this stage is reached, substantial and well organised repatriation cannot make any sense and the trend is difficult to reverse."

We return once again, therefore, to the fundamental cause of the crisis in East Pakistan and the ceaseless flow of refugees. "The basic problem", writes

the Secretary-General, "can be solved only if a political solution based in the reconciliation and the respect of humanitarian principles is achieved". The international community is entitled to ask if any solution to the basic issues which accompanied this man-made disaster, is being worked for. We see no effective attempt being made in that direction; on the contrary, much evidence is available that sophistry and confusion between great right and great wrong are being encouraged to conceal a lack of courage and to justify inaction. Events of the past months with the understandable popular resistance to the discredited regime and its methods which is increasing steadily inside East Pakistan, should now make it clear that a climate of confidence can be created in East Pakistan only through reconciliation with the already elected and accepted leaders of the people of East Bengal. It is less than a year back that the East Pakistanis voted almost to a man for a certain leadership and a well defined programme, and they are 75 million of them—the majority of the population of the whole of Pakistan Regrettably, the only attempts which have been made by the Government of Pakistan in this direction are propaganda measures to beguile increased international concern for a political solution. This concern was widely and unmistakably expressed during the General Debate of the Assembly. At the same time, military repression continues with the burning of whole villages as reprisals and on wrong information even in areas next to the capital of East Pakistan, and other brutalities are periodically and frequently reported in the Foreign Press.

Diverting attention from this main cause of the trouble will not solve the problem before us. To hurl accusations against India and deliberately to create tension through military concentration on the Indian borders, are totally negative and dangerous policies. We deplore these as much as the violation of human rights in East Pakistan.

We agree with every word of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Denmark when he said on November 16, 1971, before the first committee : "The Danish Government appeals, as others have done, to the Government of Pakistan for moderation and restraint, with a view to bringing to an end the violence in East Pakistan. Only a political settlement based on respect for human rights and the freely expressed will of the people can solve the problem of East Pakistan." Can such an expression of view in the larger interests of the sub-continent and the world be termed as an act of non-co-operation or of political motivation? No propaganda can change a problem, which is wholly and essentially a problem between the Government of Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan, into one of a dispute between India and Pakistan. The basic problem lies inside East Pakistan and must be solved there itself so that the refugees can go back under credible guarantees for safety of life, property and honour.

My delegation has also noted with deep interest the statement on the activities being undertaken by UNEPRO—United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation.

Suffering people are everywhere the same—refugees who seek shelter in a foreign land or the victims of the man-made disaster in their own country. But I should like to make, very briefly, one or two points regarding UNEPRO. First of all, certain circles in East Pakistan have expressed concern that the U.N. relief operations there might inadvertently assist the military regime. For example, let me refer to a report by Mr. Browne of The New York Times written from East Pakistan that appeared in its issue of November 17 : "...once the supplies

reach the final depots the responsibility of foreign relief organisations ends and distribution is handled by the army or its politically reliable 'peace committees', subject only to occasional spot checks by United Nations officials. It is widely charged that the army is using the aid more as a political lever than for genuinely humanitarian purposes, with holding it from rebel areas.."

Mr. Browne also noted : "The problem of helping feed the East Pakistanis was underscored by a foreign relief worker recently visiting the northern district of Rangpur, where pockets of near famine have been reported, due largely to lack of transportation.

'We had to stop at a bridge to wait for a column of trucks to pass from the other direction', he related. These trucks were headed south, away from Rangpur, and they were loaded with Basmati Rice.

"Although East Pakistan always has a rice deficit, the province grows this very high quality Basmati rice which enjoys a good market abroad, ordinarily, Pakistan exports this rice and sells it for hard currency, importing cheap rice from China and elsewhere for its own consumption.

"But now it certainly does not look very good for donor nations to be struggling at great cost to bring rice into East Pakistan so that the Islamabad Government can go on making a profit on home grown rice.

"Bengalis argue, in fact, that continued foodgrain and other assistance to the Government is nearly as much resented as the recently discontinued United States policy of providing Pakistan with the spare parts needed to maintain her military air-lifts from West to East."

These aspects of the operation have to be constantly watched and reviewed. We are glad that the representative of the UNEPRO in his statement has given recognition to some of these important problems. The news coming from East Pakistan is however not at all reassuring.

Secondly, we doubt if the present impression of relationship that exists between the UNHCR operation in India and the UNEPRO is altogether relevant or wise. The Secretary-General launched UNEPRO as a humanitarian operation and this was never intended to be, nor can it ever be, a substitute for the political solution inside East Pakistan. Should the donor countries come to consider that the UNEPRO is a way of solving the refugee problem in India it would be both unrealistic and unfortunate. This committee will, I am sure, avoid such an impression. Even if East Pakistan was over-flowing with rice and other foods, people will continue to take refuge outside it and refuse to return to their homeland as long as political persecution continues. People have fled to India because they have been terrorised and are full of fear of being killed and maimed and humiliated in a variety of ways.

To sum up, Madam Chairman, the burden on India imposed by the political refugees from East Pakistan continues to grow and is becoming intolerable. We all know the reasons for this most massive movement of population if human history in such a short time, and judging from the statements made by the numerous delegations in the General Assembly during its 26th Session, it would appear that our organisation as a whole is clear on the steps that should be taken by the Government of Pakistan to reverse the present trends. There is, however,

deep disappointment that neither the United Nations nor individual States have yet been able to persuade that Government to take steps towards a solution. We in India, who are facing the most vicious impact of the problem created by another country, have tried to deal with it as humanely as possible, and at a great cost to ourselves. It is not by skirting round the problem, not by expressing sympathies alone, not by rendering financial or other assistance—however urgent such assistance certainly is —and not by evading the responsibility for taking forthright decisions that the international community can act justly towards 10 milion helpless and unfortunate refugees taking temporary shelter in India. It is by clear reasoning, a clear grasp of the basic causes of the problem and by a determined effort to make the Government of Pakistan see reason and act in conformity with the acknowledged principles of human right and fundamental freedoms, that this committee, or for that matter the U. N. can truly discharge their responsibility towards suffering millions of East Pakistanis. Before I conclude, I repeat that all the causes of the crisis lie in East Pakistan, and it can be solved only in co-operation with the elected and accepted leaders of people of East Pakistan and in accordance with their freely expressed will. Meanwhile as long as we eat, the refugee will eat also.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ববাংলার শরণার্থীদের ত্রাণ সাহায্যে জাতিসংঘের সুনির্দিষ্ট লক্ষ্যের ভিত্তিতে প্রণীত ইউ-এন-এইচ সি-আর প্রতিবেদনের উপর আলোচনার সারাংশ।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৮,১৯ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS ON THE REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE U.N.H.C.R. AS U.N. FOCAL POINT FOR RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO EAST BENGAL REFUGEES IN INDIA, IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

November 18 and 19, 1971

The problem of East Pakistan refugees was debated in the Third Committee on November 18 and 19, 1971. Thirty-one countries participated in the debate including India and Pakistan. India spoke twice, as also U.K., France and Tunisia. Salient points made by various delegations who spoke in the debate are given below :

1. **U.S.A.—Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett :** In the matter of the refugees we recognise that it is India which has borne the heavy load. Considering the vast challenge, the lack of existing facilities and the initial need to improvise in the face of unforeseen emergency, the Indian effort in caring for the refugees deserves great praise. We are mindful of the serious impact of this new refugee problem on India's economy and on its programme for economic development. The cost of caring for the refugees through March 31, 1971, it has been estimated by the World Bank will reach the equivalent of dollars 700 million. United States believes it is the responsibility of the international community to make a massive effort to help India meet this cost. Conscience and awareness of the vast human need permit no other course. President Nixon has asked Congress to appropriate another dollars 250 million for assistance to refugees in India and for relief assistance in East Pakistan. In the face of this unparalleled human emergency, my country will not be found wanting. We agree that the total contributions as compared with the need are disappointing. Until the refugees have been repatriated, there can be no slackening of international financial and material support. We also note the efforts of the Government of Pakistan to facilitate the return of refugees by establishing 25 special camps where returnees are fed, clothed and generally assisted to resettle. The UNEPRO activity is a most encouraging example of innovative response for the international community to the challenge of a major human tragedy. The Secretary-General still requires major support for this effort. The solution to this humanitarian problem lies in the return of the refugees to their homes. We hope conditions will be established to make return and resettlement possible. Until a solution is reached, my delegation appeals to the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all possible measures to facilitate the role of the U.N. in its efforts to provide relief assistance to the refugees in India and to the displaced and needy persons in East Pakistan. May we continue to witness an outpouring of human concern among people throughout the world for those unfortunate refugees.

2. **U. S. S. R.—Ambassador V. S. Safronchuk :** Noting the complex internal problems had arisen in Pakistan by not following peaceful political means without use of force, repressive measures against the people will not solve any political

problem. India had reason for concern since the flow of refugees across the border had caused serious economic and other problems. In East Pakistan repression against people should be ended and a political solution must be found in the interest of the whole Pakistani people. Urgent measures for achieving political solution by granting the inalienable rights of East Pakistan should be adopted. Refugees can return only when security is guaranteed. We hope that restraint and reason would prevail in the area and that an armed conflict would not threaten peace of the region. Soviet Union would do everything possible to assist in a solution of the problem.

3. **U.K.—The Earl of Gowrie :** Spoke twice : The humanitarian issues are clearly the responsibility of the Third Committee, though obviously we all recognise only too clearly the problems of a political nature which lie behind this present situation. Political solution must be found if the refugees problem is to be ended, if voluntary repatriation is to be achieved and the nunger and misery are to be removed. But the question of how a political solution is to be achieved is not a matter for this Committee. It is, therefore, to the humanitarian aspects that my remarks are directed. Misery fell on innocent people and the Committee faced the responsibility of caring for those peoples. United Kingdom had given a total of £ 14.75 million to assist East Pakistani refugees in India and £ 2 million for aid in East Pakistan. The need was gignatic and the response must be of the same dimensions. We extend deep appreciation to UNEPRO for coping with disrupted patterns of life in East Pakistan. It was a question of relief to the population in sensitive areas succeptible to border problems. His Government urged that full co-operation and aid be given to UNEPRO in its work.

4. **FRANCE—Mon. J. Kosciusko Morizet, M.P :** Spoke twice : He shared the concern of India on the intolerable burdens faced by her by the influx of refugees into India and appealed for humanitarian assistance to India sharing the concern expressed by the High Commissioner over the Pakistani refugees in India. As regards assistance to the population in East Pakistan, it was unfortunate that UNEPRO was experiencing difficulties and even danger in the efforts to render help. He called on the international community to heed the warning that there could be conditions which would make it impossible to get it to the people. He declared that the future is dark and we must heed the warning. We must observe that although the international community has sympathy for East Pakistan, there are limits to the humanitarian aid we can give in the immediate future. He appealed to all concerned for a peaceful and generous solution which will end this ordeal.

5. **POLAND—Mr. W. Neneman :** A dramatic humanitarian problem on an unprecedented scale had been created. Aid could limit suffering but it could not solve a problem which could only be ended by the return of the refugees. The only permanent solution is the return of refugees in safety. We hope that the Government of Pakistan would find a political solution in East Pakistan to enable refugees to go back. That would be in the best interests of peace.

6. **NETHERLANDS—Ambassador R. Fack :** Realising that the world has been confronted with the staggering problem of the refugees of East Pakistan on Indian soil, and deeply moved by the miserable plight of these millions. I have been authorised today to announce that my Government will make available a further gift of 10 million Guilders (about 3 million dollars) for the refugees in India and a further gift of 10 million Guilders (of which half will be in

food aid) for the population of East Pakistan. The world's assistance has not been sufficient. What can this Committee and the General Assembly do to help find or promote a solution of a humanitarian problem of unprecedented scope which is putting an enormous strain on India, and at the same time on the relations between India and Pakistan. The Indian Government deserves the world's gratitude for this speedy and generous response. Both India and Pakistan seem to share the view of the international community that voluntary repatriation of the refugees is the only solution to this problem. As there are no signs of an impending large scale return, the world community faces two problems, namely, an immediate need for increased international aid to relieve the sufferings of the refugee and of those living in object circumstances in East Pakistan, and secondly the urgency of promoting a solution by means of boluntary repatriation. The Committee should lend its wright to previous appeals for massive aid and assistance and at the same time bear in mind that it should be commensurate with the world community's willingness to indicate and promote a solution, as world's interest in specific refugee problems tends to lag if allowed to drag on unresolved : and the longer they last, it becomes difficult to raise funds and their mere presence becomes an international liability. Therefore, this Committee and the General Assembly, in the interests of the refugees and in accordance with the declared views of the Governments of India and Pakistan, tackle the two aspects of the question at the same time. To this end, the Netherlands delegation and the delegation of New Zealand have drafted a resolution. The tragedy of the sub-continet was caused by mortal fear – often understandable, sometimes perhaps irrational—but still mortal fear..... The co-sponsors regard the draft as entirely non-controversial. The appeals to the two Governments are strictly in conformity with the declared intentions of these Governments.

7. NEW ZEALAND Ambassador J. V. Scott. The refugee problem has worsened with refugees continuing to cross the border into India. Greater international efforts were required to provide for the refugees and the people of East-Pakistan. They would like to see that the ECOSOC review the situation when next in session. India could not be expected to bear the burden of the refugees indefinitely. The only satisfactory solution to the problem is for the refugees to return in safety and confidence to their country. Conditions must be created in East Pakistan which would encourage the refugees to return to their homes and take part in the development of the country. That was the only way to achieve a durable solution. So far, relatively few refugees have returned to their homes, and in the last few weeks security conditions in East Pakistan had deteriorated, border clashes have become more frequent, and tension had risen to a point where there was a serious danger of war between India and Pakistan. At the heart of the problem was the desire of the people of East Pakistan for greater control of their own affairs. Thus the problem could only be solved by negotiations between the Government of Pakistan and the freely elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan. The resources available were still far from adequate to meet the needs of the situation. In the belief that the General Assembly could address itself to the humanitarian aspects of the problem, his delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution. The purpose of the draft was humanitarian, prompted by deep concern and focussing attention on means to alleviate the distress of those affected by the upheaval in East Pakistan.

8. **YUGOSLAVIA—Mr. B. Osolnik, M.P. :** The interantional community could not reduce its involvement merely to material assistance, for political conditions must be created for an early return of the refugees to their homeland. It was clear that the refugees could not be supported by assistance indefinitely. A political climate acceptable to repatriation must be achieved.

9. **SWEDEN—Ambassador O. Bydbek :** The refugee population in India is now greater than the population of most Member States of the U.N. Both qualitatively and quantitatively, the refugee problem is successively growing into disastrous proportions. All nations should contribute to the relief activities in relation to their economic strength. We have admiration for the effors to alleviate the plight of the refugees undertaken by the Government of India and the Indian people. Never before has a poor and developing country been faced with such a gigantic task which cannot but have serious conecquences in terms of internal, social and economic conditions. The humanitarian situation which we are considering is of gigantic proportions. It can only be solved if conditions are created which make voluntary repatriation of the refugees possible. Quoting from the statement of the Foreign Minister of Sweden on 28th September the Ambassador said "The Swedish Government joins those who appeal to the Government of Pakistan to show moderation and restraint in order to bring an end to the violence in East Pakistan. Only a political solution based on respect for human rights and the will of the people as expressed through the ballot can solve the problem of East Pakistan". We hold the same view today. We therefore, support the initiative of the Netherland and New Zealand delegation and become a co-sponsor of the draft resolution.

10. **CYPRUS—Mr. C. Papademas :** The Committee was entrusted with the humanitarian aspect of the tragedy of the refugees and there has to be some way of translating humanitarianism into action. The refugees fled to India because of fear of their lives. The 9 million refugees presented an overwhelming number that each country could realise by comparison to the size of their own population His country sympathises with India.and its people, for India is doing a noble task to give shelter to this vast mass of people. This is a man-made tragedy of proportions exceeding the imagination of man.

11. **BHUTAN—Mr. A. N. Ram :** The central issue before the Committee was the presence of more than 9 million refugees who had left East Pakistan to enter India. A grave sense of fear and insecurity has led those people to abandon their homes and they must return as soon as adeuqate conditions are created for their safe return. These conditions could be created only if the Government of Pakistan enter into a dialogue with the representative of the people of East Pakistan in an attempt to reach a political slolution. The General Assembly must address itself to the root cause of the problem to assist in the achievement of a political solution.

12. **CANADA—Mon. P. Gerin Lajoie :** President of the Canadian International Development Agency : I had led a Canadian fact-finding team to India and Pakistan and the impressions were deep and sombre. The massive influx of millions of refugees from East Pakistan to India has greatly increased tensions in the sub-continent, and as the number of refugees grow, it is evident that even India's herculean efforts to provide food, shelter and medical care, must be supplemented. The care of refugees had placed a serious burden on India's limited resources and threatened to undermine its own plans for social and economic development. Clearly, voluntary return of the refugees was the ultimate solution to be reached. The Canadian Government appeals to India and Pakistan to solve the problem and reduce the tensions, adding that war would cause untold physical destruction and severe dislocation of the economies of these countries.

13. **JAPAN—Miss C. Sanyo:** She expressed the hope that the great Asian nations would come to an agreemen. through the office of UNHCR.

14. **EGYPT—Mr. A. M. Moussa :** The refugee question required the concerted assistance and efforts of the international community until voluntary repatriation could be achieved. The co-operation of India and Pakistan, referred to by the High Commissioner, was appreciated by his Government which also agreed that the influx of refugees has placed immense burden on India. Quoting an earlier statement by the Egyptian Ambassador, he urged a solution by Pakistan which would safeguard its unity.

15. **UGANDA—Mr. P. J. Okia :** It is most unfortunate that we should have added to the already explosive refugee problem of about 8 million people which has taken place in the continent of Asia. Indeed the people and the Government of India have borne a burden unparalleled before in the history of refugees. We hope that this heavy burden will be lifted from the hands of the Government of India by an early repatriation of these refugees. My delegation does not intend to enter into political as well as economic factors, which have caused this untold suffering. We feel that this is a problem to be settled by India and Pakistan, but this does not stop us from making an appeal to the two countries to resolve their differences quickly. In the case of Pakistani refugees, and those in the Middle-East, we hope that a lasting political settlement will be arrived at as soon as possible.

16. **HUNGARY—Mr. G. Badi :** His delegation believed human wisdom would prevail leading to the voluntary repatriation of the refugees.

17. **GREECE—Mrs. E. A. Daes :** We spoke about the Pakistani refugees in the last ECOSOC meeting and expressed the hope that it would be for a temporary period of time. Since then, we have been informed that millions of refugees have left their homes in East Pakistan under the most tragic conditions and have fled to India, and recently the number has not lessened but has increased. My delegation has been very much concerned with the humanitarian reasons of the flight of people into India as refugees, and for contributing to the alleviation of their suffering.

18. **TUNISIA—Ambassador R. Driss :** The draft resolution of the Netherlands and New Zealand presented a disagreeable choice between the friendship of India and that of Pakistan, while the important factor was a reconciliation between the two nations. A recommendation should be made to the President of the Assembly to launch an appeal calling in particular on the authorities concerned to manifest a spirit of co-operation and understanding, which alone would lessen tensions, and that they intensify efforts to establish a climate of confidence favouring the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes. Speaking again, the Ambassador said that he would prefer that no vote be taken on his recommendation, but rather a consensus result with ensuing unanimity. He was aware of the seriousness of the problem facing the U. N. Delegations must reach an agreement and introduce an element of harmony, and not confrontion. A solution could not be found by words. The only document existing was the Secretary-General's appeal. The president of ECOSOC had found it difficult to convince both sides that it was in their best interests to have a document concentrating on the humanitarian aspects of the problem. Now it is up to the international community to assume its responsibility. To this end, he urged the three co-sponsors of the draft resolution to withdraw it so that all together can draft a recommendation in the humanitarian spirit and co-operation that all seak.

19. **BURUNDI—Mr. A. Nyankiye** : His country was sympathetic to the people suffering in India and in East Pakistan, for it too had experienced refugee situation. He expressed the hope that India and Pakistan could solve the situation peacefully. A political solution is possible between the two Governments, and they must make an effort for instilling mutual confidence. "Let us not seek the origin of this disaster but simply help the victims of it."

20. **AUSTRIA—Mr. S. Ermacora** : The problem cannot be solved in a humanitarian angle only but the tragedy had roots in highly political events. He expressed the hope that a political solution would be found adding that the purely human problems would also have to be solved. The debate should not be controversial, but he considered that Tunisian initiative represents an acceptable compromise.

21. **LIBYA—Mr. I. Babaa** : Only through the respect of the national unity and territorial integrity of Pakistan could the return of refugees become a reality. He would support the recommendations proposed by Tunisia.

22. **NIGERIA—Mr. A. Mohammed** : He viewed the refugee problem in an entirely and absolutely humanitarian way, and urged that political interventions should be omitted. Outlining the matters that must be taken into account were Pakistan was a sovereign State and that Pakistan had internal problems. Also that the refugee problem in India was the biggest and worst ever in the world. "We could not engage in any political discussion of the problem as it was to be dealt with by the Security Council under Chapter VI of the Charter. We recommend that all States should endeaover to contribute even more to help India, but in the problems between India and Pakistan we do not need any international action. The problem between the two countries were not caused by the refugees, but began with the partition of India. Even if the United Nations were able to solve the refugee problem, there would be other bones of contention between the two countries, such as religious ones, Hyderabad, Indus, Kashmir, Junagarh, etc. So long as we respect the sovereignty of any country, all internal problems within it are not the business of the United Nations". He proposed that—

(*a*) the Committee discuss the problem and leave no record, *i.e.*, no summation;

(*b*) the Chairman should make summary of discussion on a kind of concensus;

(*c*) the Tunisian proposal should be considered ; and

(*d*) the Three-Power draft resolution should be so amended as to delete operative paragraph 3 which was highly political and amend operative paragraph 4 to appeal to the Governments of India and Pakistan to continue to promote an atmosphere which would encourage the speedy return of the refugees to their homes.

23. **IRELAND—Mr. T. Corcoran** : His Government had viewed with great concern the desperate plight of 7 million men, women and children (exceeding the population of Eire) rendered homeless and prey to hunger, disease and death. It was one of the greatest human disasters that had occurred in this century and also it could not fail to arouse the profound sympathy of the world community; sympathy was not enough. A political solution based on reconciliation can

be realised which will be the permanent solution. His delegation supported the Three-Power draft resolution.

24. **ALGERIA—Miss S. Senami :** The refugee situation was rapidly degenerating into a conflict between the two Governments and the hostility and supicion which hurt all concerned. Her country's friendship with both Governments had led it to be hopeful of a quick return of refugees, the effective humanitarian aid and national reconciliation within Pakistan. She supported the Tunisian recommendation and hoped that it would be unanimously adopted.

25. **GHANA—Mr. K. Sekyiamah :** The situation in India had been compounded by the suddenness and magnitude of the refugee influx. Whether the Pakistani or the Indian figures were accepted, the situation is no less grim or disturbing. We strongly supported measures which would assure voluntary repatriation and called on the two Governments to co-operate in establishing a climate which will promote this voluntary repatriation.

26. **ITALY—Mr. Di Bernardo :** The present situation showed no signs of improvement and the social and human pre-occupation that prompted the Three-Power draft resolution reflected the opinion that efforts must be made to assist the refugees in returning to their homes. Any further initiative to alleviate the distress of millions and to hasten the return home should be taken without delay.

27. **MOROCCO—Mrs. H. Warazazi :** The Committee should formulate positive proposals which must achieve unanimous support thourgh the elimination of political elements. The Three-Power draft resolution contains certain basic political elements which made it unacceptable to both India and Pakistan. Humanitarian solution should be found, but allusions to a political solution were out of place in the Third Committee which had no need to draw the attention of Pakistan to the need to create conditions permitting a return of the refugees.

28. **KUWAIT—Mr. K. Al Babtin :** Noted that Pakistan had offered assurances as to the return of the refugees. India had shown great restriant in dealing with the problem. The alleviation of suffering was vital, but a formula must be found to give those refugees hope.

29. **AUSTRALIA—Mr. R. A. Peachey :** The numbers of people involved were so staggering that at times there might have been a tendency to think of them as masses of people rather than as millions of individuals. The refugees must be free to return to their families and their friends, to their houses and communities which were left behind. Expressed the hope that enmities should be set aside in the face of tragic situation, and that strenuous efforts would be made by those in authority to being about an early solution.

30. **PHILIPPINES—Mr. H. J. Prilliantes :** There was creeping into the subject an element of politics which is unhealthy. The Three-Power draft resolution should be withdrawn. Instead, the Chairman must make a summation for the record leaving it to the President of the General Assembly to endorse that summation.

31. **NEPAL—Mr. J. Jha :** This humanitarian problem contained a seed of a major conflict in the region. Therefore, it was very properly the concern of

the international community. The international assistance, although unprecedented, was obviously inadequate. There was a clear need of more generous assistance. The only solution to the problem lay in the voluntary repatriation of the refugees and to that end the General Assembly should appeal for the promotion of conditions to allow them. Any appeal would be effective only when the parties to which it was addressed feel inclined to heed it.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের তৃতীয় কমিটিতে নেদারল্যান্ডস্ ও নিউজিল্যান্ডের সংশোধিত খসড়া প্রস্তাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	১৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY SUBMITTED BY THE NETHERLANDS AND NEW ZEALAND

November 18, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING the report made by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on his activities in co-ordinating international relief assistance for refugees from East Pakistan in India :

NOTING also the report made by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Programme of Relief Assistance to the people of East Pakistan :

WISHING to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner for Refugees, and their staff, for the work they have done in difficult conditions :

DEEPLY CONCERNED at the magnitude of the human suffering to which the crisis in East Pakistan has given rise, and at its possible consequences :

CONCERNED ALSO at the heavy burden imposed on India, and at the disturbing influence of the general situation on the process of economic and social development in the area :

NOTING with appreciation the prompt and generous response of the international community to the needs that have arisen from the crisis, including the efforts of non-governmental organisations, to raise funds for the relief of the suffering :

RECOGNISING that voluntary repatriation is the only satisfactory solutions to the refugee problem, and that this is fully accepted by all concerned :

BELIEVING that the voluntary repatriation of the refugees can be brought about only if a climate of confidence is created :

CONVINCED that further large-scale international assistance is required to meet the needs of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan :

1. *Expresses* its profound sympathy with those who have suffered from the situation in the area.

2. *Appeals* to all Governments, inter-governmental agencies and non-governmental organisations to intensify their efforts to assist, directly or indirectly, in relieving the suffering of the refugees and of the people of East Pakistan.

3. *Appeals* to the Government of Pakistan to create conditions which would restore the climate of confidence indispensable for the promotion of voluntary repatriation.

4. *Appeals* to the Government of India to promote an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness which would diminish tension in the area and encourage the refugees to return to their homes.

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to continue their efforts to co-ordinate international assistance and to ensure that it is used to the maximum advantage to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের তৃতীয় কমিটি কর্তৃক সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে গৃহীত প্রস্তাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	২২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

U.N. RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NOVEMBER 22, 1971

THE THIRD COMMITTEE,

HAVING listened attentively to the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, His Highness Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, on the activities of the co-ordination centre, and the report of Mr. Paul Mare Henry, representative of the Secretary-General, on the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO) :

RECOGNIZING the large-scale efforts undertaken for humanitarian reasons to meet the unprecedented problems confronting the international community :

AWARE of the urgency and extreme seriousness of the situation of the refugees which is assuming dangerous proportions :

RECOMMENDS that the President of the General Assembly should make a statement in the following terms :

1. The concern of the international community, which has seldom been confronted with a refugee problem of such enormous dimensions as that of the refugees from East Pakistan in India.

2. That the voluntary participation of Governments and private organisations should be continued and intensified with a view to assisting the Secretary-General and his representative. The High Commissioner for Refugees, acting as Focal Point, in their meritorious humanitarian action for the relief of the suffering of the refugees and of the population of East Pakistan.

3. That the only solution to this grate refugee problem is the safe return of the refugees to their homes, and that this requires a favourable climate which all persons of good will should work to bring about in a spirit of respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
তৃতীয় কমিটির প্রতিবেদনের উপর জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদ কর্তৃক গৃহীত প্রস্তাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE

DECEMBER 6, 1971

United Nations assistance to East Pakistan refugees through the United Nations Focal Point and United Nations humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on his activities as the Focal Point in co-ordinating international relief assistance for refugees from East Pakistan in India :

NOTING also the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations programme of relief assistance to the people of East Pakistan :

WISHING to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner, and to their staff, for the work they have done in difficult conditions :

DEEPLY CONCERNED at the magnitude of the human suffering to which the crisis in East Pakistan has given rise and at its possible consequences :

CONCERNED ALSO at the heavy burden imposed on India and at the disturbing influence of the general situation on the process of economic and social development in the area :

NOTING with appreciation the prompt and generous response of the international community to the needs that have arisen from the crisis, including the efforts of non-governmental organizations to raise funds for the relief of the suffering :

RECOGNIZING that voluntary repatriation is the only satisfactory solution to the refugee problem and that this is fully accepted by all concerned :

BELIEVING that the voluntary repatriation of the refugees can be brought about only if a climate of confidence is created :

CONVINCED that further large-scale international assistance is required to meet the needs of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan :

1. *Expresses* its profound sympathy with those who have suffered from the situation in the area.

2. *Endorses* the designation by the Secretary-General of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to be the Focal Point for the co-ordination of assistance to East Pakistan refugees in India, from and through sth United Nations system, as well as the Secretary-General's initiative in establhieing the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation.

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to continue their efforts to co-ordinate international assistance and to ensure that it is used to the maximum advantage to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan.

4. *Appeals* to Governments, inter-governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations to intensify their efforts to assist directly or indirectly, with the collaboration of the Governments concerned, in relieving the sufferings of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan.

5. *Urges* all Member States in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to intensify their efforts to bring about conditions necessary for the speedy and voluntary repatriation of the refugees to their homes.

RECOGNIZING the large-scale efforts undertaken for humanitarian reasons to meet the unprecedented problems confronting the international community.

AWARE of the urgency and extreme seriousness of the situation of the refugees, which is assuming dangerous proportions.

RECOMMENDS that the President of the General Assembly should make a statement indicating :—

(*a*) The concern of the international community, which has seldom been confronted with a refugee problem of such enormous dimensions as that of the refugees from East Pakistan in India;

(*b*) That the voluntary participation of Governments and organizations should be continued and intensified with a view to assisting the Secretary-General and his representative, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees acting as the Focal Point, in their meritorious humanitarian action for the relief of the suffering of the refugees and of the population of East Pakistan ;

(*c*) That the only solution to this grave refugee problem is the safe return of the refugees to their homes and that this requires a favourable climate which all persons of goodwill should work to bring about in a spirit of respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

জাতিসংঘ দলিলপত্র

বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে

জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ ও নিরাপত্তা পরিষদ

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব-বাংলার পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের প্রেসিডেন্ট-এর কাছে জাতিসংঘের মহাসচিব উ-থান্ট-এর স্মারকলিপি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্টস	১৯ জুলাই ১৯৭১

7. U THANT'S MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, 19 July, 1971

For some months now members of the Security Council and many other members of the United Nations have been deeply preoccupied with developments in East Pakistan and adjacent Indian States and their consequences or possible consequences. I, myself, expressed my concern over the situation to President Yahya Khan shortly after the events of March. 1971 and have been in continuous touch with the Governments of Pakistan and India, both through their Permanent Representatives at the United Nations and through other contacts. In these exchanges I have been acutely aware of the dual responsibility of the United Nations, including the Secretary-General under the Charter, both to observe the provisions of article 2, paragraph 7 and to work within the framework of international economic and social cooperation to help promote and ensure human well-being and humanitarian principles.

It was with this latter responsibility in mind that I appealed for assistance both for refugees from East Pakistan now in India and for the population of East Pakistan. In order to channel assistance given in response to those appeals, I designated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as focal point for assistance to refugees in India and appointed with the agreement of the Government of Pakistan, a Representative in Dacca in order to make as effective use as possible of international assistance made available for relief of the population of East Pakistan. Both of these humanitarian efforts have been reported upon in detail elsewhere and the Economic and Social Council held a full discussion on both operations on 16 July, 1971. Based on statements to the Council by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs, I take this opportunity to express my warm gratitude to the Governments, United Nations Agencies and programmes and to the voluntary organizations which have responded generously to my appeals. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Governments of India and Pakistan for their co-ordination with my representatives in the field.

As weeks have passed since last March, I have become increasingly uneasy and apprehensive at the steady deterioration of the situation in the region in almost all its aspects. In spite of the generous response of the international community to my appeals for assistance for refugees from East Pakistan now in India, the money and supplies made available are still nowhere near sufficient and the Indian Government still faces the appalling and disruptive problem of caring for an unforeseeable period of time for millions of refugees whose number is still increasing. In East Pakistan international and governmental efforts to cope with results of two successive disasters, one of them natural, are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress

towards a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law, order and public administration in East Pakistan. There is a danger that serious food shortages and even famine could soon add to the suffering of the population unless conditions can be improved to the point where a large scale relief programme can be effective. Equally serious is the undoubted fact that reconciliation, an improved political atmosphere and success of relief efforts are indispenable prerequisites for the return of any large proportion of the refugees now in India. The situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a series of vicious circles which largely frustrate efforts of the authorities concerned and of international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved.

These human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. Violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic groups in the subcontinent as a whole and relationship of the Government of India and Pakistan is also a major component of the problem. Conflict between principles of the territorial integrity of States and of self-determination has often before in history given rise to fratricidal strife and has provoked in recent years highly emotional reactions in the international community. In the present case there is an additional element of danger, for the crisis is unfolding in the context of long standing and unresolved differences between India and Pakistan, differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago. Although there can be no question of deep desire of both Governments for peace, tension between them shows no sign of subsiding. The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent and this is all the more serious since refugees must cross this disturbed border, if repatriation is to become a reality. Nor can any of us here in the United Nations afford to forget that a major conflict in the subcontinent could all too easily expand.

In the tragic circumstances such as those prevailing in the sub-continent, it is all too easy to make moral judgments. It is far more difficult to face up to political and human realities of the situation and to help the peoples concerned to find a way out of their enormous difficulties. It is this latter course which in my view the United Nations must follow.

I do not think I have pained too dark a picture of the present situation and of its possible consequences. In the light of information available to me I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the time is past when the international community can continue to stand by watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions will be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster. I am deeply concerned about the possible consequences of the present situation not only in the humanitarian sense but also as a potential threat to peace and security and for its bearing on the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation and action. It seems to me that the present tragic situation, in which humanitarian, economic and political problems are mixed in such a way as almost to defy any distinction between them, presents a challenge to the United Nations as a whole which must be met. Other situations of this kind may well occur in the future. If the Organization faces up to such a situation now it may be able to develop new skill and new strength required to face future situations of this kind.

It is for these reasons that I am taking the unusual step of reporting to the President of the Council on a question which has not been inscribed on the Council's agenda. The political aspects of this matter are of such far-reaching importance that the Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem. I believe, however, that the United Nations with its long experience in peace-keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion, must and should now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate human tragedy which has already taken place and to avert further deterioration of the situation.

The Security Council, the world's highest body for the maintenance of international peace and security, is in a position to consider with the utmost attention and concern, the present situation and to reach some agreed conclusions as to the measures which might be taken. Naturally it is for members of the Council themselves to decide whether such consideration should take place formally or informally, in public or in private. My primary purpose at this stage is to provide a basis and an opportunity for such discussions to take place and to express my grave concern that all possible ways and means should be explored which might help to resolve this tragic situation.

The suggestion is simply that a small number of representatives of the High Commissioner might take to field with strictly limited terms of reference and on an experimental basis. The area in which these representatives might operate would be decided upon by the Governments concerned in consultation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. This suggestion was made with the sole aim of facilitating, if possible, repatriation of refugees.

The other document (the memorandum by U Thant to the President of the Security Council) deals with a far-reaching political matter relating to international peace and security and is primarily within the competence of the Security Council, apart from the Secretary-General's competence under the Charter in such matters. I recall that at its 1329th meeting on 2 December 1966, members of the Security Council unanimously endorsed a statement that 'they fully respect his—the Secretary-General's position and his action in bringing basic issues confronting the Organisation and disturbing developments in many parts of the world to their notice'.

The memorandum is not an official document of the Security Council and was intended to record my own deep concern with the wider potential dangers of the situation in the region and to provide an opportunity for an exchange of views among members of the Security Council on the potentially very grave situation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব-বাংলার পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে জাতিসংঘের কার্যধারার উপর প্রণীত বার্ষিক প্রতিবেদনে মহাসচিবের মুখবন্ধের অংশবিশেষ।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

EXTRACTS FROM U. N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S INTRODUCTION TO THE ANNUAL REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE U. N. ORGANISATION RELATING TO THE SITUATION IN EAST BENGAL

SEPTEMBER 17, 1971

The civil strife which erupted in East Pakistan in March, 1971, and its aftermath, are matters of deep concern to me as Secretary-General of the United Nations. While the civil strife in itself is an internal affair of Pakistan, some of the problems generated by it are necessarily of concern to the international community. The recent events in East Pakistan, following on the cyclone disaster of last November, have resulted in extensive loss of life, destruction and disruption. The plight of much of the population is serious, and millions of people have fled to the adjacent states of India, bringing to the Indian authorities overwhelming health and relief problem and imposing an intolerable burden upon their already strained resources. International assistance on an unprecedented scale was urgently needed both for the relief of the distressed people in East Pakistan and for aid to the East Pakistan refugees in India.

I expressed my concern over this situation to President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan shortly after the events of March, 1971, and have been in continuous touch with the Governments of Pakistan and India, both through their Permanent Representatives at the United Nations and through other contacts. In these exchanges I have been acutely aware of the dual responsibility of the United Nations, including the Secretary-General, under the Charter both to observe the provision of Article 2, paragraph 7, and to work, within the framework of international economic and social co-operation, to help, promote and ensure human well-being and humanitarian principles.

It was with this latter responsibility in mind that I appealed for assistance both for the East Pakistan refugees in India and for the population of East Pakistan. In order to channel the assistance given in response to those appeals. I designated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as the Focal Point for assistance to the refugees in India and assigned, with the agreement of the Government of Pakistan, a representative in Dacca in order to make as effective use as possible of the international assistance made available for the relief of the population of East Pakistan. In addition to those two emergency relief operations, the High Commissioner has initiated, with my full concurrence, an effort to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the refugees now in India.

At its meeting on 16th July, 1971, the Economic and Social Council held a full discussion of these operations, based on the statements made in the

Council by the High Commissioner and the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs. At the conclusion of this discussion, the President of the Council expressed full support for the action taken by the Secretary-General.

Substantial contributions have been promptly offered in response to my appeal for the refugees in India. However, the money and supplies made available are not nearly sufficient, and the Indian Government still faces the appalling and disruptive problem of caring for millions of refugees in its territory for an unforeseeable period of time.

The response to my appeal for the relief operation in East Pakistan, particularly in its initial phase, has been far from sufficient or adequate to the magnitude of the task. In this connexion, I should mention that in my dealings with the Government of Pakistan, as well as in the organisation of the relief effort in East Pakistan, I have been at pains to emphasise the necessity of being able to give to the donor countries appropriate assurances that their contributions will reach their intended destination—the people of East Pakistan.

Efforts to bring about the repatriation of refugees have so far been unavailing. Since President Yahya Khan announced his agreement to allow the East Pakistan refugees to return on 25th May, only an insignificant number of refugees have done so, and, according to Indian and other sources, the total number of the refugees in India has steadily increased.

The crux of the matter is that international and government efforts in East Pakistan are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law, order and public administration in the region. There is a danger that serious food shortages, and even famine, could soon add to the sufferings of the population unless conditions can be improved to the point where a large-scale relief programme can be effective. Equally serious is the undoubted fact that reconciliation, an improved political atmosphere and the success of relief efforts are indispensable prerequisites for the return of any of the refugees now in India. The situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a series of vicious circle which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved.

These human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. The violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic group on the sub-continent as a whole. The relations between the Governments of India and Pakistan are also a major component of the problem. The conflict between the principles of the territorial integrity of States and self-determination has often before in history given rise to fratricidal strife and, in recent years, has provoked highly emotional reactions in the international community. In the present case, there is an additional element of danger for the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing and unresolved difficulties between India and Pakistan, difficulties which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago. Although there can be no question of the deep desire of both Governments for peace, tension between them shows no sign of subsiding. The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent, and this is all the more serious since

refugees must cross this disturbed border, if repatriation is to become a reality. Nor can any of us in the United Nations afford to forget that a major conflict on the sub-continent could all too easily expand.

In tragic circumstances such as these, it is all too easy to make moral Judgements. It is far more difficult to face up to the political and human realities of the situation and to help the people find a way out of their difficulties. It is the latter course which, in my view the United Nations must follow.

In the light of the information available to me, I relactantly came to the conclusion, by mid-July, that the time was past when the international community could continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions would be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster I was deeply concerned about the possible consequences of this situation, not only its humanitarian aspect, but also the potential threat to international peace and security and the bearing it might have on the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation and action. It seemed to me that the tragic situation arising from these events, in which humanitarian, economic and political problems were mixed in such a way as almost to defy distinction, presented a challenge to the United Nations as a whole which must be met.

For these reasons, I felt it was my duty, as Secretary-General, to bring this problem to the attention of the Security Council I did so on 20th July by means of a memorandum to the President of the Council. In the memorandum, after outlining the considerations set forth above, I stated that the political aspects of this matter were of such far-reaching importance that the Secretary-General was not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the members of the Security Council had taken note of the problem I believed, however, that the United Nations—with its long experience in peace-keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion—must and should play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy and to avert a further deterioration of the situation I expressed the view that the Security Council, the world's highest body for the maintenance of international peace and security, was in a position to consider, with the utmost attention and concern, the situation on the sub-continent and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken. My primary purpose was to provide the basis and opportunity for such discussion to take place and to express my grave concern that all possible means should be explored to resolve this tragic situation.

At about the same time as I submitted this memorandum, which is related to a concern for international peace and security, I made a humanitarian proposal, also in the exercise of my responsibilities and within my competence as Secretary-General, aimed at facilitating the process of voluntary repatriation of refugees by establishing on both sides of the border a limited representation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. As an initial step, I suggested that such representatives should be stationed in two or three areas to be selected by the two Governments, in consultation with him. The Government of Pakistan accepted my suggestion, but the Government of India did not on the grounds that it was not preventing the refugees from returning to East Pakistan.

Recently, I also took an initiative for the strengthening of the United Nations relief operation in East Pakistan. On the recommendation of my representative in Dacca, I approved a plan to increase considerably the United Nations personnel for this operation, thus greatly improving its effectiveness. This would also put the Organisation in a better position to assure the international community, and donors in particular, that all supplies reach their destination—the people of East Pakistan. It is my hope that with this strengthening of the United Nations operation, more contributions will be obtained for the relief and rehabilitation that are so urgently needed in East Pakistan.

In a disaster of such vast proportions, the international community has a clear obligations to help the Governments and peoples concerned in every possible way. But as I have indicated, the basic problem can be solved only if a political solution based on reconciliation and the respect of humanitarian principles is achieved.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রধানমন্ত্রী ইন্দিরা গান্ধীকে ও প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খানকে প্রদত্ত জাতিসংঘ মহা-সচিবের পত্র।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	২০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

U. N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI AND PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN

OCTOBER 20, 1971

On 19th July, 1971, as Your Excellency will recall, I addressed a memorandum to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in East Pakistan and the adjacent Indian states. In that Memorandum, I expressed my concern at the possible consequences for international peace and security of the situation in that area of the world.

Recent developments have only served to increase my anxiety that this situation could all too easily give rise to open hostilities which would not only be disastrous for the two countries principally concerned, but might also constitute a major threat to the wider peace. I have in mind both recent indications of a worsening situation on the borders of East Pakistan and reports of growing tension on the border between West Pakistan and India and on the cease-fire line in jammu and Kashmir.

I wish to emphasise that I have full confidence in the sincere desire of both Governments to avoid a senseless and distructive war. I have noted the efforts of the leaders on both sides have made, in spite of the severe pressures on them, to discourage developments which might lead to open conflict. In the prevailing circumstances, however, where feelings run high and where both Governments are under exceptional stress and strain, a small and unintentional incident could all too easily lead to more widespread conflict.

The Chief Military Observer of UNMOGIP, with my full backing is doing all that he can on the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir to ease tensions, to avert misunderstandings, to prevent military escalation and to avoid confrontations that might lead to open hostilities. On the borders of East Pakistan and on the international frontier between India and West Pakistan there is, of course, no comparable U. N. mechanism.

In this potentially very dangerous situation, I feel that it is my duty as Secretary-General to do all that I can to assist the Governments immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might lead to disaster. I wish your Excellency to know, therefore, that my good offices are entirely at your disposal if you believe that they could be helpful at any time. Naturally, the Chief military Observer of UNMOGIP will continue to do his utmost to assist in maintaining the peace in the area and of his responsibility.

I have addressed similar communication to the President of Pakistan/ Prime Minister of India.

I take this opportunity to renew to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবকে প্রদত্ত প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খানের জবাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	২২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S REPLY, DATED OCTOBER 22, 1971, TO U. N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 20, 1971

I have today received your message of October 20, 1971, through my Ambassador.

I fully agree with your appreciation of the gravity of situation which is worsening rapidly on Indo-Pakistan borders. I also fully share your concern for preservation of peace and prevention of a disastrous situation developing for both the countries which could only result in suffering for millions of people. Already, as a result of shelling of border village on our side, hundreds of men, women and children have been killed and wounded and large numbers rendered homeless.

It is a pity that at a press Conference in New Delhi on October 19, 1971, the Indian Prime Minister has summarily rejected the proposal for withdrawal of forces of both countries from borders. The reason advanced for this is that Pakistan's lines of communications to borders are shorter than those of India. I do not wish to enter into a controversy on this point and would suggest that withdrawals of men-power along with armour and artillery may take place all along the Indo-Pakistan international frontiers both in East and West, if not to peace time stations, then at least to a mutually agreed safe distance on either side of the border to provide a sense of security on both sides. At the same time, armed infiltration and shelling into our borders in East Pakistan should cease.

I further recommend that U. N. observers on both sides of borders should oversee the withdrawal and supervise the maintenance of peace. Only the recognised border security and police forces should then remain at border posts which they have traditionally occupied.

I also welcome the offer you have made for making your good offices available and very much hope that you can pay an immediate visit to India and pakistan to discuss the ways and means of withdrawal of forces. This, I am sure, will have a salutary and desirable effect, and further the cause of peace.

In view of the urgency and gravity of the situation, confirmed by Indian leaders on October 19th last, threatening to occupy and hold border cities of Lahore and Sialkot, a public declaration by you of your intention to visit India and Pakistan to seek a settlement of differences would be most desirable.

In conclusion, I assure you of full co-operation on the part of my country in all your efforts directed towards the preservation of peace.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideratoin.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবকে প্রদত্ত প্রধানমন্ত্রী ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর জবাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৬ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI'S REPLY, DATED NOVEMBER 16, 1971, TO U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 20, 1971

Your letter of the 20th October was received two days before my departure on a long tour abroad. It was not possible to reply until my return to Delhi. My trip gave me the opportunity of discussing the crisis in Pakistan with a number of leaders in different countries.

2. We have avoided any hasty reaction to the recent events in Pakistan which have naturally caused you and us great concern. I am sure you will appreciate our anxiety as the military authorities in Pakistan continue to Pursue a deliberate policy of suppressing the fundamental freedom and human rights of the people in East Bengal and driving out millions of their citizens into India, thus placing intolerable political, social and economic burdens on us. In spite of the repeated declarations of "amnesty" and "invitations" for the return of the refugees and claims regarding the return of "normal" conditions in East Bengal made by the military regime of Pakistan, the flight of the people of East Bengal into India has not stopped and provides tragic testimony to the continuing military repression and denial of basic human rights in East Bengal. The consequences of the activities of the military regime of Pakistan threaten and distort the entire fabric of our national life and pose a serious threat to our security.

3. Consistent attempts have been made by the Government of Pakistan to divert attention from the prevailing situation inside East Bengal and its own refusal to reach a settlement with the People of East Bengal and their representatives, who were elected in a fair and free election held by the present Government of Pakistan, by projecting the issue as an Indo-Pakistan dispute. The most recent manifestation of this policy is the movement of Pakistani troops and armour to our borders, threatening India with total war, and simultaneously launching a vicious "Crush and Conquer India" campaign. These steps confirm our belief that Pakistan is seriously preparing to launch a large-scale armed conflict with India and that we have therefore to take all neces.ary defensive measures.

4. I should like to assure you, Excellency, that we have no desire to provoke and armed conflict with Pakistan. Such measures as we have taken are entirely defensive. We have been constrained to take them because of the movement and positioning for offensive combat of the Pakistani military machine. We have had to bear in mind that Pakistan has moved here forces right up to the border although the cantonments where they are normally based are only a few hours distance from the border, while the bases of our own troops are located at several days' distance. Indeed, we waited long enough before we moved our troops to the frontiers.

5. The root of the problem is the fate of the seventy-five million people of East Bengal and their inalienable rights. This is what must be kept in mind, instead of the present attempt to save the military regime. To side track this main problem, and to convert it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute, can only aggravate tensions.

6. During these difficult months, we have taken every opportunity to advocate strongly that the problem of East Bangal can be solved only by peaceful negotiations between the military rulers of West Pakistan and the elected and accepted leaders of East Bengal. A first step towards the opening of such negotiations is the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, as demanded by the people of Bast Bengal and their elected representatives. Instead, there is an attempt to establish phantom governments and legislatures. Indeed I learn that fifty-five persons have been declared elected "unopposed". Such undemocratic and entirely indefensible action cannot but increase bitterness. This farcical re-election should be stopped.

7. If the military regime in Pakistan persists in its policies, the situation in East Bengal is bound to deteriorate. Yet, there is no evidence of the wisdom or the desire necessary to seek a political solution of the problem. I believe that statesman of goodwill all over the world are convinced that only such a solution could bring normalcy to that tormented region, stop the further influx of refugees and enable those now in India to return. You yourself have made several statements emphasising the need for such a settlement. It is tragic that the Pakistan Government have turned a deaf ear to all such appeals. Your offer of good offices could play a significant role in this situation.

8. It is always a pleasure to meet you and to exchange views. Whatever efforts you can make to bring about a political settlement in East Bengal, which meets the declared wishes of the people there, will be welcome, and if you are prepared to view the problem in perspective, you will have our suoport in your initiatives.

9. I have stated my views frankly. It would not be fair to you not to do so, for I know how anxious you are to prevent the aggravation of the grim tragedy of East Bengal. I had hoped to discuss these matters with you in New York, but was very sorry to learn of your illness. I hope that you are quite well again.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে পূর্ববংগ পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের প্রতিবেদন।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

REPORT OF U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL, RELATING TO SITUATION IN EAST BENGAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10410 December 3, 1971

Recent reports received by the secretary-General from various sources indicate that there has been a further grave deterioration in the situation along the borders of East Pakistan and elsewhere in the sub-continent. In view of this conviction that this situation constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, the Secretary-General feels that he should report to the Security Council on the efforts he has made so far in regard to this problem. The Secretary-General has kept the President of the Security Council informed of these efforts under the broad terms of Article 99 of the United Nations Charter, which provides that "The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security". The Secretary-General feels that an initiative on this matter in the Council can best be taken by the parties themselves or by the members of the Security Council.

2. The present report does not cover the humanitarian efforts already launched by the Secretary-General to assist both the East Pakistan refugees in India and the distressed people of East Pakistan. Information on this effort was submitted to the Economic and Social council in July, 1971, and to the General Assembly (Third Committee) in November 1971, On 22nd November the Third Committee unanimously approved a draft resolution where by the General Assembly would endorse the initiatives of the Secretary-General and request the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to continue their efforts to co-ordinate international assistance and to ensure that it is used to the maximum advantage to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan. At the time of writing, the General Assembly has not yet considered the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee.

3. On 20th July, 1971, the Secretary-General submitted the following memorandum to the President of the Security Council :—

"(a) For some months now, the Members of the Security Council, and many other Members of the United Nations, have been deeply preoccupied with developments in East Pakistan and the adjacent Indian States and their consequences, or possible consequences. I myself expressed my concern over the situation to President Yahya Khan shortly after the events of March, 1971, and have been in continuous touch with the Government of Pakistan and India, both through their Permanent Representatives at the United Nations and through other contacts. In these exchanges I have been acutely aware of the dual responsibility of the United Nations,

including the Secretary-General, under the Charter, both to observe the provisions of its Article 2, paragraph 7, and to work, within the framework of international economic and social co-operation, to help promote and ensure human well-being and humanitarian principles.

"(*b*) It was with this latter responsibility in mind that I appealed for assistance both for the refugees from East Pakistan in India and for the population of East Pakistan. In order to channel the assistance given in response to those appeals, I designated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as the Focal point for assistance to the refugees in India and appointed, with the agreement of the Government of Pakistan, a representative in Dacca, in order to make as effective use as possible of the international assistance made available for the relief of the population of East Pakistan. Both of these humanitarian efforts have been reported upon in deatial elsewhere, and the Economic and Social Council held a full discussion on both operations on 16th July, 1971, based on statements to the Council by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs. I take this opportunity to express my warm gratitude to the Governments, the United Nations Agencies and programmes, and to the voluntary organizations which have responded generously to my appeals. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Governments of India and Pakistan for their co-operation with my representatives in the field.

"(*c*) As the weeks have passed since last march, I have become increasingly uneasy and apprehensive at the steady deterioration of the situation in the region in almost all its aspects. In spite of the generous response of the international community to my appeals for assistance for the refugees from East Pakistan now in India, the money and supplies made available are still nowhere near sufficient and the Indian Government still faces the appalling and disruptive problem of carring, for an unforeseeable period of time, for millions of refugees, whose number is still increasing. In East Pakistan, international and governmental efforts to cope with the results of two successive disasters, one of them natural, are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law, order and public administration in East Pakistan.

There is a danger that serious food shortages, and even famine, could soon add to the sufferings of the population, unless conditions can be improved to the point where a large-scale relief programme can be effective. Equally serious is the undoubted fact that reconciliation, and improved political atmosphere and the success of relief efforts are indispensable prerequisites for the return of any large proportion of the refugees now in India. The situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a series of vicious circles which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved.

"(*d*) These human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. The violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic groups in the sub-continent as a whole, and the relationship of the Governments of India and Pakistan is also a major component

of the problem. The conflict between the principles of the territorial integrity of States and of self-determination has often before in history given rise to fratricidal strife and has provoked in recent years highly emotional reactions in the international community. In the present case, there is an additional element of danger, for the crisis is unfolding in context of the long-standing, and unresolved, differences between India and Pakistan —differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago. Although there can be no question of the deep desire of both Governments for peace, tension between them shows no sign of subsiding. The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent, and this is all the more serious since refugees must cross this disturbed border if repatriation is to become a reality. Nor can any of us here in the United Nations afford to forget that a major conflict in the sub-continent could all too easily expand.

"(*e*) In tragic circumstances such as those prevailing in the sub-continent, it is all too easy to make moral judgments. It is far more difficult to face up to the political and human realities of the situation and to help the peoples concerned to find a way out of their enormous difficulties. It is this latter course which, in my view, the United Nations must follow.

"(*f*) I do not think that I have painted too dark a picture of the present situation and of its possible consequences. In the light of the information available to me, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the time is past when the international community can continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions will be enouh to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster. I am deeply concerned about the possible consequences of the present situation, not only in the humanitarian sense but also as a potential threat to peace and security and for its bearing on the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for insternational co-operation and action. It seems to me that the present tragic situation in which humanitarian, economic and political problems are mixed in such a way as almost to defy any distinction between them, presents a challenge to the United Nations as a whole which must be met. Other situations of this kind may well occur in the future. If the Organization faces up to such a situation now, it may be able to develop the new skill and the new strength required to face future situations of this kind.

"(*g*) It is for these reasons that I am taking the unusual step of reporting to the President of the Security Council on a question which has not been inscribed on the Council's agenda. The political aspects of this matter are of such far-reaching importance that Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem. I believe, however, that the United Nations, with its long experience in peace keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion, must, and should, now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy which has already taken place and to avert the further deterioration of the situation.

"(*h*) The Security Council, the world's highest body for the maintenance of international peace and security, is in a position to consider, with the

utmost attention and concern, the present situation and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken. Naturally, it is for the members of the Council themselves to decide whether such consideration should take place formally or informally, in public or in private. My primary purpose at this stage is to provide a basis and an opportunity for such discussions to take place and to express my grave concern that all possible ways and means should be explored which might help to resolve this tragic situation."

4. On 17th September, 1971, in the Introduction to my Annual Report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, I brought this problem in all its aspects to the Assembly's attention. I concluded my report with the following observation :—

"In a disaster of such vast proportions, the international community has a clear obligation to help the Governments and peoples concerned in every possible way. But, as I have indicated, the basic problem can be solved only if a political solution based on reconciliation and the respect of humanitarian principles is achieved."

With this end in view. I have used my good offices in various way eversince the events of March in East Pakistan. For obvious, I did this with complete lack of publicity. Because of the special importance of the problem, I made an exception to this rule with regard to the case of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in connexion with which I had the following statement issued on 10th August, 1971 :

"The Secretary-General feels that it is an extremely sensitive and delicate matter which falls within the competence of the judicial system of a Mamber State—in this case, Pakistan. It is also a matter of extraordinary interest and concern in many quarters, form a humanitarian as well as from a political point of view. The Secretary-General has received and is still receiving almost every day expression of serious concern from representatives of Government about the situation in East Pakistan. and there is a general feeling that the restoration of peace and normalcy in the region is remote unless some kind of accommodation is reached. The Secretary-General shares the feelings of many representatives that any developments concerning the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will inevitably have repercussions outside the borders of Pakistan".

I had previously addressed a letter to the President of Pakistan on this subject.

5. On 20th October, the Secretary-General, having in mind the possible usefulness of comprehensive discussion with the heads of the Governments of India and Pakistan on all the aspects of the problem as set forth in his memorandum of 20th July (*see* para 3 above), addressed identical messages to the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan. The text of these messagess reads as follow :

(Given earlier in this chapter on page 322.)

6. On 22nd October, the President of Pakistan replied to the Secretary-General's message of 20th October, as follows :

(Given earlier in this chapter on pages 322—323.)

7. On 16th November, the Prime Minister of India addressed the following reply to the Secretary-General's message of 20th October :

(Given earlier in this chapter on pages 323—324.)

8. On 22nd November, the Secretary-General sent the following message to the Prime minister of India in reply to her letter of 16th November :

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 16th November, 1971, in which you send me your reply to my letter of 20th October, 1971. I appreciate the thoughtful and detailed exposition of the views of Your Excellency's Government concerning the situation which gave rise to my offer of good offices, and, in particular, Your Excellency's statement that your Government has no desire to provoke an armed conflict with Pakistan.

"I am, however, puzzled by the reference in paragraph 5 of Your Excellency's letter to 'the present attempt to save the military regime' of Pakistan and by the statement that 'To side-track this main problem and to convert it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute can only aggravate tensions'. I am also puzzled by the statement in paragraph 8 that if I am prepared to 'view the problem in perspective' I shall have the support of the Indian Government.

"In view of these statements, I feel obliged to make clear to Your Excellency my intention in offering my good offices. My letter of 20th October was deliberately written in the Context of my memorandum of 20th July, 1971, addressed to the President of the Security Council which took into account those aspects of situation which Your Excellency mentions in your letter. In fact, I had intended that this memorandum would serve as the term of reference for the exercise of my good offices.

"I had naturally intended to view this very serious situation in the broadest possible perspective and had hoped to have the opportunity to review it with the leaders of both Government. It was not my intention to side-track any of the main issues, nor to confine the problem to any single particular issue, although naturally, as Secretary-General, I cannot under the Charter ignore a potential threat to international peace and security such as now seems to exist in the sub-continent.

"As Your Excellency knows, the exercise of good offices requires the assent and co-operation of all the parties concerned. Under the present circumstances, much to my regret, there does not seem to be a basis for the exercise of the Secretary-General's good offices in this infinitely serious and complicated problem."

9. On 23rd November, the Secretary-General received a further letter from the President of Pakistan as follows :

"I am addressing this message to you with a deep sense of urgency in view of the grave situation which has arisen in my country as a result of unprovoked and large-scale by attacks by Indian armed forces on various parts of Pakistan.

"(*b*) On 21st November, an Indian army brigade group supported by armed helicopters entered Chittagong Hill Tracts, overran our border outposts and penetrated approximately 10 miles into our territory. The same day, another brigade group of the 23rd Indian Division, supported by the rest of the division, launched an attack in the Belonia salient of Noakhali District, pushing eight miles deep into Pakistan territory. In the Brahmanbaria subdivision also, attacks were launched by a battalion group each from the 57th Division against two of our border posts at Mukandpur and Saldanadi which were overrun. In Sylhet District Maulvi Bazaar subdivision, two battalion groups attacked and overran border outposts at Dhalai, Athgram and Zakiganj. The battalion groups included two companies of Gurkhas. Another attack was launched in Rangpur District in the Bhurangamari salient were an Indian brigade group penetrated 15 miles into Pakistan territoy up to Nageshwari. In Jessore District, a major offensive was launched by a brigade group of the 9th Indian Division, supported by armour and air cover opposite Chaugacha. Indian tanks penetrated about eight miles into Pakistan territory.

An Indian air attack was challenged by the Pakistan Air Force. One Indian aircraft was destroyed and we lost two. Six Indian tanks were destroyed in the engagement and eight of ours were disabled.

Intermittent shelling of Jessore air field continues.

In Mymensingh District, repeated attacks against our border outposts at Karitola have been repulsed.

"(*c*) As many as 12 Indian Divisions have been deployed around East Pakistan. In addition, there are 38 battalions of the Indian Border Security Force. The 2nd and 5th Indian Mountain Division which were previously deployed on the borders with China have also been moved towards East Pakistan. The 8th Mountain Division (of six brigades) has also been moved to the East Pakistan border towards Sylhet from Nagaland were only one brigade is now left.

Twelve squadrons of the Indian Air Force are now placed around East Pakistan. A sizable Indian Naval Force, comprising an aircraft carrier, frigates, landing ships and two submarines, is standing by, near Vizagapattam, in the Bay of Bengal posing an amphibious threat to Chittagong and Chalna ports. The approaches to Chalna port have been mined by the Indian forces with the result that two merchant ships chartered for carrying foodgrains and other essential supplies have been damaged. This will seriously disrupt food supplies to East Pakistan.

"(*d*) As Your Excellency is aware, Indian armed forces in the last few months have maintained pressure all along Pakistan's eastern borders. Apart from training and equipping rebels and launching their attacks supported by Indian Border Security Forces personnel into Pakistan territory, Indian artillery units have been constantly shelling areas in East Pakistan. But, as I have pointed out above, in the last three or four days, the Indian armed forces have turned from localized attacks to open and large-scale warfare on several fronts. They have further escalated the conflict by introducing armour and air force. Pakistan Army and Air Force units in East Pakistan have been under strict orders not to cross the frontiers, and to exercise the utmost restraint in the face of continued grave provocations.

The present situation, however, is such that the offensive launched by the Indian armed forces must be met by us with all the force at our command in the defence of our territorial integrity.

"(e) We were assured from time to time that India did not intend to launch open and large-scale warfare against Pakistan. It is now evident that, far from exercising restraint, India has chosen the path of unabashed and unprovoked aggression. India continues to harp on the theme that the inroads into the Pakistan are being made by the so-called 'Mukti Bahini'—a rebel force created, maintained and sustained by India. No one will be deceived by the Indian claim which stands disproved by the scale of present operations and by the equipment, including armour and air force elements, now being used.

"(f) Your Excellency will recall that on 20th July last you addressed an informal and confidential memorandum to the President of the Security Council informing him of the steady deterioration of the situation on the borders of East Pakistan and drawing attention to the possibility of a major conflict in the sub-continent. I welcomed your initiative and agreed to accept the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to supervise the return of East Pakistani displaced persons to East Pakistan. Since then, Pakistan has also sought the establishment of a good offices committee of the Security Council to defuse the prevailing tension in the sub-continent. I agreed at a subsequent date to a mutual withdrawal of forces from borders, but the proposal was summarily rejected by the Indian Prime Minister on 19th October, 1971. More recently, I responded positively to your letter of 20th October, in which you made a realistic assessment of the current Indo-Pakistan situation and expressed your concern at the prospect of 'a senseless and destructive war'. At that time, you offered your good offices 'to assist the Government immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might lead to disaster' and you stated that your good offices were entirely at our disposal if we believed that they could be helpful any time. I was happy to welcome this offer and to invite you to visit India and Pakistan to discuss ways and means of securing peace in the region.

"(g) You will see that Pakistan has consistently expressed her willingness to accept the assistance of the United Nations in the solution of the present crisis in the sub-continent and India has consistently rejected it. Our position continues to be the same, but I fear India is not interested in a peaceful settlement. The developing situation, as I have described, is fast reaching a point of no return. At this juncture, your personal initiative could still avert a catastrophe.

"(h) Conscious of your continuing concern for the well being of the peoples of India and Pakistan and the preservation of peace and stability in the sub-continent, I await you good counsel".

10. On 26th November, the Secretary-General replied to the President of Pakistan as follows :

"I wish to thank you for your letters of 22nd October and 23rd November, 1971. I have noted with appreciation your prompt response to my offer of good offices, as well as to the suggestions which I made previously. I have also noted with great interest the suggestions in your letter of 22nd October con-

cerning other actions which might be taken to reduce tension and the threat to peace and security in the sub-continent.

My letter of 20th October was written in the context of my memorandum of 20th July, 1971, addressed to the President of the Security Council. Within this broad perspective, I had hoped to have the opportunity to review the whole situation with the leaders of both Governments in an effort to find ways in which solutions to some of the pressing and critical problems, which both Governments face, could be found.

"As your Excellency knows, the exercise of good offices requires the assent and co-operation of all parties concerned. Under the present circumstances, to my regret, there does not seem to be a basis for the exercise of the Secretary-General's good offices. Nonetheless, I am still anxious to be of whatever assistance the parties may find useful.

"I have read with deep concern the description of the situation contained in your letter of 23rd November. I most earnestly hope that the United Nations will prove able to be of assistance to both Governments in avoiding a further escalation of violence into a senseless and destructive war.

"I note Your Excellency's statement that a personal initiative by me could still avert a catastrophe. While I am deeply anxious to do anything that I can to avert a further catastrophe, I have been obliged to conclude that I have gone, for the moment, as far as my authority under the Charter permits me, usefully and meaningfully, to go in the present circumstances. As Your Excellency mentioned in your letter of 23rd November, I have brought this situation to the attention of the Members of the Security Council, both in July, through my memorandum to the President of the Security Council, and in October, when I offered my good offices. I will, of course, remain in touch with the Representatives of both Pakistan and India concerning ways in which the United Nations may prove able to assist both in attempting to preserve international peace and security and in working out a peaceful and lasting solution to the fundamental problems which underline the present tragic situation".

11. The President of the Security Council, was kept continuously informed of the action of the Secretary-General relating to his offer of good offices. Copies of all the messages addressed by the Secretary-General in this regard to the Prime Minister of India or the President of Pakistan were immediately communicated to the president of the Security Council for his information.

12. On 29th November, the Permanent Representative of Pakistan conveyed to the Secretary-General a message from the President of Pakistan as follows :

"I have the honour to convey the following message from the President of Pakistan to Your Excellency. This message was received yesterday and was orally conveyed to Under Secretary-General Roberto Guyer at 9. pm. last night:

Begins :

Excellency,

As you will have seen from my letter of 23rd November, a grave situation prevails at present on the borders of East Pakistan as a result

of unprovoked and large-scale attacks by the Indian armed forces. As Your Excellency is aware, while accepting your offer of good officees I had proposed a simultaneous withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani forces and suggested that this may be supervised by UN. observers. India unfortunately did not accept the proposal. In order to obviate a threat to peace and to arrest the deteriorating situation, I now request Your Excellency to consider stationing a force of U.N. observers on our side of the East Pakistan border, immediately, to observe and report upon violations of our terrtitory.

GENERAL AGHA MUHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN
President of Pakistan.

Ends"

13. With regard to the President of Pakistan's letter of 29th November, the Secretary-General addressed on the same day the following message to the President of the Security Council.

" As I have been keeping the President of the Security Council continuously informed of my exchanges of communications with the Governments of India and Pakistan concerning the situation in the sub-continent I am sending Your Excellency a copy of a message which I have today received from President Yahya Khan of Pakistan. You will observe that this message contains a request to me to consider stantioning a force of United Nations observers on the Pakistan side of the East Pakistan border immediately.

"In my memorandum of 20th July, 1971, to the President of the Security Council' I wrote that 'the political aspects of this matter are of such far reaching importance that the Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the Members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem'. In the context of the present military conflict, the stationing of observers by the United Nations on the territory of a sovereign State, even at the request, of that state, is obviously an action for which the authority of the Security Council should be obtaind. I believe therefore that the Members of the Security Council should be informed, in whatever manner Your Excellency as President might deem desirable of the request of President Yahya Khan for the stationing of United Nations observers.

"I also feel that, in the light of its primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. the Security Council should give serious consideration to the situation prevailing in the sub-continent. In this connexion, I would wish to add that I have been obliged to conclude that in this matter, I have gone, for the moment, as far as the Secretary-General may usefully and meaningfully go in the present circumstances".

14. At the same time, the Secretary-General sent the following letter to the Permanent Representative of Pakistan :

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 29th November, 1971, in which you convey to me a message from His Excellency General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan. I should be grateful if you would inform His Excellncy the President of Pakistan that I am giving

careful consideration to his message, which relates to a situation of the gravest concern to me.

"I enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter which I have today addressed to the President of the Security Council on the subject of President Yahya Khan's message. Since this letter states clearly my position concerning the request which President Yahya Khan has made, I should be grateful if you would convey the substance of it to your Government".

———

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের প্রতিবেদন।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

REPORT OF U. N. SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S, 10410/Add. 1, December 4, 1971

ADDENDUM

Since the completion of the report of the Secretary-General, datet 3rd December, 1971, (S/10410), two messages have been received by the Secretary-General, one from the Prime Minister of India and the other from the President of Pakistan.

2. The message from the Prime Minister of India, which was orally delivered on the afternoon of 3rd December, is as follows :

"(*a*) Subsequent to Pakistani air attacks on Pathankot, Srinagar and Amritsar in the afternoon of 2nd December, there were three further Pakistani air attacks on the morning of 3rd December on Faridkot (Punjab), Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) and Jodhpur (Rajasthan).

"(*b*) A special session of the Indian Parliament has been convened for 4th December".

"(*c*) The Prime Minister is broadcasting to the nation at midnight tonight

"(*d*) Pakistani sources have reported that India has launched an attack on West Pakistan. This is totally false".

3. The letter from the President of Pakistan, dated 3rd December, was transmitted to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan on 4th December. It reads as follows :

"(*a*) I draw your attention to the following grave situation which has arisen between India and Pakistan. Today, between 1530 and 1600 hours West Pakistan Standard Time, Indian army launched simultaneous attacks on Sialkot and an area between Jessar bridge and Lahore and on the Rajasthan front opposite Rahim Yar Khan in West Pakistan, and on Chhamb in Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian ground force attackers were supported by the Indian air force. These attacks were preceded for the last three or four days by aggressive reconnaissance carried out by Indian aircraft over West Pakistan territory.

"(*b*) The Pakistan forces are taking necessary counter-measures.

"(*c*) The Pakistan air force late this evening took defensive measures against some of the forward airfields close to the Pakistan borders at Srinagar and Avantipur in Indian-occupied Kashmir and Pathankot and Amritsar.

"(*d*) Considerable Indian military activity has also been noticed in the Poonch and Uri sectors in Indian-occupied Kashmir.

"(*e*) Excellency, as you are aware I have done everything possible to avoid an extension of the conflict between India and Pakistan in spite of grave provocations. For weeks, the situation in East Pakistan has been a matter of deep concern. Due to open Indian aggression along the borders of East Pakistan and intrusion into our territory at several points, it has been a state of virtual war. But we have tried to contain the situation and defuse the mounting tensions as much as possible. My efforts in this direction are within Your Excellency's knowledge, the latest being my proposal for the stationing of United Nations observers, within East Pakistan's borders to observe and report upon violations of our territory.

"(*f*) Now that Indian aggression has resulted in a conflagration which can have incalculable dimensions, the international community must take note of the situation. Otherwise, it can only result in disastrous consequences for peace and stability of the entire region.

"(*g*) In bringing this situation to Your Excellency's notice, it is my earnest hope that the international community will exert itself on the side of jutice and peace and uphold the sacred principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations which safeguards the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations, big and small, and which forbids the use of force by one nation against another".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রের খসড়া প্রস্তাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৪—৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY U. S. A. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL S/10416, December 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan,

CONVINCED that hostilities along the India-Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all steps required for an immediate cessation of hostilities ;

2. *Calls for* an immediate withdrawal of armed personnel present on the territory of the other to their own sides of the India-Pakistan borders ;

3. *Authorizes* the Secretary General, at the request of the Government of India or Pakistan, to place observers along the India-Pakistan borders to report on the implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawals, drawing as necessary on UNMOGIP personnel ,

4. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan and others concerned to exert their best efforts toward the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of refugees to East Pakistan ;

5. *Calls upon* all States to refrain from any action that would endanger the peace in the area ;

6. *Invites* the Governments of India and Pakistan to respond affirmatively to the proposal of the Secretary-General offering good offices to secure and maintain peace in the sub-continent ;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the implementation of this resolution.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY BELGIUM, ITALY AND JAPAN IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, S/10417, DECEMBER 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the report of the Secretary-General (S/10410 and Add. 1 and S/10412) of 3rd and 4th December, 1971,

HAVING HEARD the statement of the representatives of India and Pakistan,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

MINDFUL of its responsibility under the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and for a cessation of all military activities;

2. *Urges* the Governments concerned, in accordance with the principles envisaged in the United Nations Charter, to intensify their efforts to bring about conditions necessary for the speedy and voluntary repatriation of the millions of refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the situation;

5. *Decides* to follow closely the situation and to meet again as soon as necessary.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE U.S.S.R. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL S/10418, DECEMBER 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED the letter of nine Members of the Security Council (S/10411) and the report of the Secretary-General (S/10410).

Calls for a political settlement in East Pakistan which would inevitably result in a cessation of hostilities;

Calls upon the Government of Pakistan to take measures to cease all acts of violence by Pakistani forces in East Pakistan which have led to deterioration of the situation.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY ARGENTINA, NICARAGUA, SIERRA LEONE AND SOMALIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10419, December 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

NOTING the report of the Secretary-General of 3rd December, 1971, (S/10410, S/10410/Add. 1).

HAVING HEARD the statement of the Representatives of India and Pakistan.

GRAVELY CONCERNED at the outbreak of hostilities along the borders of India and Pakistan.

CONVINCED that Hostilities along the India-Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security.

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities.

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take preliminary measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities and effect a withdrawal of armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders.

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan border;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the situation.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY ARGENTINA, BELGIUM, BURUNDI, ITALY, JAPAN, NICARAGUA, SIERRA LEONE AND SOMALIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10423, December 5, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General (S/10410 and Add. 1 and S/10412) of 3rd and 4th December, 1971.

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan.

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security.

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities.

CONVINCED that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes.

MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4.

RECALLING the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities and effect a withdrawal of armed forces to their own side the India-Pakistan borders.

MINDFUL of its responsibility under the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

2. *Urges* that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the principles of the Charter, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of this resolution;

5. *Decides* to follow the situation closely and to meet again as soon as necessary.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY CHINA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL S/10421, December 5, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having Heard the statements of the Reprsentatives of Pakistan and India.

Noting In Particular that India has launched large-scale attacks on Pakistan, thus gravely undermining the peace in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Strongly Condemning the Indian Government's acts of creating a so-called "Bangladesh" and of subverting, dismembering and committing agression against Pakistan.

Calls upon the Government of India to withdraw its armed forces and armed personnel sent by it from Pakistan territory immediately and unconditionally and calls upon the Government of Pakistan to withdraw the armed forces which it has sent into Indian territory for counter-attacks.

Calls upon India and Pakistan to cease hostilities and to withdraw respectively from the international border between India and Pakistan and to disengage from each other so as to create conditions for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between India and Pakistan.

Calls upon all States to support the Pakistan people in their just struggle to resist Indian aggression.

Request the Secretary-General to submit as early as possible a report to the Security Council on the implementation of this resolution.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY BELGIUM, ITALY, JAPAN, NICARAGUA, SIERRA LEONE AND TUNISIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL
S/10425, December 5, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Gravely Concerned that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security—

1. **Calls upon** the Governments concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire ;

2. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed of the implementation of this resolution ;

3. **Decides** to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the area.

AMENDMENT BY THE U.S.S.R. TO DRAFT RESOLUTION S/10425 IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL
S/10426 DECEMBER 6, 1971

In operative paragraph 1, **replace** the words "the Governments concerned" by the words "all parties concerned"; at the end of the same paragraph, **add** the words "and cessation of all military operations".

2 Between operative paragraphs 1 and 2, **insert** the following as operative paragraphs 2 and 3 :

"(2) **Calls upon** the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970;

"(3) **Declares** that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole";

3. Renumber the remaining operative paragraphs accordingly.

REVISED AMENDMENT BY THE U.S.S.R. TO DRAFT RESOLUTION S/10425 IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL S/10426, REV. 1, DECEMBER 6, 1971

1. In operative paragraph 1, **replace** the words "the Governments concerned" by the words "all parties concerned"; at the end of the same paragraph, **add** the words "and cessation of all hostilities".

2 Between operative paragraphs 1 and 2, **insert** the following as operative paragraphs 2 and 3 ;

"(2) **Calls upon** the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970 ;

"(3) **Declares** that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole";

3. Renumber the remaining operative paragraphs accordingly.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE U.S.S.R. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL S/10428, December 6, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Gravely Concerned that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security—

1. **Calls upon** all parties concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities ;

2. **Calls upon** the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970 ;

3. **Declares** that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole ;

4. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed of the implementation of this resolution ;

5. **Decides** to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the area.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY ARGENTINA, BURUNDI, JAPAN, NICARAGUA, SIERRA LEONE AND SOMALIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10429, December 6, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having Considered the item on its agenda as contained in document S/Agenda/1606.

Taking Into Account that the lack of unanimity of its Permanent Members at the 1606th and 1607th meetings of the Security Council has pervented it from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Decides to refer the question contained in document S/Agenda/1606 to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, as provided for in General Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সাধারণ পরিষদে বিভিন্ন সদস্য রাষ্ট্রের খসড়া প্রস্তাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY ARGENTINA, BURUNDI, CAMEROON, GHANA, HONDURAS, INDONESIA, ITALY, JAPAN, NICARAGUA, SIERRA LEONE, SOMALIA, SPAIN, SUDAN AND TUNISIA IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY A/L- 647, DECEMBER 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and the letter from the President of the Security Council transmitting the text of Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971.

Gravely Concerned that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security.

Recognizing the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framwork of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities.

Convinced that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes.

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4.

Recalling the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.

Recognizing Further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders.

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950–

1. **Calls upon** the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for and immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders ;

2. **Urges** that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes ;

3. **Calls for** the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees ;

4. **Request** the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution ;

5. **Decides** to follow the question closely and to meet again should the solution to demand ;

6. **Calls upon** the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution ;

Revised Draft Resolution by Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Tunisia, Uruguay, Yemen, Zaire and Zambia in the General Assembly

A/L. 647/Rev. 1, December 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and the letter from the President of the Security Council transmitting the text of Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971.

Gravely Concerned that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security.

Recognizing the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities.

Convinced that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes.

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4.

Recalling the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraph 4, 5 and 6.

Recognizing Further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders.

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377-A(V) of 3rd November, 1950.—

1. **Calls upon** the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders ;

2. **Urges** that efforts be intencified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes ;

3. **Calls for** the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees ;

4. **Urges** that every effort to made to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area of conflict ;

5. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution ;

6 **Desides** to follow the question closely and to meet again should the situation so demand ;

7. **Calls upon** the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE U.S.S.R. IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A/L. 648, December 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Gravely Concerned that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security—

1. **Calls upon** all parties concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities ;

2. **Calls upon** the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970 ;

3. **Declares** that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole ;

4. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council and the General Assembly promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution ;

5. **Calls upon the** Security Council to take appropriate measures in the light of the present resolution.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সাধারণ পরিষদে গৃহীত প্রস্তাব।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A/RES/2793 (XXVI), December 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and the letter from the President of the Security Council transmitting the text of Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971.

Gravely Concerned that hostilities has broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security.

Recognizing the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities.

Convinced that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes.

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4.

Recalling the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.

Recognizing Further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders.

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950—

1. **Calls upon** the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders ;

2. **Urges** that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes ;

3. **Calls for** the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees ;

4. **Urges** that every effort be made to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area of conflict ;

5. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution ;

6. **Decides** to follow the question closely and to meet again should the situation so demand ;

7. **Calls upon** the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘের ও অন্যান্য আন্তর্জাতিক ব্যক্তিবর্গকে ঢাকা থেকে সরিয়ে নেবার জন্য স্বীয় প্রচেষ্টার উপর মহাসচিবের প্রতিবেদন।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	ডিসেম্বর ৭, ১৯৭১

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON HIS EFFORTS TO EVACUATE THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL PERSONNEL FROM DACCA

S/10433, December 7, 1971

The following report concerning the Secretary-General's efforts to evacuate the staff of the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO) and other international personnel from Dacca is submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council because of the Secretary-General's concern about the safety of these personnel and the importance he attaches to this question. The evacuation operation affects some 240 international personnel, including 46 United Nations personnel, now stranded in Dacca.

2. During the later part of November, 1971, it was decided to continue the activities of UNEPRO as long as to the extent possible despite the continuing deterioration of the situation in East Pakistan. Non-essential personnel of UNEPRO were evacuated to Bankok and to Singapore, which was established as a staging area for the operation, or to other neighbouring safe havens, but 47 officials remained, all of them concentrated in Dacca.

3. On 3rd December, when a further grave deterioration of the situation in East Pakistan took place including air attacks on its main cities, it became obvious that UNEPRO was no longer in a position to undertake any useful activities under its mandate for the time being, and it was decided to evecuate 46 United Nations personnel. The forty-seventh, an official of the International Labour Office who is a resident of East Pakistan, was designated as custodian for all UNEPRO and UNICEF premises and equipment during the temporary absence of the staff (*see* A/PV. 2001).

4. Arrangements for the evacuation of these personnel were initiated by the Secretary-General at United Nations Headquarters in New York, with the assistance of United Nations representatives in Dacca, New Delhi and Bangkok. For some time already all road and river connexions with Dacca had been severed and the only outlet was by air. But evacuation by air presented great difficulties as well. Dacca airport had recently been attacked by the Indian Air Force and the two UNEPRO planes there were disabled. All commercial flights to and from Dacca had been cancelled and, understandably, air companies were reluctant to arrange charter flights.

5. On 4th the December, Canadian Government agreed to make available to the United Nations for the evacuation operation a C-130 aircraft, which was standing by at Bankok, two and a half hours flying time from Dacca. It was decided to undertake the evacuation operation on 5th December. In view of the special circumstances, it was necessaiy to obta'n, in addition to the usual clearance from the Pakistan authorities, the agreement of both the Governments of India and Pakistan for a cease-fire, including a complete cessation of air activity in, above and around the Dacca airport area, as well as the Bankok-Dacca air corridor. The Secretary-General initially requested the cease-fire for the period from 1030 to 1830 EPT on 5th December, with a view to making possible the unimpeded and safe arrival, loading and take-off of the aircraft.

6. By the evening of 4th December, the Pakistan Government had agreed to the Secretary-General's request, but the Indian Government was not able to make the necessary arrangements in time. It was therefore necessary to postpone the evacuation operation by 24 hours.

7. Meanwhile, the Assistance Secretary-General in charge of UNEPRO, who was among the personnel stranded in Dacca, had received numerous requests from the various Consulates to assist them in the evacuation of their officials and other nationals, including women and children. The Assistant Secretary-General, with the full approval of the Secretary-General, decided to grant their request. Thus, in addition to the 46 United Nations personnel, four officials of the International Red Corss, and 87 persons sponsored by various Consulates, as well as 80 dependent women and children, were included in the evacuation plan on 5th December. The total number of the personnel to be evacuated later increased to around 240. The enlarged group includes nationals of Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Hungary, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Nepal, Romania, Singapore, the Union of Soviet Socisalist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United Republic of Tanzania, the United States of America and Ygoslavia. To accommodate the increased passenger load, the United Nations chartered an additional aircraft, a Boeing 707, from Pan American Airways. This second aircraft was scheduled to proceed to Dacca on 7th December.

8. On the evening of 5th December, the Secretary-General was informed that the Indian authorities had agreed to the requisted cease-fire arrengements, but for a shorter period, that is, from 1030 hours to 1230 hours EPT on 6th December. Immediately, instructions were given to the Canadan C-130 to proceed with the evacuation operation, which would take place during the period indicated by the Indian authorities.

9. On 6th December, UNEPRO in Dacca reported to the Secretary-General that when the Canadian C-130 was 70 miles (within 10 minutes' flying time) from Dacca the airport was attacked by the India Air Force and the airport defences opened intensive anti air-craft fire. A that moment, bus-loads of personnel to be evacuated were approaching the airfield, and the passengers in the lead bus, most of whom were women and children, had to seek shelter in nearby trenches. At Bomb exploded about 25 meters from them, but fortunately there were no casualties. The Canadian aircraft was ordered by the Control Tower to turn away from the airport, and it flew back toward Bangkok.

10. The following details are from a report submitted on this incident by the UNEPRO Air Adviser :

"(*a*) On 6th December, 1971, I was at Dacca Civil Airport expecting the arrival of the Canadian C-130 305, flight number 501, which was on its way to Dacca from Bangkok on an evacuation mission. The object of the flight was the evacuation of women, children, United Nations staff and as many as possible members of other missions.

(*b*) The time of clearance obtained from the Indian authorities and the authorities of Pakistan was 1030 hours local time Dacca.

(*c*) The aircraft was in contact with Dacca approach control about 45 minutes before reaching it. The time of arrival, given by the Captain, was 1050 local time. The first attack on the airfield, by the Indian Air Force, began at 0930 LT and ended 0942 LT. The second attack lasted for 7 minutes. The bombs were dropped on the runway, hitting it at three points. At 1041 LT, during another attack, the aircraft was told by the Regional Controller af Civil Aviation that the attack was in full force and that the airfield was being bombed. The aircraft was told by him to return to base in Bangkok.

(*d*) The first attack ended with the runway damaged by the bombs only The craters were caused by bombs, presumably of the deep penetration type and with delayed fuses. I heard the delayed explosions occurring some time after the impact of the bombs and after the aircraft were clear of the airport.

(*e*) The second bombing attack which did damage to the runway occurred at 1310 LT".

11. Representations were immediately made on behalf of the Secretary-General to the Indian Permanent Mission to the United Nations. The Secretary-General also decided to make new arrangements for the evacuation of the stranded personnel on 7th December using both the Canadian C-130 and the Pan American Boeing 707 aircraft. A cease-fire in and around Dacca from 0830 to 1230 hours EPT and guarantees for the safe flight of the two aircraft in the air corridor from Dacca to Bangkok were requested and obtained from both the Government of India and Pakistan.

12. On 7th December, having been informed by UNEPRO in Dacca that there were reasons to believe that the Dacca airport runway could be made sufficiently serviceable for the landing of both aircraft by 0930 hours EPT, instructions were issued by United Nations Headquarters to proceed with the new evacuation plan. The C-130 aircraft was to proceed first to Dacca and thus would have an opportunity to check the state of the runway before the arrival of the Boeing 707.

13. The C-130 aircraft left Bangkok at 0645 hours local time (2345 hrs. GMT) but had turn back before reaching Dacca. The report of the aircraft commander may be summarized as follows:

(*a*) The aircraft left Bangkok airport at 2345 GMT and proceeded according to the plan agreed upon by the United Nations. When in the Rangoon area, it was informed by Dacca air control that it would not be permitted to

land at Dacca because the runway was not available. After orbiting Rangoon for one hour and twenty-six minutes, permission was finally granted for the aircraft to over-fly Dacca airport to make a visual inspection of the runway but not to land.

(*b*) The aircraft resumed agreed upon course. At 0345 GMT when the aircraft was 21°05′ north and 91°15′ east at an altitude of 20,000 feet, the aircraft commander sighted an aircraft carrier and two escorts heading in a north-easterly direction. He noticed a fighter aircraft flying along the carrier and assumed that it was taking off to escort the Canadian aircraft. He also noticed a second aircraft approaching the stern of the carrier and at the same time the carrier began to smoke. By the time second aircraft had passed over the carrier, large clouds of black smoke were visible.

(*c*) The commander next noticed an anti-aircraft burst well below to the left of the aircraft which appeared to be directed at the aircraft. He heard external explosions which he concluded were directed at the aircraft. He then broadcast "May Day" and distress signals and altered the aircraft's course for Bangkok.

(*d*) At the same time, the commander received a call from Bangkok Radio relaying a message from the Air Transport Command Operations Centre ordering the aircraft to return to Bangkok immediately. The aircraft returned to Bangkok without further incidents, landing at 0615 GMT. A cursory examination reveals no damage.

14. It is relevant to note that when the incident just mentioned took place, the C-130 aircraft was well within the agreed air corridor between Dacca and Bangkok. With the recall of this aircraft it was decided to cancel the projected flight of the Boeing 707.

15. The possibility of a further attempt at air evacuation is now being actively explored. The Secretary-General is maintaining close contact with the International Committee of the Red Cross and has instructed his Representative in Dacca to examine urgently, in full co-operation with the International Committee, what practical measures can be taken for the protection of the United Nations and other international personnel there.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবকে প্রদত্ত জাতিসংঘে নিযুক্ত পাকিস্তানের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধির পত্র।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৯ ডিসেম্বর ১৯৭১

LETTER FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN TO THE U. N., TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N.

A/8567 S/10440, December 9, 1971

Under instructions of my Government, I have the honour to state that even though resolution 2793 (XXVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 7th December, 1971, fails to take note of Indian aggression against Pakistan (which has been admitted by India) the Government of Pakistan has decided to accept the call for an immediate case-fire and withdrawal of troops contained in that resolution. Inasmuch as the resolution provides for an immediate withdrawal of the troops of each party to its own side of the border, and thus to stop bloodshed, Pakistan is willing to overlook its inadequacies at this time. The Government of Pakistan attaches due importance to the fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs of the resolution, which, besides reaffirming the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4, recall paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which read :

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

* * * *

4. SOLEMNLY REAFFIRMS that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country ;

5. SOLEMNLY REAFFIRMS that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of Charter, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State ;

6. URGES Member States to make full use and seek improved implementation of the means and methods provided for in the Charter for the exclusively peaceful settlement of any dispute or any situation, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, including negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements,

good offices including those of the Secretary-General, or other peaceful means of their own choice, it being understood that the Security Council in dealing with such disputes or situations should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

It is the hope of the Government of Pakistan that strengthened by a pronouncement unmistakably supported by the overwhelming majority of its membership, the United Nations will now decide upon concrete and binding measures to secure and maintain the cessation of hostilities with immediate effect, the withdrawal of all armed personnel and the stationing of United Nations observers on both sides of the border to supervise the cease-fire and to oversee the withdrawal of forces.

I shall be grateful if this letter is immediately circulated as a document of both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Sd.) A. Shahi

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবকে প্রদত্ত জাতিসংঘে নিযুক্ত ভারতের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধির পত্র।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	১২ ডিসেম্বর ১৯৭১

LETTER FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA TO THE U.N., TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N.

A 8580 S/10445, December 12, 1971

The General Assembly adopted resolution 2793 (XXVI) entitled "Question considered by the Security Council at its 1606th, 1607th and 1608th meetings, on 4th, 5th and 6th December, 1971", on 7th December, 1971. This was telegraphically forwarded to the Government of India direct by the Secretary-General. I have now been instructed to send the reply of the Government of India in the following terms:

"Excellency,

India's dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter is well known. It is borne out by our record over the last twenty-six years India has not been content merely by giving verbal or moral support to the United Nations but has been in the forefront of a selfless struggle in the defence of peace, against colonialism, imperialism and racialism. Indian soldiers have sacrificed their lives in carrying out missions of peace in Korea, the Congo and West Asia.

Decisions of the United Nations and resolutions adopted by its various organs and agencies have always received our most earnest and careful consideration. Consequently, the Government of India has studied with great care the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 8th December, 1971, on the present grave situation in the Indian sub-continent.

We are glad to note the resolution acknowledges the crucial importance of the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes. It may be worthwhile to recall briefly the circumstances in which these millions of refugees were driven out of their homeland.

On 25th March, 1971, the Government of Pakistan launched an assault on the people of their Eastern Province, whose only crime was that they had voted democratically. Millions of innocent, unarmed citizens were uprooted from their homes, and hundreds of thousands were killed or maimed. However great our concern for justice and sympathy for human suffering, we could perhaps have taken a detached view, had these terrible events not occurred along the broders of several of our eastern States. More than 10 million people have so far sought shelter in our territory to escape death and dishonour at the hands of the West Pakistan army. The burden of taking care of such a large influx in so short a time has been a crushing one. Our entire administration in the eastern region is at a standstill and the daily life of the people dislocated, because of schools, hospitals and other public buildings being occupied by the refugees.

Social and political tensions have been generated throughout the country and our economy has been disrupted, adversely affecting our growth. Even more serious, our security has been imperilled. Has the United Nations considered the unprecedented situation created by one Member of the United Nations for another Member ?

India has always stood for total non-interference by one State into the domestic affairs of another State. However, if one State deliberately drives millions of its citizens across the territory of another State and casts upon the receiving State unconscionable burdens, what remedies are open to the receiving State which has become a victim of domestic policies of a Member State of the United Nations ?

Has any country faced such a gigantic problem for no fault of its own ? For nine long months India staggered under this load and exercised the utmost self-restraint. Even if other countries were not moved by the agony of the people of East Bengal or the difficulties created for India, we had hoped that their desire to preserve peace in this area would lead them to take some steps to reduce the tension.

However, India's efforts were in vain. The military rulers of Pakistan have not been able to comprehend the forces of history and the people's deep desire for justice and democratic rights. The military rulers are impervious to the fact that througn their callous policies they have irrevocably alienated the people of East Bengal.

Pakistan has based its propaganda on two points :

First, it is alleged that the entire trouble is of Indian instigation. This allegation has been proved false by the democratic elections in which the Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats and by the many Dacca-based foreign correspondents who have been sending eye-witness reports of what is happening there. Secondly, the whole question is projected as one of religion. It is relevant to remember that the bulk of the people of East Bengal, who have revolted against the military Government of West Pakistan, are of the Islamic faith and no less devoted Muslims. In fact, the majority of the total population of both wings of Pakistan lived in its Eastern Province.

Despite the Pakistan Government's effort to explain away their predicament as the resuit of alleged interference, India on her part did everything to prevent the issue from becoming internationalized, and consistently advocated a political solution between the Government of Pakistan and the genuinely elected leaders of East Bengal. If the world were anxious to treat this as an internal question of Pakistan, it should have ensured that such vast proportions of the population of East Bengal were not driven out of their homes and their homeland into our country.

When nations have talked to us of peace, they have overlooked the slaughter men, women and children ; they have forgotten the fate of 10 million refugees and thus totally ignored the moral and legal responsibility of the rulers of Pakistan. A call to cease fire coupled with expressions of hope that the refugees would voluntarily return appears to India to have no purpose other than to cover up the annihilation of an entire nation. How can

foundations of peace be built on such a basis ? India cannot be a party to the violent suppression of the rights of the aggrieved people of Bangladesh. If the United Nations is interested in the whole truth, the representatives of the Bangladesh Government shou'd be heard. Why should it depart from this tradition ?

Any objective consideration would show that the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace and the return of millions of refugees can be created only through the withdrawal of West Pakistan forces. It is cruel to expect that these refugees who have suffered so much at the hands of the West Pakistani forces should contemplate return to their homeland while it is still under their occupation. So far as the armed forces of India are concerned, there can be a cease-fire and withdrawal of India's forces to its own territory, if the rulers of West Pakistan would withdraw their own forces from Bangladesh and reach a peaceful settlement with those who were until recently their fellow-citizens, but now owe allegiance to the Governmen. of Bangladesh which has been duly constituted by the representatives chosen freely in the elections held in December, 1970. Merely to express a wish for the return of the refugees without taking into account the necessary pre-conditions is to show a callous disregard for the immense suffering which these people have endured.

The Government of India is prepared to consider the call for cease-fire Indeed, India concluded cease-fire agreements with Pakistan in 1948 and 1965. Neither gave assurance of continued peace. The last one of 1965, which was followed by a solemn Inter-State agreement signed at Tashkent, failed to bring about the peaceful relations we so ardently desire.

India feels legitimately aggrieved that in calling for a cease-fire, the United Nations makes no distinction between the aggressor and its victims. It is, therefore, necessary to restate the facts.

On 3rd December, 1971, when Prime Minister of India was in Calcutta, the Defence Minister in Patna and the Finance Minister in Bombay, Pakistan's armed forces launched aggression against India. On that day, around 5-30 p.m., the Air Force of Pakistan made simultaneous attacks on India's airfields in the following towns : Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala, and Agra. The West Pakistan army opened an attack by continuous shelling of our defensive positions on a wide front including Sulaimanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sector. The Government of West Pakistan has alleged that India had attacked at 12 noon, but since there was no basis whatever for there allegation they could obviously not mention the places. These are uncontested facts. India, which is exercising the inherent right of self-defence, cannot be equated with Pakistan. India is a victim of yet another unprovoked Pakistani agression and is engaged in defending its national sovereignty and territorial integrity in the exercise of its legitimate right of self-defence.

There is one other consideration of fundamental importance which India would like to urge : International Law recognizes that where a mother-State has irrevocably lost allegiance of such a large section of its people as represented by Bangladesh and cannot bring them under its sway, conditions for the separate existence of such a State comes into being It is India's assessment that this is precisely what has happened in Bangladesh. The

overwhelming majority of the elected representatives of Bangladesh have irrevocably declard themselves in favour of separation from the mother-State of Pakistan and have set up a new State of Bangladesh. India has recognized this new State. The armed forces of the new State have long been engaged in a struggle against the forces of West Pakistan in Bangladesh. In these circumstances, is it realistic to call upon India to cease-fire without, at the same time, giving a hearing to the representatives of Bangladesh whose armed forces are engaged against the forces of West Pakistan ?

India earnestly hopes that in the light of the facts set out above, the United Nations will consider once again the realities of the situation, so that the basic causes of the conflict are removed and peace is restored. Given an assurance of a desire to examine these basic causes with objectivity, India will not be found wanting in offering its utmost co-operation."

Sd/- SAMAR SEN.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের প্রেসিডেন্টকে প্রদত্ত জাতিসংঘে নিযুক্ত যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধির পত্র।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

LETTER FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF U.S.A. TO THE U.N., TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

[S/10444, December 12, 1971

The war on the Indian sub-continent continues to rage unabated. Urgent efforts by the Security Council to effect a cease-fire and withdrawal at its 1606th. 1607th and 1608th meetings failed, thus necessitating immediate referral of the crisis to the General Assembly under the "Uniting for Peace" procedure. The General Assembly considered this grave situation at its 2002nd and 2003rd meetings and on December 7, and by a vote of 104 to 11 with 10 abstentions adopted resolution 2793 (XXVI) which *inter alia* called on India and Pakistan to institute a cease-fire and to withdraw troops from each other's territories.

One of the parties, Pakistan, has accepted the resolution. The other party, India, has not yet done so.

The United States believes that the Security Council has an obligation to end this threat to world peace on a most urgent basis.

On instructions from my Government, I request that you convene a meeting the Security Council immediately.

(Sd.) GEORGE BUSH

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রের খসড়া প্রস্তাব ও সংশোধনী।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১২—২১ ডিসেম্বর ১৯৭১

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE U.S.A. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL
S/10446, December 12, 1971

The Security Council,

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and Security Council Resolution 303. (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

Noting General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971, adopted by a vote of 104-11-10,

Noting Further that the Government of Pakistan has accepted a cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces, as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI), and India's failure to do so,

Gravely Concerned that hostilities continue between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

Recognizing the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given as to the hostilities,

Convinced that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

Recalling the Declaration on the Strengthening of Internationl Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

Recognizing further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the Security Council's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter,

1. **Calls upon** the Government of India forthwith to accept a cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI);

2. **Calls upon** the Government of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

3. **Urges** that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes ;

4. **Calls for** the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees ;

5. **Calls upon** all parties concerned to take all possible measures and precautions to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area ;

6. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution ;

7. **Decides** to remain seized of the matter and to meet again as circumstances warrant.

REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE U. S. A. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10446/Rev. 1, December 13, 1971

The Security Council,

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and Security Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

Noting General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971, adopted by a vote of 104-11-10,

Noting further that the Government of Pakistan has accepted a cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) and the Government of India's letter in document S/10445,

Regretting that the Government of India has not yet accepted an unconditional and immediate cease-fire and withdrawal as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI),

Gravely Concerned that hostilities continue between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

Recognizing the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

Convinced that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

Recalling the declaration of the strengthening of international security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

Recognizing further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the Security Council's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter,,

1. **Calls upon** the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to thirown side of the India-Pakistan borders ;

2. **Urges** that efforts be intensified in order to bring about speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes ;

3. **Calls** for the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees ;

4. **Calls upon** all parties concerned to take all possible measures and precautions to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area ;

5. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution ;

6. **Decides** to remain seized of the matter and to meet again as circumstances warrant.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY ITALY AND JAPAN IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10451/Rev. 1, December. 13, 1971

The Security Council,

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and Security Council Resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the Security Council's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter,

Noting General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

Noting with Appreciation the reply of the Government of Pakistan in the letter of the Secretary-General concerning General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) contained in document S/10440.

Noting Further the reply of the Government of India, contained in document S/10445,

Gravely Concerned that hostilities continue between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

Recognising the need to deal also, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

Recognising that a lasting solution must be based on a political settlement in Pakistan which respects the rights and interests of its people,

Recalling the declaration on the strengthening of international security particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

Recognizing Further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of all armed forces,

1. **Calls upon** all Member states, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent or to endanger international peace ;

2. **Calls upon** all parties concerned to take forthwith, as a first step, all measures to bring about an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities,

3 **Urges** India and Pakistan both to carry on operations of disengagement and withdrawal so as to bring about the end of confrontation and the return to normalcy in the area of conflict ;

4. **Calls for** immediate steps aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement ;

5 **Calls for** the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of the East Pakistan refugees ;

6. **Calls upon** all parties concerned to take all possible measures and precautions to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area and to ensure the full observation of all the Geneva Conventions ;

7. **Decides** to appoint, with the consent of India and Pakistan, a Committee composed of three Members of the Security Council to assist them in their efforts to bring about normalcy in the area of conflict, as well as to achieve reconciliation in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in keeping with the aforesaid resolutions and to report to the Council ;

8. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution ;

9. **Decides** to remain seized of the matter and to meet again if circumstances warrant.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY POLAND IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10453, December 14, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

Gravely Concerned over the military conflict on the Indian sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security.

Having heard the statements by the Foreign Minister of India and the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan

Decides that ;

1. In the eastern theatre of conflict, the power will be peacefully transferred to the lawfully elected representatives of the people headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who would immediately be released ;

2. Immediately after the beginning of the process of power transfer, the military actions in all the areas will be ceased and an initial cease-fire will start for a period of 72 hours ;

3. After the immediate commencement of the initial period of cease-fire, the Pakistan armed forces will start withdrawal to the pre-set locations in the eastern theatre of conflict with a view to evacuation from the eastern theatre of conflict ;

4. Similarly, the entire West Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons willing to return to West Pakistan, as well as the entire East Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons in West Pakistan willing to return home, will be given an opportunity to do so under the supervision of the United Nations, with the guarantees on the part of all appropriate authorities concerned that nobody will be subjected to repressions ;

5. As soon as within the period of 72 hours the withdrawal of the Pakistan troops and their concentration for that purpose will have started, the cease-fire will become permanent. As soon as the evacuation of the West Pakistan armed forces will have started, the Indian armed forces will start their withdrawal from the eastern theatre of military operations. Such withdrawal of troops will begin actually upon consultations with the newly established authorities organized as a result of the transfer of power to the lawfully elected representatives of the people headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman ;

6. Recognizing the principle according to which territorial acquisitions made through the use of force will not be retained by either party to the conflict, the Governments of India and Pakistan will immediately begin negotiations through appropriate representatives of their armed forces with a view to the speediest possible implementation of this principle in the western theatre of military operations.

REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION BY POLAND IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10453/Rev. 1, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED over the military conflict on the Indian sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security.

HAVING HEARD the statements by the Foreign Minister of India and the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan.

DECIDES that :

1. In the eastern theatre of conflict, the power will be peacefully transferred to the representatives of the people, lawfully elected in December, 1970 ;

2. Immediately after the beginning ; of the process of power transfer, the military actions in all the areas will be cased and an initial cease-fire will start for a period of 72 hours ;

3. After the immediate commencement of the initial period of cease-fire, the Pakistan armed forces will start withdrawal to the pre-set locations in the eastern theatre of conflict with a view to evacuation from the eastern theatre of conflict ;

4. Similarly, the entire West Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons willing to return to West Pakistan, as well as the entire East Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons in West Pakistan willing to return home, will be given an opportunity to do so under the supervision of the United Nations, with the guarantees on the part of all appropriate authorities concerned that nobody will be subjected to repressions ;

5. As soon as within the period of 72 hours the withdrawal of the Pakistan troops and their concentration for that purpose will have started, the cease-fire will become permanent. The Indian armed forces will be withdrawn from East Pakistan. Such withdrawal of troops will begin upon consultations with the newly established authorities organized as a result of the transfer of power to the lawfully elected representatives of the people ;

6. Recognizing the principle, according to which territorial acquisitions made through the use of force will not be retained by either party to the conflict, the Governments of India and Pakistan will immediately begin negotiations through appropriate representatives of their armed forces with a view to the speediest possible implementation of this principle in the western theatre of military operations.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY FRANCE AND THE U. K. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10455, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED at the situation in South Asia, which constitute a threat to international peace and security,

MINDFUL of its responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

RECOGNIZING the urgent need to deal effectively with the basic causes of the present conflict,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER that any lasting solution must include a political settlement which respects the fundamental rights and interests of the people,

DEEPLY DISTRESSED at the enormity of human suffering that has occurred in the area in recent months and resulted in the wholesale displacement of millions of people from East Pakistan,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that all necessary measures should be taken for the preservation of human life and the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949,

1. **Calls upon** the Governments of India and Pakistan to institute forthwith an immediate and durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict in the western theatre and similarly calls for an immediate and durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities by all forces in East Pakistan, to remain in effect until operations of disengagement leading to withdrawal have taken place in both theatres ;

2. **Calls for** the urgent conclusion of a comprehensive political settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned as declared through their elected and acknowledged representatives and in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter ;

3. **Calls upon** all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace ;

4. **Calls upon** all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply fully their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population ;

5. **Calls for** full international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes ;

6. **Invites** the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative to lend his good offices in particular for the solution of humanitarian problems ;

7. **Requests** the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the implementation of this resolution.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY SYRIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10456, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED with the situation in the India-Pakistan sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to peace,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

1. **Urges** the Government of Pakistan to immediately release all political prisoners so that the elected representatives of East Pakistan resume their mandate ;

2. **Desides :**

(*a*) An immediate cease-fire on all fronts ;

(*b*) A disengagement of all those engaged in hostilities, including the withdrawal of the armed forces under the respective command of India and Pakistan to their own side of the border and the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir ;

3. **Requests** the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative with a view to :

(*a*) Supervising the orderly process of the above-mentioned operations ;

(*b*) Assisting the elected representatives of East Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan to reach a comprehensive settlement, compatible with the principles of the Charter ;

(*c*) Establishing the proportions conditions for the voluntary return of the refugees ;

(*d*) Normalizing the relations between India and Pakistan ;

4. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Council constantly inforced of the implementation of this resolution.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE U.S.S.R. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10457, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED by the conflict in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. **Calls upon** all the parties concerned to take steps for bringing abut immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities on the eastern and western fronts ;

2. **Calls for** the simultaneous conclusion of a political settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people of East Pakistan as declared through their already elected representatives ;

3. **Calls upon** all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and to observe the Geneva Conventions of 1949 ;

4. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Council promotly and currently informed of the implementation of this resolution ;

5. **Decides** to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the whole area.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY JAPAN AND THE U.S.A. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10450, December 16, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED with the situation in the India-Pakistan sub-continent which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

TAKING NOTE of the statement made at the 1617th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India, that his country has no territorial ambitions,

1. **Demands** that a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until operations of disengagement take place, leading to prompt withdrawal of the armed forces from all the occupied territories ;

2. **Calls upon** all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace ;

3. **Calls upon** all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population ;

4. **Calls for** international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and diginity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect ;

5. **Requests** the Secretary-General to strengthen as appropriate the staff of UNEPRO, headed by his special representative, in order to provide all possible assistance for the solution of humanitarian problems;

6. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of this resolution;

7. **Decides** to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the whole area.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE U.S.S.R. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10458, December 16, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

For the purpose of restoration of peace on the Indo Pakistan sub-continent,

1. **Welcomes** the cessation of hostilities in East Pakistan and expresses the hope that the state of cease-fire will be observed by both sides, which would guarantee, without delay, unimpeded transfer of power to the lawful representatives of the people elected in December, 1970, and appropriate settlement of problems related to the conflict in this area;

2. **Calls for** immediate cease-fire and cessation of all other military actions along the entire border between India and West Pakistan and along the cease-fire line of 1965 in Jammu and Kashmir. Welcoming in this connection the statement of the Government of India about their decision to cease-fire unilaterally and cease all other military actions in this area beginning from 1430 hours GTM on 17th December, 1971, urgently calls upon the Government of Pakistan to take an identical decision without delay;

3. **Calls upon** all Member States of the United Nations to render comprehensive assistance for the speediest cessation of military actions and to refrain from any steps which could impede normalization of the situation on the Indo Pakistan sub-continent.

REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION BY JAPAN AND THE U. S. A. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10459/Rev. 1, December 16, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED with the situation in the India-Pakistan sub-continent which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security.

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

TAKIN NOTE of the statement made at the 1617th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India, that his country has no territorial ambitions,

1. *Demands* that an immediate and durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until operations of disengagement take place, leading to prompt withdrawal of the armed forces from all the occupied territories;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace;

3. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population ;

4. *Calls for* international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect ;

5. *Invites* the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative to lend his good offices in particular for the solution of humanitarian problems ;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of this resolution ;

7. *Decides* to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the whole area.

DRAFT RESOLUTION BY ARGENTINA, BURUNDI, JAPAN, NICARAGUA SIERRA LEONE AND SOMALIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

S/10465, December 21, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING DISCUSSED the grave situation in the sub-continent which remains a threat to international peace and security,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

NOTING the reply of the Government of Pakistan on 9th December 1971 (document, S/10440),

NOTING the reply of the Government of India on 12th December, 1971 (document S/10445),

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister of India,

NOTING FURTHER the statement made at the 1617th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India containing annihilateral declaration of a cease-fire in the western theatre,

NOTING Pakistan's agreement to the cease-fire in the western theatre with effect from 17th December, 1971,

NOTING that consequently a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities prevail,

1. *Demands* that a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions which fully respect the cease-fire Line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the United Nations Military Observation Group for India and Pakistan ;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace ;

3. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population ;

4. *Calls for* international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect ;

5. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to appoint if necessary a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems ;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed without delay on developments relating to the implements of this resolution ;

7. *decides* to remain seized of the matter and to keep it under active consideration.

জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদ বিতর্কে বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গ

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদের বিতর্কের সারাংশ।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	সেপ্টেম্বর-অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

REFERENCES TO BANGLADESH—SUMMARY

In the U.N. General Assembly, 117 countries participated in the General Debate. out of which 55 countries excluding India and Pakistan referred to Bangladesh in their statements. These references can be classified under the following six categories:—

(i) Twenty-four countries stated that the problem should be tackled from the *humantarian point of view* and made no reference to political aspect of the problem:—

Argentina, Australia, Chile, China (Taiwan). Egpyt, Ghana, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Madagascar, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Syria, Thailand, Tanzania, Turkey, Uganda, Uruguay, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (Sanaa) and Zambia.

(ii) Eight countries stated that the primary concern should be from the *humanitarian point of view* and called for the restoration of *normalcy in East Bengal* as a pre-requisite for the return of refugees, etc :—

Afghanistan. Ceylon (" accelerated democratic and constitutional procedures "), Equadar Finland, Italy, Nepal, the U.K. ("a return to Civil Government") and Yugoslavia.

(iii) Fourteen countries, part fiften expressing humanitarian concern specifically stated that a *Political solution* should be evolved to meet the situation in East Bengal :—

Austria, Belgium (also added to category iv). Cyprus ("humanitarian problem has roots in political situation and the Secretary-General has put the proper emhasis on this issue"). France, Guyana, Ireland, Malta (referred to a solution "based essentially on political accommodation"), Mongolia (" situation in East Pakistan should be settled by political means in accordance with the interests of its Population). New Zealand ("durable, political settlement"). Norway, Poland (called upon Pakistan adopt measures, "to reach an appropriate political settlement of the crisis situation in East Pakistan"), Sweden, U.S. A. and the U.S.S.R.

(iv) Five countries, while acknowledging the humanitarian aspect of the problem, stated that it should be settled between India and Pakistan with or without the assistance of the U.N. :—

Algeria, Indonesia, Iran, Lebanon, Sierra Leone, and Belgium (Primarily added in category iii).

(v) Saudi Arabia took a pro-Pakistani stand.

(vi) Three countries made only a passing reference :— Ethiopia, Iceland and Israel.

Ten countries specifically stated that the situation in East Bengal involved human rights of took the line that the political solution in East Bengal should be reached in consultation with the elected representatives of the people, Such statements can be classified in the following two categories :—

(*a*) Eight countries specifically stated that East Bengal situation involved human rights :—

Belgium, Equador ("protest against massacres in East Pakistan which are a violation of the sacred nature of human life .."), Ireland, Malta (The refugees are camps "the direct result of political and military action" and the refugees "have their inalienable human rights"), Madagascar (called for "humaneness in the conduct of representive operation "), New Zealand, Sweden and Uruguay.

(*b*) Four countries specifically stated that a political solution should be reached *in consultation with the elected representatives of the people*:—

France ("political solution based on the consent of the Pakistan People"), Mongolia (" setlement by political means in accordance with the interests of its people "). New Zealand and Sweden ("poltical solution based on the will of the people as expressed through the ballot")

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদে পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী সর্দার শরণ সিং-এর বিবৃতির অংশবিশেষ।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	২৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATEMENT OF FOREIGN MINISTER SARDAR SWARAN SINGH IN THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

September 27, 1971

For India, the year 1971 opened with many promises. The economy was poised for a high rate of growth. In March, we had our general elections. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was returned to power with an overwhelming majority. Her success reflected the solid support of our people for a concerted programme for socio-economic progress. Externally, we had tried to establish warmer relations with all countries, particulary with our neighbours. The fact that Pakistan had a little earlier, in December, 1970, held its first-ever general elections was welcomed in India. The introduction of a democratic process in Pakistan would, we hoped, bring about improved relations with this important neighbour of ours. Yet the entire picture was changed overnight when the events in the eastern wing of Pakistan took a catastrophic course. An international problem of utmost gravity and concern was created. Several Governments and international authorities have recognized the true character of this problem. The Secretary-General, U Thant, not only has brought the situation to the attention of the Members of the Security Council, but has included his views in the introduction to his annual report. The Assembly has already heard the concern which the outgoing President, Ambassador Hambro, expressed in his speech on 21st September.

By the middle of April, it had become clear that Pakistan had no intention of abandoning its military methods, and that we would be faced with an unprecedented flow of Pakistani refugees into our country. Refugee camps had to be speedily organized, and the systematic and detailed registration of the large number of foreigners had to be undertaken. Ration cards and temporary permits for stay in India had to be issued, transport and food supplies had to be organized and medical attention had to be provided. These relief measures could, however, meet only a fraction of the needs of the refugees. We asked the international community for help, and although the response to the Secretary-General's appeal has been warm, it is but a very small part of what is actually needed. By far the largest contribution towards the upkeep of the refugees has had to be made by India from its badly needed resources. We are sheltering and looking after the refugees on behalf of the international community. We simply do not have the capacity and resources to bear this burden. While we gave them—on purely humanitarian grounds—shelter and refugee when they were fleeing for their lives, we have made it repeatedly clear that they are with us only temporarily and must return home. This has been accepted and endorsed by the world community. It has been impossible to make any firm estimates of what it would cost us in the coming months, but on the basis of the present figure the total cost may well be more than $800 million by the end of next March.

The consequences of this massive influx--some have called it a civilian invasion—of refugees into India cannot be determined in terms of money alone. We are facing grave social, economic and political consequences. In the areas where the refugees are now living in difficult conditions in camps, all of our schools have had to be closed find shelter for them.

All of our hospitals in these areas have had to tend to the urgent needs of the refugees, rather than to the normal needs of the local inhabitants. Prices are rising as a result of a higher demand for essential commodities. Wages are falling. Crimes of various kinds are on the increase. Local friction and tensions are not unknown. Our local administration has had to be diverted to the work of looking after the refugees and that in turn has further affected adversely all our development projects. The fear of epidemics is ever present, even though the outbreak of cholera has been controlled.

The refugees must go back. The question simply is : How? Can anyone reasonably expect them to go back when thousands and thousands are daily fleeing from the same area ? Pointless declarations and exhortations will not make them go back. On 21st May, President Yahya Khan called upon the refugees to go back, and yet, since then, more than 5 million have come into India. They will go back only when they are sure themselves that they can live in their own homeland in safety and freedom, when they are allowed to work as they wish, and when they are assured that their properties will be returned, their jobs recorded and their daily lives not interfered with.

To appreciate and understand the background to this unprecedented influx, it is necessary to recall the conditions prevailing in East Pakistan throughout Pakistan's existence. Pakistan is a unique country, in the sense that two parts of it the separated by distance of 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The majority of the people—75 million—live in the East and the West has a total population of less than 60 million. Nonetheless, political, military and economic power was concentrated in the West, while the East continued to produce basic raw materials such as jute and tea, and provided the largest source of foreign exchange for Pakistan. Even the Government of Pakistan has acknowledged that persistent discrimination and exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan has taken place ever since the country became independent.

Just to give one example, in the entire civil service and in the armed forces of Pakistan, the Bengalis did not have a share exceeding 10 per cent. The East Pakistanis continued to protest and agitate against that discrimination and exploitation, and, for want of any effective remedy, their grievances accumulated.

However, after the fall of President Ayub Khan in the middle of 1969, a new situation arose. Another General—President Yahya Khan—took over, and declared that he would hold general elections for first time, on adult franchise with representation to both wings, proportionate to their population. For the first time, the people of Pakistan saw in that democratic process a possible rectification of the injustices from which East Pakistan had suffered all those years.

The elections were held in December, 1970, after being postponed twice. The results of the elections were greeted in Pakistan as a success of

democracy, as indeed it was. The broad results of the elections are worth noting. Out of a total of 313 seats, 169 had been allotted to East Pakistan. Of those 169 seats, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won as many as 167. Winning 98 per cent of the seats in East Pakistan, Mujibur Rahman gained an absolute majority in the National Assembly and would, in normal circumstances, have been in a position to form the Government and become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. For the elections, the Awami League had adopted a six-point programme to obtain specifically a greater degree of autonomy for East Pakistan with a view to putting an end to discrimination and exploitation....

Apparently, the results of the election so startled the rulers of Pakistan that they saw in them a risk to their economic, military and political domination over the Eastern Wing ; this explains their swift action and their desire to continue military rule. So, on the fateful night of 25th and 26th March, the armed forces set out to crush the verdict of the 75 million Bengalies....

Before, however the army was given the signal to let loose the reign of terror, protracted negotiations started ; in the meantime, the strength of the armed forces in East Bengal was considerably increased....

What the army did, and is continuing to do, in its massive assault on the civilian population is now well known, and I do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly in describing the innumerable instances of killings and atrocities. A reign of terror prevailed, and still prevails. The leader of the Awami League, Mujibur Rahman, was arrested and is still in prison. He is now being secretly tried in military court on a charge which carries the death penalty. The freedom of the press and civil liberties were totally suppressed, and the foreign journalists were expelled. The International Red Cross was not allowed to visit the area, and all attempts were made, not always successfully, to conceal what was happening in that part of the world. Killing, raping, burning and looting became widespread. The inevetable consequences followed : the people fled from terror and violence to India, leaving behind all they had. Their number rose from less than a million, at the end of April, to nearly 4 million at the end of May, crossed the 6-million mark before June was over, and has been rising steadily. Their number now exceeds 9 million, and the exodus still continues. This is an exodus of refugees unprecedented in history, across any international frontier.

Pakistan's military action and the snuffing-out of all human rights, and the reign of terror, which still continues, have shocked the conscience of mankind. There is a popular revolt against these actions. Some have fled from the terror, while the others are resisting it as best they can. The hard core of this resistance was provided by thousands of men who had defected from the army and the police and various para-military organisations at the time of the military crackdown. They have been joined in ever-increasing numbers by people of all ages.

The Pakistani authorities have torn up solemn declarations and conventions to which Pakistan had subscribed. Pakistan has desperately tried to divert attention from its outrageous actions. Its actions have made so many serious inroads into much that our Charter stands for, that it would indeed be a travesty of international law and a mockery of international justice to suggest that what is involved is an internal issue. It is eveness

an internal issue when one keeps in mind that other nations are having to support the enormous cost of the massive exodus of Pakistan citizens into India.

Apart from accusing others for their own most unwise and deadly activities, the rulers of Pakistan have taken a number of measures which are no more than an eye-wash. How unrealistic these measures are can be judged from the impact they had on the flow of refugees. The President of Pakistan has from time to time called upon the refugees to go back yet, the flow continues in ever-increasing numbers into India. A so-called civilian government has been formed in East Pakistan which consists of men who have no representative character whatever and who are mere figureheads, obliged to take orders from their military commanders. An amnesty is proclaimed, but Mujibur Rahman and other elected representatives are at the same time treated and tried as traitors. We witness the strange spectacle in which the party, which would have been, by right the Government of Pakistan, has been banned and disqualified from political activities. Half the elected representatives have been disqualified from sitting in the National Assembly. In our view, the flow of refugees will not stop, nor will the refugees already in India begin to go back, until a political solution acceptable to the elected representatives of the people has been found. Secretary-General U Thant, and many other distinguished statesmen, politicians and leaders of public opinion, have consistently maintained that the problem is essentially political. As a first step towards a political solution, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, should be set at liberty without delay, and negotiations should be started with him. It has been proved beyond doubt that he alone can speak on behalf of the people of East Bengal. He, and he alone, symbolizes and represents aspiration and will of the people of East Pakistan. Apart from these actions, which the Pakistanis themselves can take, what can the international community do in these circumstances? The first and foremost action which this Assembly, and all other international organs within or without the United Nations system, can take is to impress on the military regime of Islamabad the fact that force will not succeed, and that, therefore a political settlement between the military regime and the already elected leaders is essential. We consider it wholly shortsighted to wait until worse crises have arisen, Bilaterally, all Governments can do their utmost to ensure, by whatever means are available to them, that the military regime stops its repression, enters into negotiations with the elected leaders to achieve a political settlement with their consent, and sends the army back to the barracks. Only by these measures will the flow of refugees be stopped, and refugees already in India be able to return home. Our only fault has been that we gave temporary shelter to millions of refugees—homeless, foodless, without clothing; sick and aged, men and women helpless children and dying infants—who were fleeing from terror, many of whom bore marks of recent army brutality. Only by the measures I have suggested can the threat of famine be alleviated and normal conditions restored. If these measures are not taken, and if attempts are made to divert attention by false analysis or wrong accusations, then the prospect is indeed gloomy. We here in this Assembly may argue in a sophisticated manner as long as we like, but those who have been the victims of aggression, and who are fleeing from terror and massacre will not have such a tolerant outlook. They will not forgive us or those who did not stand by them in their hour of trial.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদে মিঃ মাহমুদ আলীর (পাকিস্তান) বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	২৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. MAHMUD ALI (PAKISTAN) IN THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

September 27, 1971

My Delegation was compelled this morning to raise a point of order in the course of the statement made by the honourable Foreign Minister of India. The greater portion of his speech was concerned with matters which lie entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of my country. In raising objection to this open intervention in Pakistan's affairs, my Delegation was guided by the principle which is stated in categorical terms in Article 2, operative paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, namely that the international Organization will not intervene in the internal affairs of Member States.

This is a principle which is unanimously accepted, and is to be found also in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and of the Organization of American States, as well as other international forums, such as the Non-Aligned Conference and the Afro-Asian Conference. We ask that this principle be upheld —not, as was insinuated, because Pakistan has something to conceal—but because the precedent set this morning by the Representative of India will make it difficult, if not impossible, to conduct international relations in an orderly and effective manner.

India has intervened in the internal affairs of Pakistan ,in violation of all norms of international behaviour, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. International law places a clear obligation on all States to respect the territorial jurisdiction of other States. In December, 1965, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution, with only one vote against, entitled "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of State and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty".

Operative paragraph 1 states :

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reasons whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic or cultural element are condemned".

Operative paragraph 2 reads :

"....no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State",

Finally, operative paragraph 4 states :

"4. The strict observance of these obligations is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violate the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security. [Resolution 2131 (XX)].

It is noteworthy that India was a member of the Committee which prepared the Declaration.

I am sure that all the Representatives present here are not unaware of the complexity of the issues to which we are trying to find a solution in Pakistan. The problems of reconciling conflicting economic, political, cultural and regional claims within the borders of a country are not unique to Pakistan. They are present in all multilingual, multicultural and multiracial States. Such problems are endemic in India itself, although the Foreign Minister of India has seen fit to speak of social, political and cultural conditions in my country. I do not propose to speak here of what has been going on in his country, not that there is not much to talk about. We all know, and the world knows, what has been happening to the Mizos and the Nagas in India. We all know the state of turmoil and civil strife in the Indian State of West Bengal, where it has not been possible for a democratic Government to function during the last four years. We all know of the demands for recognition of their rights in South India and in the Punjab. But, I have no intention here to delive into these matters, and I certainly do not propose to use the forum of this august Assembly to make propaganda against my neighbour as, unfortunately, the Foreign Minister of India saw fit to do.

The basic factors of the prevailing situation in Pakistan are, I am sure, not unknown to the distinguished representatives here. Although these have been clouded by the storm of propaganda and vituperation of which we heard an example this morning.

The cardinal fact is that general elections were held through out Pakistan in December last. These election were held on the basis of adult franchise. What happened thereafter was that the legitimate aspirations of the people of Pakistan for a democratic and federal type of Constitution, which would have give a full measure of autonomy to the units, were escalated into a move inspired and organized from outside for breaking up the country. Violence was let loose in East Pakistan. Massacres were perpetrated, and the lives and honour not only of those who opposed secession but of ordinary citizens were placed in jeopardy.

The President of Pakistan pursued his search for a negotiated settlement among the political parties concerned until the very last moment, when the refusal of the leader of the political party, which had won the majority of seats in the National Assembly, to participate in the work of the Assembly made it clear that the objective was not frame a Constitution for Pakistan, but to engineer secession by violent means.

It is in these circumstances that President Yahya Khan, who had held elections in the country, was compelled to order the armed forces to do their duty, namely, to preserve the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan.

We found that the reaction in India was almost instantaneous. There was at the time no problem of refugees, which the Foreign Minister of India has put forward this morning as an excuse for meddling in Pakistan's internal affairs.

The Indian Parliament adopted a resolution, moved by the Indian Prime Minister herself, declaring support for the so-called Bangladesh. A vast and orchestrated campaign was set in motion radiating falsehoods, half-truths and calumnies fabricated in Calcutta and other places in India. Accounts were published of pitched battles in East Pakistan. Tales were told of arbitrary executions and large-scale killings, and so on. It was said that University of Dacca was razed to the ground, that intellectuals had been singled out and put to death before the eyes of their families, that the port of Chittagong was in shambles.

Let me quote the opinion of an Indian newspaper on the subject.

The Statesman of Delhi wrote on 4th April, 1971, that many of the claims maintained a measure of exaggeration, if not outright invention, that must have been clear even when they were made. Subsequent reports have shown that there was much wishful thinking, both among those who made these claims and among the listeners in India who accepted them without reservation.

The curfew was completely lifted in the city of Dacca within less than a week after the army initiated action. The University of Dacca parts of which had been used by the secessionist elements as an arsenal for storing weapons and explosives received from outside the country, nevertheless stands intact and has been functioning normally. The intellectuals who were reported as killed by Indian publicity media are alive and leading normal lives as was stated in an advertisement which was published in *The New York Times* some months ago.

The objective behind the Indian agitation over the events in Pakistan is transparent and, indeed, self-confessed. *The Washington Post* of 2nd April quoted an Indian officials as saying that had not been reporting, it had been psychological warfare.

A foreign observer, Mr. Bruno D. Hammel, wrote in the *London Times* of 17th April that the Indian Press :

"...seems to have lost all sense of responsibility. Wanting news, one got instead a mass of hysterical rumours. Statements of fact proved, nine times out of ten, to be unconfirmed and contradictory. Any report of atrocities, so long as it was inflammatory and without evidence, was sure of space".

The Foreign Minister of India spoke of the great burden his country is bearing in having to feed the Pakistan refugees. He mentioned the number as being over 9 million. He stated that they are still continuing to cross the borders in the thousands. He asked for some $ 800 million as the cost of their upkeep during the coming six months. This figure is astounding in itself, even if one were not to question the figure of 9 million refugees put forward by India, because, if I am not wrong, the total budget of the Government of India for the current year, for running a country of 500 million people, amounts to $ 4,000 million.

It has become imperative as a preliminary to arranging for their return to carry out an impartial and accurate count of the number of people who left their homes in Pakistan and are now living in refugee camps in India. My Government has carried out a careful count, and has found that, as on 1st September, 1971, the number of Pakistanis who had left totalled 2,002,623. We are not asking that our count be taken on trust. On the contrary, we have requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to nominate any impartial agency to verify this figure. We are prepared to give such an agency every facility for carrying out a check on the spot. I should be glad to hear the Foreign Minister of India giving a similar assurance on his Government's behalf. It would also be possible for such an impartial agency to observe for itself whether the movement of displaced persons is continuing at the rate alleged by India, or whather it is continuing at all. In asking for an independent verification of the exact number of refugees, it is by no means my intention to minimize the seriousness of the human problem which a large-scale movement people involves. It is tragic, but unavoidable, that people residing in those areas which are or may be the scene of a conflict will leave their homes to escape death or the effects of the strife. The numbers of those who are so displaced in consequence of the conflict are determined by the density of the population and by the degree of fear which is generated in the minds of the people. Such fear can be generated only when they are constantly told that they will be the victims of a planned massacre.

Such was the reaction of the Indian Prime Minister, to the appeal which President Yahya Khan made to the refugees to return to their homes, that she said, "I will not allow the refugees to go back to be butchered".

The crux of the situation is this. Pakistan is desirous and determined to see that all those who left the country for one reason or another should return as soon as possible to their homes and occupations. Concrete measures have been taken to facilitate their return. In his appeal of 18th June, President Yahya Khan said :

"My appeal was addressed to all Pakistani nationals, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Members of the minority community should have no hesitation in returning to their homes in East Pakistan. They will be given full protection and every facility. They are equal citizens of Pakistan, and there is no question of any discriminatory treatment. I asked them not to be misled by mischievous propaganda being conducted outside Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan has established twenty-one reception centres along the border to provide relief, supplies and transport to their homes to returning refugees. As a further instance of Pakistan's armistice, a general amnesty was declared for all classes of people, including military deserters, and those who had been detained in Pakistan for involvement in insurgency have been released".

In his address to the nation on 28th June, the President of Pakistan said :

"We shall gladly and gratefully accept any assistance the United Nations can extend in facilitating the move of these displaced persons back to Pakistan".

Consequently, the Government of Pakistan has extended full co-operation to the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in devising measures for resettling the refugees in their homes. A

special committee has been set-up in East Pakistan to co-ordinate the Administration efforts with those of the United Nations and its Agencies.

The Government of Pakistan accepted within twenty-four hours the Secretary-General's proposal of 19th July for the stationing of representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border to facilitate the repatriation of refugees. It should be noted that India peremptorily rejected this proposal. The Government of Pakistan has also agreed that a number of United Nations personnel should be posted in East Pakistan to assist the Administration in relief and rehabilitation operations.

We have undertaken all these measures for the speedy repatriation of our citizens who are now in India, and it is worth mentioning that to the extent that these measures have become known to the refugees, the refugees are beginning to return to their homes. At the last count, approximately 200,000 had returned. The repatriation of all the refugees would be more speedily accomplished if the necessary co-operation were forthcoming from India.

The Government of Pakistan has invited the competent authorities of the Government of India to a conference where measures could be devised to fulfil this purpose. The President of Pakistan has expressed his willingness to meet the Indian Prime Minister at any time and at any place to discuss the question. However, India has so far refused to co-operate, not only with Pakistan, but also with all impartial efforts, to bring about the return of the refugees. As I have said, India has refused the Secretary-General's proposal to station representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border, at has not agreed to Pakistan's suggestion that a good-offices committee of the Security Council should be sent to help in reducing tensions between India and Pakistan. It has refused permission to the members of an Islamic Secretariat delegation to tour refugee camps in West Bengal and has refused to meet at the conference table with the representatives of my Government.

It is paradoxical that while Indian Representatives come before this forum to gain the sympathy of Members for the plight of the refugees. India is unwilling to accept any constructive proposal which would enlist the help of this Organization in ending the suffering of these innocent human beings. Why is it that the Government of India found it impossible to accept the presence of United Nations observers on its side of the border, when Pakistan, which has been accused freely of perpetrating all kinds of horrors against its people, did not hesitate to permit the stationing of United Nations observers on its side of the border ?

The reason for India's withholding of co-operation is obvious. India wishes to conceal from world opinion the fact that by its actions it has converted that part of the world into an area of armed conflict. Under the pretext of humanitarian assistance. India is providing arms, training and assistance to the secessionist forces who have found sanctuary in India. I shall once again cite an Indian source to explain the paradox. Speaking at a meeting in Delhi on 18th September, 1971, that is about a week ago, no less a person than the Defence Minister of India said that "the refugees could return to their homeland only when it become an independent nation". He went on to say, "that it was not conceivable that Pakistan would grant independence to Bangladesh, but that we

would have to work towards a situation in which Pakistan would be left with no alternative".

If there was any doubt about what the Foreign Minister of India meant this morning when he called for a political solution of the Pakistan crisis, this statement of his colleague of the Defence Ministry has supplied the answer.

Let me say on behalf of my country that we have no intention of allowing anyone to put our independence and integrity into jeopardy. What my country has to face today is not merely the sort of invective we heard this morning, but a well-planned military effort to break it asunder. The borders of East Pakistan with West Bengal and Assam are scenes of daily bombardment. On more than one occasion, the regular Indian troops,. whose strength in the area was increased even before the crisis broke out and has been augmented to 200,000 since then ; the so-called liberation forces have been trained and equipped and paid by the Indian Government.

The New York Times of 29th April, 1971, contained a report which stated :

"The Indian roads leading north from Calcutta to points along the border already look like the supply route. Bengali trucks can be seen heading into Indian town for fresh supplies, carrying empty fuel drums and ammunition boxes. Bengali independence forces have set up camps near the Indian border posts, which probably explains some of the brief shooting incidents recently between Indian and Pakistan troops.

"In Calcutta, capital of the West Bengal State, there are many stories of new instances of Indian military assistance. One report is that Indian ammunition factories are turning out weapons and ammunition without Indian markings. Another is that Indian officers accompanied a large guerrilla force on a raid last week on a Pakistani army garrision".

I do not know whether the Foreign Minister of India will come back to this rostrum to deny these charges. He himself, speaking in the Indian Parliament on 20th July, declared : "India is doing everything possible to support the Liberation Army", yet he came here this morning and stated that India does not interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbours and that its actions are inspired only by the most noble and lofty motives. He portrayed India as an innocent, helpless victim of Pakistan's internal difficulties.

I dare say that this Hall of the United Nations has echoed frequently with such preachings. Allow me to say that the halo of saintliness with India is trying to hold over our head ill becomes its actual role in the present situation.

It is not humanitarian concern for refugees which has sent Indian emissaries and propagandists all over the world in the last four months. The real motive is India's longstanding and unfulfil'ed wish to isolate, weaken and if possible, to put an end to Pakistan as a nation. Mr. K. Subramanyam of the Indian Institute of Defence did not mince matters. He said :

"What India must realize is the fact that the break-up of Pakistan is in our own interest, an opportunity the like of which will never come.

If Pakistan breaks up, and we ensure friendly relations with Bangladesh, it will solve the problem of security for India."

Another Indian political thinker saw in Pakistan's disintegration the road to Great Power status for India in this region.

The Foreign Minister of India spoke in a plaintive tone of the setback that his country's economy has received on account of the influx of refugees. As for Pakistan, let me assure him and the other representatives here that Pakistan is ready, willing, to take every one of its citizens back. If India wishes to be relieved of the burden and the problem of maintaining them as it ought to—let it give unstinted co-operation to that end.

My Government has said that it is ready to sit down and discuss with India the best manner for bringing the refugees back. My Government has asked the Security Council to assist in the task with a specially designated good offices committee. If the Government of India is unwilling, for whatever reason, to sit across the table from Pakistan, let it accept the good offices of the Security Council.

As I have said before the Government of Pakistan is doing everything possible to bring about the repatriation of the refugees to their homes in East Pakistan. It is also fully conscious of the need to restore normalcy in the country in order to ensure the well being of the refugees as well the rest of the people of Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan, in his address to the nation on 28th June, has himself expressed the view that normalcy would not return without the full participation of the people. He has made substantial progress towards ushering in a government representative of the people. As a first step, a civil administration has been installed in East Pakistan which is headed by a prominent East Pakistani and includes permanent members of the former Awami League. By-elections to those seats, whose incumbents were disqualified for involvement in the insurgency and other crimes have been scheduled for the month of November. A provisional constitution is being framed which will attempt to satisfy two basic imperatives: Regional autonomy and preservation of the territorial integrity of Pakistan. The National Assembly will have the power to amend the provisional constitution by a relatively simple procedure. The Foreign Minister of India described all this as "eye-wash."

If conditions in Pakistan were truly as those described by him, press censorship would not have been removed : foreign observers, United Nations personnel, the International Committee of the Red Cross, would not have been allowed into East Pakistan. If violence is continuing it is the result of India's action in encouraging, awaiting and assisting in sabotage with East Pakistan .

The boarders continue to remain tense and Indian shelling and mortaring are daily occurrences.

The Preservation of orderly conduct of relations among States is based on the strict observance of the principle of respect for territorial integrity of States and reinterference in the affairs of each other. Indian's current actions violate both the principles. Which among the States represented

here is willing to condone external interference in its internal affairs ? Which State among this Assembly is willing to overlook such interference when is design is the territorial dismemberment of another country ? Is India prepared to submit to such interference in its internal affairs ? Is it to be said that secession is rebellion at home but selfdtermination abroad ?

Let me make it clear on behalf of my Government that Pakistan will take all measures to ensure the return of its displaced citizens to their homes. We are determined to live as a nation one, whole and free, and in peace with other peaceful neighbours. But Pakistan is also determined not to allow anyone to put in question its territorial and national existence.

If a conflict between India and Pakistan is to be avoided, the international community must impress upon India the serious implication of its policies and call upon it to eschew these policies.

Mr. President, in a press conference on 22nd September, you stated :

"This refugees problem is a humanitarian problem. We must solve it. The entire world must help to solve it. But, if you look at it from a political point of view, if you bring it to a debate, then there will be no end. The question is how to solve it quickly. That is why, in this case, I believe, it is much better that we have behind-the scense discussions. We must persuade Pakistan and India to get together and see how they can limit the political problems".

It should be apparent, from the willingness which my Government has shown to co-operate in finding means to reduce the present tensions between India and Pakistan and to bring about the reptriation of refuges, that we fully share your view.

On behalf of my Government, I wish to express Pakistan's readiness to go along with all such reasonable suggestions to solve the question of refugees.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদে মিঃ মাহমুদ আলীর বিবৃতির অংশবিশেষ।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENT OF MR. MAHMUD ALI (PAKISTAN) IN THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

October 5, 1971

At the time of the partition of the sub-continent, we in Pakistan inherited barely one-fifth of the area and were placed at a disadvantage in many other respects. Nevertheless, we accepted an award delimiting the boundaries of Pakistan and India, even though it was unjust to us. We envisaged the closest co-operation with our neighbour, India. Our independence was not more than two months and when India completely violated the basis of partition—the independence settlement of 1947—and sent its army to occupy a Muslim majority area, Jammu and Kashmir, and to crush a popular liberation movement against the despotic ruler of that State. India had been enabled to do so by the departing Imperial Government. It had been provided with its only, and previously unused, passage to Kashmir when some Muslim-majority areas of the district of Gurdaspur in the Punjab were unjustly awarded to it. We protested India's entry into Kashmir which was colonialist in its nature and so repugnant to the spirit and basis of India's independence and our own. We were assured by India that the occupation was temporary, that the accession to India of the ruler of Kashmir, who had been denounced by his people, was provisional, and that the people of Kashmir would be allowed to determine their own future through an impartial plebiscite. Later, when the dispute was brought to the United Nations, this solemn pledge given by India was translated into an international agreement. Both India and Pakistan accepted United Nations resolutions providing for the self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir through a free plebiscite. To this day, that agreement remains unimplemented. To this day, India has not terminated its occupation of the bulk of Jammu and Kashmir. The dispute has twice led to hostilities between India and Pakistan. It has caused a strain and a friction in our relations which harm us both. In spite of the heavy toll taken by the dispute, India does not even now agree to resolve it in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

In the part of Jammu and Kashmir which is occupies, India maintains a puppet regime and penalizes any one who demands that the resolutions of the United Nations regarding Jammu and Kashmir be implemented. The renowned leader of the Kashmiri people, Sheik Abdullh, was imprisoned for neerly fifteen years and is now barred from entering his homeland. A ban has been imposed on popular parties, including the Plebiscite Front, whose aim is self-determination for Jammu and Kashmir. The tortur of political workers, the repeated firing on public assemblies, the constant harassment and victimization of patriotic citizens, are gruesome features of life in Indian-occupied Kashmir. A million refugees have fled the terror and oppression there. India refuses to establish conditions which would enable them to return.

Another very clear example of this mentality has been furnished by the way India has handled the dispute about the equitable sharing of the waters of the Ganges, which flows through both India and Pakistan, with Pakistan the lower riparian. It has completed the construction of a barrage near a place called Farakka, in the State of West Bengal in India. That project is designed to divert the waters of the mainstream of the river, the Ganges, through a feeder-canal to another river flowing entirely through India. The result will be that in the long dry season every year the barrage will have little or no water below Farakka for use in East Pakistan, thereby causing grave and permanent damage to the economy of that region. According to the assessment of our own and international experts, this Indian project will adversely affect the ecology and agriculture of seven districts in East Pakistan involving a total of 3·6 million acres of land. It will seriously affect navigation in the Ganges and its many spill-channels and distributories. It threatens an inflow of sea-water, thereby reducing agricultural production, municipal supplies and industrial use of water and depleting fisheries and forest resources, especially in the Sunderbans. Moreover, reduced flow in the Ganges in Pakistan, down stream from Farakka, will silt up the river-bed and increase the hazards of flood in the rainy season. All these factors together are expected to affect the livelihood and vital and legitimate interests of as many as 25 million people, or roughly one-third of the population of the eastern wing of Pakistan.

It is ironical, but not surprising, that at the same time that India professes grave concern for the people of East Pakistan, it plans and executes projects aimed at causing their economic ruin. India does offer to negotiate on this issue with Pakistan, as indeed it offers to negotiate on many other issues ; but when such negotiations take place, as in this case. India prevaricates and uses various devices to avoid facing the real issue.

I have mentioned these two major causes of the friction between India and Pakistan. Without this friction, and without the pervasive background of India's constant attempts to weaken and isolate Pakistan, the present India-Pakistan situation involving a threat to the peace would be totaly incomprehensible. Had Indian rulers not been hostile to Pakistan, would they not find it unnatural and repugnant to try to take advantage of their neighbour's internal difficulties ? Would they not scrupulously refrain from interfering in our affairs ? What is happening today on the borders of my country and our neighbour India, is not mere border skirmishes ; it is armed intervention by one country, a Member of the United Nations, India, into the territory of another Member of the United Nations, Pakistan.

India has been engaged for the past few months, and is engaged now, in a clandestine war on Pakistan. At a time when, regardless of the nature of the military action taken by the Pakistan Government in its own territory, India could have no conceivable fear of invasion, it has concentrated a large number of its forces, some 200,000, and its machines of destruction on the borders of East and West Pakistan. It has been engaging in incessant shelling and mortar-fire against East Pakistan. It regularly sends its own armed personnel into my country to cause death and destruction. It harbours, trains, ances, equips and encourages—sometimes even forces—the dissidents to undertake acts of sabotage and to cripple the economy of East Pakistan. In short, India is at the moment carrying out acts of war against my

country, and the only reason why the situation has not been escalated is that the Government of Pakistan has exercised the utmost restraint.

The resort to selling. mortar-firing and other warlike actions against Pakistan have become a regular feature of the tension built up by Indian armed forces along our borders. Let me cite two concrete instances of recent occurrence to give the Assembly an idea of what we are confronted with at present.

Indian artillery fired nearly one thousand shells on five closely-located border villages in Sylhet district on the night of 29th September. The villages battered by Indian shelling were Mantala, Kamalpur, Jaipur, Armnagar and Harashpur. Twenty-eight villagers, including twelve women and eight children, were killed, while thirteen others were wounded. Among the casualties, was a party of Telephone Department employees who were repairing a tele-communication line. Communication lines, it must be mentioned, are particular targets of Indian attacks. After shelling, Indian armed personnel attempted to infiltrate into these areas The Pakistan Army combed the area and recoverd 3 light machine-guns 145 boxes of small-arms ammunition, 100 steel helmets, 40 mines, some wireless sets and 387 grenades.

India is also trying to create famine conditions in East Pakistan by aiding and encouraging the destruction of lines of supply for transportation of food-grains into Pakistan. As a result of operations against saboteurs who damaged the American food-ship *Lighting* at Chalna anchorage recently, Pakistan authorities have apprehended frogmen trained in India and launched near Chalna and Chittagong ports for sinking ships bringing foodgrains to East Pakistan. The frogmen were given limpet mines by India and trained in their use. By indulging sabotage of food-ships, India is trying to create conditions of famine for 75 million people of East Pakistan to fulfil its own political objectives. If the international community is genuinely concerned about possible food shortage in East Pakistan, it has an obligation to prevent India from indulging in activities which, if unchecked, cannot but endanger the sustenance for the people of East Pakistan.

It is now for the world community, and for the United Nations in particular, to prevent another conflagration which would be catastrophic for South Asia.

Secretary-General U Thant, on 20th July last, sent a memorandum to the President of the Security Council drawing his attention to the threat to the peace which has arisen in the sub-continent. The Secretary-General, *inter-alia* emphasized that he had become increasingly apprehensive at the steady deterioration of the situation in the region in almost all its aspects. The Secretary-General said :

> "In the present case, there is an additional element of danger, for the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing, and unresolved, differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago".

About the actual situation on the border, he said :

> "The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent..."

And he recognised the threat to peace, indeed to world peace, by stating that :

"No one of us here in the United Nations can afford to forget that a major conflict in the sub-continent could all too easily expand".

In short, U Thant has clearly defined the situation as a threat to the peace and urged the Security Council to consider with the utmost attention and concern the present situation and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken.

As I mentioned in my statement in exercise of the right of reply on 29th September, my Government has expressed its readiness to co-operate with the Security Council and has welcomed the proposal for a good offices committee of the Council to help reduce the tension between our two countries. I reiterate that readiness here.

India, of course, takes an opposite view. Its Government contends that it is not an India-Pakistan problem. They would have the world believe that everything that has happened has been due to Pakistan's actions only, and that India has been merely a passive victim, burdened with a huge influx of refugees. But what are the facts ? The facts about Indian intervention are patent and I have already mentioned them.

The world has heard a lot about East Pakistan in recent months. Much of what has been said has come from outsiders. Not all of them have to test their statements against realities. Many among them moralize and assume lofty postures. But, if I may strike a personal tone. I come from East Pakistan. Unlike the distinguished Foreign Minister of India, I cannot afford the luxury of mis-statements and propaganda. From this Assembly, I will go back to East Pakistan. I have to live and suffer and strive and build among my people there. I do appreciate whatever humane concern, unmixed with sordid political motives, exists anywhere for the people of East Pakistan. At the same time, I deplore that the situation in our homeland has been so distorted in the world's eyes, its causes so misrepresented, the sequence of events so disfigured, that it has been made to appear as if there is a war between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Let an East Pakistani voice rise from this rostrum reminding the world that the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan are brethren, joined in an imperishable union, and that when the two undertook together the enterprise of building a federal State, it was an unfettered act of self-determination on the part or each. The people of East Pakistan have not regretted, and do not regret, that choice. True, we have problems relating to regional autonomy, to a distribution of national resources based on justice, to the removal of disparities between the different regions. Which State, which large or multilinguistic or multiracial State, is free from such problems ? Let not one such State gloat over the problems of another. We, in Pakistan, have undergone a most traumatic experience. We have endured a situation of extremity. We have gone through an ordeal. But through it all, we have realized that the fragmentation and fission of our Statehood, the break-up of our unity is, and can be, no more a solution for us than it is for others.

It has been a great misfortune that, in our case, these problems led to a violent upheaval. Why this happened cannot be understood without some basic facts about Pakistan's national existence and its relations with India being kept

in mind. But it is fantastic to suppose that the conflict was due to East Pakistan's demand for autonomy being suppressed. Are the people of East Pakistan less than independent in a united Pakistan where they are in a majority, and can dominate the Central Government ? A majority has, or can acquire, the power to right wrongs and to correct imbalances. It is unthinkable for a majority to want to secede. By definition, a demand for secession is a minority's demand. Since, I repeat, the people of East Pakistan are not a minority or a small ethnic group within Pakistan, it follows that the secessionists among them do not represent the people at large. Being secessionists, they are a self-confessed minority. Their own position proclaims their isolation from the people. Such isolation can be due either to a total failure of statesmanship, or to a collusion with a foreign power which wishes the disintegration of the State. In the case of the secessionists in East Pakistan, it was due to both.

The relationship between the upheaval in East Pakistan and India's actions is immediate. For months, Indian war material had been steadily passing into East Pakistan from across a border which, traversing rivers, hills, forests and swamps, could not be fully guarded by the limited number of Pakistani troops. When the crisis approached, India sundered the air communications between East and West Pakistan by banning the overflights of Pakistani aircraft across Indian territory. It did so in reprisal against the hijacking of an Indian plane to Pakistan. But, as has been judicially established, this hijacking was engineered by Indian intelligence itself, wanting to create a pretext for India to ban the overflights. The ban is illegal and contrary to India's international obligations. Yet, even now, despite international efforts at conciliation. India refuses to lift it. When the crisis mounted, and Pakistan was passing through its severest test, India massed its troops along our borders, both in East and West Pakistan.

Faced with this threat from outside, combined with an insurgence in the country, the Government of Pakistan had no choice but to use all means to save the country from anarchy, dismemberment and inevitable Indian domination I ask the distinguished Representatives assembled in this hall, faced with similar circumstances, what would any other legal Government do ?

Conflicts of the kind which we have suffered in East Pakistan are a supreme tragedy. But world opinion is not yet fully aware of how it has been caused and intensified by foreign interference. Had India's concern with the plight of the displaced persons been purely humanitarian it would have followed a different line of policy. It would have done its utmost to convey the appeal of the Government of Pakistan to the displaced persons to return to their homes. It would have co-operated with us and with the United Nations in a common effort to accomplish this objective. It would have entered into a neighbourly dialogue with Pakistan. Here was a situation where, if no power politics was involved, the interest of both India and Pakistan demanded that the displaced person be enabled to return to their homes

It therefore causes us the profoundest regret that, both by its incessant propaganda and its action, India is inhibiting the return of the refugees. By engineering border conflicts, mortar-fire and shelling, India makes it impossible for our nationals to cross the border. It uses their presence within its borders for recruiting from among them the so-called volunteers for secessionist forces.

It is this policy of the Government of India which has so far defeated our efforts to bring back the refugees. The declaration of a general amnesty, the repeated appeels of the President of Pakistan, the acceptance of the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and of the presence of his Representatives in East Pakistan, the establishment of reception centres and the provision of facilities for the re-settlement of the returning refugees—by every feasible means we have demonstrated that we are anxious for our nationals to return. On 19th July, Secretary-General U Thant proposed to both India and Pakistan that a limited number of the Representstives of the U.N.H.C.R. be posted on both sides of the border to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the refugees. We unhesitatingly accepted this proposal. India however, rejected it.

The ostensible reason which India cites for its refusal to allow the return of the displaced persons is that conditions are not secure for their return. In the first place, India itself makes the conditions insecure. Secondly, what India means by "secure conditions", as the distinguished Foreign Minister of India made amply clear before this Assembly, is a poiltical solution which would be in accordance with its dictates. The Prime Minister and other leaders of India have publicly declared that they will agree to the return of the displaced persons only when the so-colled "Bangladesh" emerges ; in other words, when Eest Pakistan secedes and passes under Indian tutelage.

Could there be a more blatant interference in the internal affairs of one State by another ? Only last year, India joined all of us in voting for the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which solemnly affirmed the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the principles of non-interference as the basis of relations among States, irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development, or political, economic and social systems, and declared that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever.

The issue that is posed by India's interference is not of concern of Pakistan alone. If concerns all nations that wish to preserve their sovereign status and territorial integrity. If the principle of non-intervention is set aside or compromised, every nation, smaller or weaker than its neighbour, will be open to the latter's inroads. I tnerefore appeal to this Assembly to exercise its powers of persuasion on India to desist from its interventionist course. For our part, we are determined to resist India's encroachments and achieve the political solution which we sorely need for our own survival.

Let not India pretend that it has not also created some other problems in the sub-continent. India is engaged in efforts to subjugate the Nagas—a proud, non-Indian people—who have borne untold hardship during their long resistance to Indian rule. In India's own territory, there are situations which are the direct result of the exploitation and suppression of the smaller linguistic and ethnic groups in India, notably the Dravidians, the Shikhs and the Bengalis, but we do not make them a cause for interfering in India's affairs. We only wish that India realized, as we do, that anarchy and fragmentation are a danger as much to itself as to us.

If I may sum up the India-Pakistan situation, it is a situation of a patent threat to peace which needs to be removed if the peoples of the two countries are to resume their struggle to achieve higher standards of life in larger freedom. We do not consider the Indian people as our enemy. Indeed, we feel that, by its unrelenting hostility toward Pakistan, by prepetuating a climate of tension in our region, the Indian Government is committing treason against its own people. We wish that the India Government realized that a strong Pakistan is a guarantee of peace in South Asia. Similarly, we wish all the great Powers to recognise that attempts to weaken Pakistan and to isolate it, will undermine the balance of power and stability in the region and will promote a hegemony that will be inimical to peace.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদে (পাকিস্তানী বিবৃতির জবাব দানে তাঁর অধিকার প্রয়োগে) জাতিসংঘে নিযুক্ত ভারতের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধি মিঃ সমর সেনের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ, ডক্যুমেন্ট	৫ অক্টোবর ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. S. SEN, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA TO THE U. N., IN THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY (IN EXERCISE OF HIS RIGHT TO REPLY TO PAKISTANI STATEMENT)

October 5, 1971

On the last day of September, when we could have exercised our right of reply, we did not do so because Pakistan said nothing new except to make yet another attempt to involve India in a problem which is entirely of her making. Today, we are exercising our right of reply merely because this attempt has become desperate and gone further, and many issues with which this Assembly is fully familiar have been revived in order to divert attention from a problem which has aroused international concern and opinion and which has affected the lives of millions of people. We do not believe that this kind of diversion in a tragic situation is either responsible or helpful. The Pakistan Delegation has blamed India for all of Pakistan's woes and difficulties. Let me assure the Assembly that very seldom has Pakistan displayed any candour or any honest desire to solve many of its problems.

I would like, however, to remind the Assembly of our position on two or three important problems to which reference has been made. As regards Kashmir, we have repeatedly stated that the only problem is the question of withdrawal by Pakistan from the occupied part of Kashmir and we are always ready to enter into negotiations with Pakistan to bring this about. As regards Farakka Barrage, not only much negotiation and technical talks have taken place but when we were searching for some agreement, the tragic developments in East Bengal have practically put a stop to these negotiations. However, it is becoming clear now that the whole hue and cry by Pakistan on Farakka Barrage was only to encourage anti-Indian feeling in East Pakistan. This policy too has collapsed. We do not deny that we have law and order problem in our country, but we do not try to solve them by launching genocide.

Many lurid details have been given about border incidents. This morning, the Pakistan Delegation took the trouble to have a Press Conference on the basis of some incident which is reported to have taken place on September 29. At that time, I did not have the details, but I sent a telegram to Delhi and I have their reply. This telegram reads :

"No such incident has taken place on September 29. In fact, it is West Pakistan's armed forces that have been shelling our territory and killing and injuring people on our side over the last several weeks. The allegation made by Mahmud Ali is obviously an attempt to justify Pakistan's shelling of our territory and an excuse to start an aggressive war against India. India has been exercising the greatest restraint possible in the circumstances. This has been appreciated throughout the world. It is Pakistan that should be asked to exercise restraint and not to continue indiscriminate massacre of the people of East Bengal."

On the other hand, I can inform the Assembly that we have complained to Pakistan on more than 400 violations of our eastern borders by Pakistan. I was also interested to note that Pakistan Delegation did not care or dare to give the details of the activities of the resistance forces deep inside East Pakistan.

The fact is that it is not India which has had tny doubt about the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan, but it is Pakistanis themselves who have not accepted Pakistan as it is constituted or the policies they have pursued. They failed to keep the many pledges to their own people and they are facing the consequences. There is no use blaming India for this.

We are always willing to co-operate with Pakistan in solving all bilateral problems. Last year, and for many years in this forum, Pakistan has brought up many bilateral issues, but when we suggested bilateral talks there was no respond. Today, Pakistan asks for bilateral negotiations on a problem which is entirely Pakistan's own making and which they rightly claim to be a problem between East and West Pakistan. We do not wish to come into it. We cannot come into it, and we should not come into it. Those who believe that Indian cooperation in this field is necessary, should realise that while co-operation with a neighbour is always to be welcomed, no one can expect India to co-operate with Pakistan in a partnership to continue massacre to tolerate extinction of human rights, to make a mockery of self-determination (of which Pakistan never tries of speaking in relation to Kashmir), and in perpetrating massive brutalities.

What has the Pakistani delegation said here today to encourage the refugees to return home or, more important, to stop the 33.000 refugees coming to India everyday? Nothing. This is a degree of concern for their fellow citizens of which over a million have been massacred in a most atrocious manner. This is in conformity with the concern they showed to the people who died in the cyclone in East Pakistan last year. This callousness of human worth must be in the mind of the many whom Pakistan has tried to dupe by loud proclamations on fundamental rights and value.

The Spokesman for the Pakistani Delegation makes some special claims simply because he happens to come from East Pakistan. I too was born and brought up in East Pakistan. Not only I, but most of his countrymen in East Pakistan, will disagree with him both about his facts and his analysis. However, I should like to leave it to his conscience.

Mr. President, these are not matters for politics or debate. We have no wish to enter into a controversy with Pakistan on these matters. This is an international problem of vast magnitude and anguish. If Pakistan wishes to begin even the beginning of a solution, the first step must be to start negotiations with the elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. In our view, any attempt to divide the patriotic elements in East Pakistan not only be self-defeating, but will create many more difficult problems. The Pakistan Delegation blames India for all the resistance that the Bengalis are putting up against their oppressors. The fact, however, is that this resistance is organised by the East Pakistanis themselves, and they are determined to fight for their survival and for their human rights. Nothing that the Government of India can or cannot do will change this process. The only way this can be changed is by political accommodation between the oppressor and the oppressed. I regret to say I did not see a a single word in the Pakistan delegation's speech to encourage this.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদে নিযুক্ত ভারতের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধি মিঃ সমর সেন-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেণ্ট	১৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. S. SEN, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA TO THE U. N., IN THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

October 13, 1971

I was prepared to exercise the right of reply last night, but the hour was late and there were 10 speakers who exercised a similar right.

I spoke briefly on the evening of 5th October. It had taken Pakistan nearly seven days to conceive and deliver its reply. Such a long period of gestation for a reply is unusal, if not unknown, in the plenary sessions of the General Assembly. But then, it was not merely a reply but in many respects a full but stale statement, timed to coincide with what President Yahya Khan had to say yesterday and with various other publicity efforts. I was astonished that so much nervousness should be displayed about facts and so many bald assertions made without foundation. When, on 5th October, I spoke as a Bengali, I was simply sharing impressions on the basis of my experience. I am grateful to the representative of Afghanistan for having demolished some of Pakistan's bald assertions.

In his broadcast yesterday, he (President Yahya Khan) gave some details of his plan, the substance of which he had announced on 21st June. That plan was described by informed opinion as a "pathetic sham".

If General Yahya Khan had any intentions of transferring power to the elected representatives, he could have done so earlier this year, and again he could have done so yesterday.

Air Marshal Asghar Khan of West Pakistan, a most distinguished soldier, has declared that the election results are already pre-determined; and Mr. Miraj Mohd. Khan, a leader of the People's Party led by Mr. Bhutto, has refused to go with his party's delegation to East Bengal for he found that the power there is shared by reactionaries, murderers and people without political support. Of course, given the press censorship, we cannot supply full texts of these statements, but we can draw some conclusions from the nature of Government which has been established in East Pakistan. One gentleman of this Government, known as "Minister", lost the elections by 46,186 votes. His name is Mr. Abul Quasem. Another "Minister", Nawazish Ahmad, lost his election by 96,007 votes. Still another, Mr. Akhtaruddin Ahmad, lost by 39,681 votes. Yet another, Maulana A. K. M. Yusuf, lost by 44,590 votes. Need I go on?

The Representative of Pakistan kindly agreed with me that these tragic problems are not fit for debate or polemics, yet his whole statement was nothing but a series of polemics. He says that the present problem is of

recent origin, while the bilateral problems between India and Pakistan have existed for many years. I do not expect that the international community would be at all unhappy if India and Pakistan solved all their bilateral problems. We offered to do so time and again, but without response. It was not we who brought up Kashmir in the Assembly, but the Representative of Pakistan.

I have already commented on these diversionary tactics Pakistan uses. May I simply say that we should like the well-established principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territory by force to be applied to Kashmir, as much as to any other place.

Pakistan accuses India of creating tension on the border and of supporting the freedom-fighters inside East Bengal. I would, in this context, read out what the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington had to say on 15th August, 1971, on the A. B. C. Television Network Incidentaly, the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington is the brother of the Representative of Pakistan here. He said ·

"There were at least about 160,000 armed personnel who defected on account of Awami League propaganda. The army was asked on the 25th of March to go and deal with these 160,000 armed people."

Who are those people ?

In the same interview, the Pakistan Ambassador answered :

"There were not only East Bengal Regiment ; there were East Pakistan Rifles ; there was a border military force ; there were armed police".

From where did they get their arms ?

The Ambassador said :

"These weapons came from looting of armouries and government stores and from the armouries of reserve police anu so on, weapons that had been collected by force, by militant student bands who were going and knocking at the doors of the houses and asking people to deliver their guns and whatever sporting rifles—guns and rifles—they had. These were not collected from the East Pakistan rifles. We wish we had taken the trouble to disarm then before".

That is the reality of resistance within East Pakistan—a resistance inspired by years of discrimination and exploitation. and which was the direct result of ruthless and massive military action with unparalleled atrocities, total extinction of human rights, and a full-fledged campaign of genocide.

I repeat what I said before : we must not, shall not, and cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. At the same time, Pakistan must not interfere in our internal affairs.

What has happened is that by Pakistan's brutal and preposterous actions, India has been faced with a refugee population of 9 million people, with consequences on the social, political and economic structure which are well known to the Assembly.

I would have been more comforted, if the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had himself given a report on the plight of those refugees and on the alleged return of some of them to Pakistan. It is extraordinary that the Pakistani reported figure of 200,000 had remained steady for at least one month or more. We are, of course, not privileged to go inside Pakistan and collect statistics, but let not the Representative of Pakistan have any grievances about such authoritative statements as are available to us.

Similarly, it should be easy for Pakistan to say what happened to the 471 complaints we made. We presume they should know. We have replied to all the complaints brought to our notice.

Yesterday, Ambassador Shahi dismissed a **Manchester Guardian** comment as frivolous. That his privilege, but I shall now supply some figures from the **Christian Science Monitor** given in its article, " The Agony and the Danger ", of 31st July. It says :

"The estimates of people killed, not counting "—I repeat : **not** counting— " those who died of famine and cholera have ranged up to a million ".

International press estimates of the number of people killed up to mid-August by the army varies between a minimum of a quarter million to a maximum of 2 million persons. Is it, therefore, an exaggeration to say that the armed action has resulted in at least a million deaths ?

I have already referred to the type of election which is being worked out for bringing about normalcy in Pakistan. In this contest, a report has been received by Mr. Paul Marc Henri the United Nations Administrator for Relief in East Pakistan, prepared by United States Aid Mission experts. Parts of of that report have been made available to the **Sunday Times** of London ; and in its 10th October issue, William Shawcross, describing the conditions in East Pakistan, says, " The infra-structure of the country has totally collapsed".

Mr. Victor Powell, of the Consortium of British Relief Charities, who returned from Dacca last week, has estimated that only 20 to 30 per cent of all industries in East Pakistan are working. "There are still reports from East Pakistan ", says Mr. Shawcross, " of how the Government and army commandeer food trucks and boats and use hunger as a political weapon ".

If all this is not enough, it has been made clear in the United Nations report that that Government will allow United Nations Agencies to work only on post-cyclone relief projects that were begun before the spring civil war. Officially, they are not allowed to give relief to those affected by the war rather than by the floods.

In the north, there was no flooding and it is there, as a result, that starvation is likely to increase ; because, so far, the Pakistan Government has forbidden access, except to permanent missionary bodies.

In addition, the Assembly is aware of the large number of Pakistani diplomats, including several ambassadors, who have defected. The latest is the Pakistan Ambassador to Argentina, Mr. Momin. Are these the kind of people who will be influenced by the bogey of Indian propaganda ? No one can be more blind than the man who refuses to see.

Another development in Pakistan, which is of intense international concern, is the reported sentence of death on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. It would be good to hear a denial of that report. If anyone has seen him during the last six months, we do not know him; all we know is that his British lawyers were not allowed to see him, and we are certain that Pakistan would not have allowed any outside judge—even of the International Court—to be present at the trial. Anyway, newspaper reports indicate that the trial is over.

Pakistan objects that any suggestion of political settlement with the elected leaders in an interference in Pakistan affairs. We in India have been burdened with over 9 million refugees as a direct consequence of Pakistan's military action. Is it, in these circumstances, unreasonable or illogical to suggest the kind of solution which, in our view, should be arrived at in order to persuade the refugees to go back home?

Is it unreasonable or illogical to recommend a political solution to bring about the kind of confidence that is a pre-requisite for the return of the refugees? Is it illogical or unreasonable to suggest that, unless the refugees have a degree of security and hope for peaceful existance on their return home, they will be reluctant to go back? If these are illogical and unreasonable suggestions, I am glad to see myself in the company of a large number of delegations, foreign Governments and numerous official and non-official organizations. If a country resents this kind of suggestion, how can it in the same breath ask for co-operation in solving a problem which is essentially of its own making?

Besides, what relief can we promise to the East Bengalis when we did nothing when their friends, relatives and fellow citizens were being killed, their women raped, their house smashed, property looted, children burnt, and their crops destroyed?

We have no intention of doing so, in spite of an invitation. All we can say is that this problem can be solved only between the rulers of Pakistan and its elected leaders, and we are disillusioned by the attempts to bring about a so-called normalization.

It was only the other day that two Members of Parliament of the Netherlands had their invitations withdrawn, simply because they would not accept Pakistani figures for refugees. Senator Kennedy's case is much too well known, and I do not wish to dilate on it.

The problem has been created by the campaign of genocide, and Pakistan must settle it in consultation and co-operation with its own people. There is undoubtedly tension in the area, but that too is the direct consequence of Pakistan's actions. Tension will disappear and refugees will go back whenever Pakistan chooses the wise course towards a political settlement. Unless that is done, all this public agitation for Indian co-operation is nothing but mere eye-wash.

In fact, in spite of Pakistan apologists, the President of Pakistan has made it quite clear that he would not meet the Indian Prime Minister. Even in these days of permissiveness, I cannot bring myself to repeat the words the

President used about our Prime Minister. The curious will find it in **Le Figaro** of Paris. That particular article was reproduced in **The New York Times** about two weeks ago. Apart from insulting the person, whom Pakistan would have us believe the General wishes to meet, he says bluntly: "I will not meet her". So much for seeking co-operation.

There are many instances in history when States have deliberately, and as acts of policy, promoted external tension in order to solve their domestic difficulties. Nothing is easier, and nothing is more dangerous. That is what Pakistan is trying to do today.

A great crisis has overtaken Pakistan as a result of its own acts in using military force and repression against the people of East Pakistan in a situation which called for conciliation and compromise. To deflect the criticism of its own people and of the international community from this crisis, a campaign is being mounted against India. But that will not resolve the crisis.

The solution of the crisis lies between the Government in West Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan. If India advocates this, it is because what has happened in Pakistan is of extreme concern to the international community, and particularly to India. Because of its geographical location, India has to bear a heavy and continuous burden. While we speak of the return of the refugees, would it not be pertinent to ask why more and more of them are still coming? Because the house is on fire, and the fire cannot be put out by bullets. It is not a question of our leaving Pakistan alone, it is the people of Pakistan who are steadily coming towards India.

Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity to thank the many Delegations that have spoken with sincerity and sympathy about the grave difficulties which we face. I should like to thank them publicly, and I should also like to state that we have appreciated the concern which they have shown for a problem created by Pakistan, but whose consequences affect us all.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘ সাধারণ পরিষদে মিঃ আগা শাহীর বিবৃতি (পাকিস্তান)।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	১৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. AGHA SHAHI (PAKISTAN) IN THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

October 13, 1971

During the general debate, my Delegation has stressed several times that we are not here to match arguments and score debating points. We regard the present India-Pakistan situation as too serious, and the imperative of peace too compelling to allow us exercises in debate.

The reply just made by the Representative of India to what I said yesterday, contains several misstatements and repetition of old charges which we have already refuted. No one in the Assembly, I am sure, enjoys a series of replies and counter replies which fail to advance the cause of peace, or to bring about a clearer understanding of a situation which involves a threat to peace. Nevertheless, in view of the earlier intervention of the Representative of India, I am duty bound to my Government to make a reasoned and dispassionate presentation to correct the picture that he has painted.

First of all, the Representative of India seemed to be aggrieved that I exercised my right of reply yesterday, that is seven days after his—the Indian —statement of allegation against us. I should like to assure him that we always believe in taking a pause and reflecting on any charges that may be made, so that we do not make impassioned replies, that we do not generate heat, but serve to enlighten this General Assembly. It is for that reason that we thought we should make a considered reply rather than the type of statement that we heard, a moment ago from the Representative of India.

I was also greatly surprised when the Representative of India said that the points that had been made by me in the India-Pakistan exchanges were demolished by the Representative of Afghanistan. I am loath to infer from this that there has been any collusion between India and Afghanistan.

We have heard for the umpteenth time that the Government of India does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, and yet the Representative of India launched into a veritable tirade over the internal development of Pakistan. He quoted certain political leaders of Pakistan about the nature of the Constitution or the political plan that has been put forward by President Yahya Khan. Is comment of the internal constitutional development of a country not within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction of a State ? While he quotes from the Pakistan press about what the political leaders of Pakistan have to say in exercise of the free expression of opinion which obtains in my country, yet he does not give credit to my Government that these critical opinions about the Government—which are not only critical, but very strongly critical—are in fact published. He still derides the situation in my country and states that we do not know that this is all they have said because there is censorship, in Pakistan. If there were censorship, these critical comments against the Government by the political leaders of Pakistan would not have seen the light of day.

The Representative of India was good enough to inform this General Assembly about the relationship between me and the Pakistani Ambassador in Washington, and to quote from what Ambassador Hilaly stated in a television interview as to how the insurgents and the secessionist elements obtained arms. He was speaking of the situation between 1st and 25th March, 1971, when the loyalty of large sections of the East Pakistani police, the para-military forces and the East Pakistani regiments were subverted. The loyalties of these elements of our armed forces from East Pakistan were subverted and they were incited to loot the armouries and the shops which sold arms and ammunition. Obviously, being para-military forces and members of the regular armed forces of Pakistan and East Pakistan, they were armed with weapons, and when they defected and rose in rebellion against the the Government, they used these weapons against the Government's forces. But that is not the end of the story. There has been infiltration of armed Indian elements into East Pakistan over a long period. The fact that arms and ammunition are being collected and sent by India into Pakistan is a fact of public knowledge. No attempt has been made by the Indian officials over the last few months to deny that they are supplying and arming the guerrillas. Only today, we have had a despatch in the New York Times from Sydney Schanberg, who who is the New York Times correspondent based in India, about trainload after trainload of arms going to Calcutta for arming these insurgents so that they can step up their raids into East Pakistan.

I can quote many correspondents from 25th March onwards, correspondents of world famous nowspapers—The Times of London, the Daily Telegraph and others—who have sent despatches to their editors about the extent of the involvements of India in the arming and training and unleashing of these insurgents, with the support and with the assistance of the Indian armed forces.

We hear a great deal from Indian Representatives about the need strictly to observe the Principles and purposes of the Charter, the Principles of Strengthening International Security, the Declaration on Principles of Friendly Relations, the Principles on which aggression should be defined, and we know that Indian Representatives have themselves taken an active part in formulating definitions of aggression, not definitions of international conduct, stating that the arming and inciting of guerrillas and sending them across international borders to carry out raids and sabotage are acts of aggression. But this is precisely what they are doing in regard to Pakistan; yet they say that they do not wish to interfere in our internal affairs.

It is always most painful to have to enter into any argument as to the awful arithmetic of death or the number of casualties. The Representative of India has persisted in stating that the casualties number "from a quater of a million to two million". Now, is it responsible to make such a statement—to take the liberty of giving a margin from a quarter of a million to two million, as if they are just figures or just inanimate units, and not living human beings ? If we consider the laws of our own countries, every signle death is investigated as the highest crime, and a country is most concerned and exercised over even a signgle casualty. But the Representative of India comes here and charges Pakistan with causing by the federal action against secessionist elements the death of between 250,000 and 2,000,000 men, women and children.

What can one say of the requirements of veracity and precision when they make such allegations? Let me say that those figures which are always quoted by India and which have found their way into the world press have all emanated from Indian sources, from the secessionist elements that have spread rumours and tried to defame the image of Pakistan. Members are all aware of the cyclone that occurred last November. At that time, certain charges were made by political parties in East Pakistan engaged in elections that the Government of Pakistan had not sufficiently mobilized all the resources to bring help to the survivors of that flood. Those political parties which made the charges against the Government did not deflect a single worker of their parties for the sake of humanity and relief to their own kith and kin. They were engaged in electioneering, campaigning and taking out processions, and yet they charged the Federal Government of Pakistan with the responsibility; and let me tell the Assembly that they charged the Government of Pakistan with responsibility for genocide.

Apparently, in this war of words, people have lost their sense of reality, words have lost their meaning. Not a single survivor of that cyclone died as a result of neglect. The casualties that took place were due to the flood ; they all happened in the cyclone, within twenty-four hours, and yet the Government of Pakistan was accused by those political parties—which later on betrayed their secessionist colours of genocide.

Let me also tell the Assembly that between 2nd March and 25th March, the Awami League took a series of actions to set up a parallel government and defy the authority of the established Government. They issued directives to Government employees not to attend offices; they raised the flag of rebellion; they gave directions to courts and to commercial houses; they gave directives that no taxes should be paid to the Central Government, and it was they, the secessionist elements, which started the killing of innocent citizens. Those facts have been documented. When the armed forces, which were standing as spectators in order not to be accused of interfering in the political process, were at length ordered to suppress the killings, and when, as a result of their action, not more than two or three dozen people were killed, they were accused of genocide. The cry of genocide against the Government of Pakistan started even before 25th March when the army took action to suppress the killing of innocent people in East Pakistan who were not of the same political persuasion as the secessionist element.

Those are recorded, documented facts, and yet there has been a suppression of information. Those facts have not been allowed to find their way into the world press. Yet the Pakistan Government is accused of censorship and suppression.

However, let me tell you that the figures of death quoted by the Representative of India have all emanated from Indian sources. Those correspondents have been fed with those stories. I do not wish to dwell upon this further, but if I am challenged I am ready to present further evidence before you. I have already stated that the insurgents and the secessionists—apart from those armed elements of our armed forces and para-military forces who stole arms from the armouries and who looted arms and ammunition shops—were supplied and armed by India, and I have drawn the Assembly's attention to an article in The New York Times of today.

In regard to the question that the Representative of India has raised about an alleged death sentence having been passed on sheikh Mujibur Rahman, there is a news item in The New York Times today which states that a diplomatic defector from a Pakistan Mission made this statement on the authority of information

that had been given to Pakistan Missions abroad before he defected. Let me here make a categorical statement: neither my Mission nor any such Mission has received any information from my Government about the question of a sentence passed on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Therefore, any defector from this Mission, who goes and states to the press that a sentence of death has been executed, is not speaking the truth, and I would wish that the Representative of India had exercised due care and caution before he came to fling this charge at us.

I will also tell this Assembly that certain diplomatic defectors have circulated memoranda and letters to the correspondents here saying that Shiekh Mujibur Rahman is dead. What purpose is served by circulating such wrong statements and falsehood is beyond our comprehension, but, at least, we would hope that Representatives of sovereign States would exercise greater responsibility than pamphleteers and propagandists in making charges and innuen does against other Government.

Let me pass from replies to these charges, which are painful to me as to all of you, to something more constructive. Let me avail myself of this opportunity to renew the offers made by the Government of Pakistan to arrest the deterioration of the present India-Pakistan situation and for the creation of a climate of confidence conducive to the return of the displaced persons.

These are our offers:

Firstly, to have the number of persons, who were displaced from East Pakistan and went to India, ascertained by an impartial international agency, so that the controversy regarding the numbers of refugees who have left East Pakistan may be finally laid to rest. Considering the wide disparity existing between the number calculated by us and that alleged by India, only an impartial agency could arrive at an assessment which would be beyond challenge.

Secondly, we offer to arrange the stationing on both sides of the border between East Pakistan and India of Representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to facilitate the return and rehabilitation of the displaced persons. That is a proposal which was made by the Secretary-General, and it is clear that a measure of that kind would go a long way in imporving the climate and establishing confidence. My Government affords all facilities to Representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to visit areas of East Pakistan where refugees are returning, and to meet them. On the other side of the border, however, a curtain has been drawn which hampers the return of the refugees.

Thirdly, we offer to invite a good offices committee of the Security Council to confer with the Governments of both India and Pakistan regarding how the present tension between the two countries can be dispelled, to bring about the return of the displaced East Pakistanis from India in conditions of full security.

Fourthly, we are ready to work out with India, in bilateral talks at any level ways and means by which the repatriation of the refugees could be accomplished and the threat of an armed conflict removed.

Rather than prolong polemics, which merely add to bitterness, we would hope that the Government of India will not reject these offers. I know that it can say "they have been made before and we have turned them down", but we would appeal to it to reconsider its rejections, because these are constructive offers and could bring about a true amelioration of the situation, so that we can contribute to the minimization of the aims demanded by both humanitarianism and peace, and I appeal again to the Representative of India not to be little these offers.

জাতিসংঘের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে বাংলাদেশ প্রসংগ--৪ ডিসেম্বর হ'তে ৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

ভারত, পাকিস্তান ও স্থায়ী সদস্য রাষ্ট্রসমূহের প্রতিনিধিবর্গের বিবৃতি.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানী প্রতিনিধি মি: আগা শাহীর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. AGHA SHAHI, REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN
December 4, 1971

I thank you, Mr. President, and the Members of the Security Council, for inviting the Pakistan Delegation to this Council meeting to be heard.

This meeting of the Security Council is being held in one of the most extraordinary situations in the history of the United Nations. A Member State of the United Nations, India, has not only launched aggression on the territory of another Member State, Pakistan, but has openly demanded that Pakistan dismember itself and give up that part of its territory which contains the majority of its population.

There is not just an allegation that I am making before the Council. The world news about the statement of the Prime Minister of India, made on 1st December, that Pakistan should withdraw its troops from its eastern part. The world also knows that Indian troops entered the territory of Pakistan and have been there since at least 21st November . The two facts are undeniable and are acknowledged by India.

These are the two cardinal facts of the situation on which its consideration by the Security Council has to be based. Nothing like this has happened before in the contemporary age.

There is no other example of a Member State of the United Nations which has recognized and had normal diplomatic relations with another Member State demanding that the latter withdraw its troops from ts own territory and thus yield possession and control over it. India has not only made the demand but, in pursuance of it, has escalates its aggressive activities to bring about the disintegration of Pakistan. A challenge was thus hurled at Pakistan, and Pakistan has decided to meet it resolutely.

From this point of view, the situation that has been brought before the Security Council is not one which involves Pakistan alone. It involves every State that believes in the principle of territorial integrity of states, which is fundamental to the Charter of the United Nations. It concerns all who are in danger of being overrun by larger, more powerful and predatory neighbours.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, I can pledge that we will not surrender. Whatever tomorrow may bring, it will not be capitulation by Pakistan. Our freedom is too precious for us to bargain it away. Our stake in our national integrity is so great that we cannot possibly falter or fail. However, should the Security Council temporize with the situation, should it equivocate, should it become paralysed, should it fail to suppress the aggression, one thing will certainly happen. The Charter of the United Nations will have been shattered. The basic understanding behind the very functioning of the United Nations will have been demolished. A damage will have been done to the international order symbolized by the United Nations which can never be repaired.

Since, it is India which, after having resorted to large-scale use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of Pakistan in total violation of the United Nations Charter, is now talking of defending itself against Pakistan's full-scale attack, the sequence of events of the past two weeks, since 21st November, needs to be kept clearly in mind.

Pakistan's eastern province has been under a massive attack, since 21st November, by India's regular troops, tanks and aircraft. The attack was launched simultaneously at half a dozen points along three sides of India's land frontier around East Pakistan.

The Indian attack was unprovoked; it was on a large scale; it was co-ordinated; it was preceded by heavy artillery fire ; and it was made under air cover. It was definitely not, as the Indians initially tried to maintain, only a stepping up of activity by the secessionist guerrillas. In the engagements that have taken place between the Pakistani and Indian armed forces, several of the Indian army units have been identified through Indian soldiers killed or captured.

On 21st November, the Indian armed forces launched the following attacks: On the south-eastern sector of East Pakistan, an Indian army brigade group, supported by armed helicopters, entered the Chittagong Hill Tracts district of East Pakistan, overran our border outposts and penetrated approximately 10 miles into our territory. To the north of this sector, another brigade group of the 23rd Indian Division, supported by the rest of the Division, launched an attack in the Belonia salient of the Noakhali, district of East Pakistan, pushing eight miles deep into Pakistan territory. In the Brahmanbaria sub-division, to the north-west of Belonia, attacks were launched by a battalion each from the 57th Indian Division against two of our border posts at Mukandpur and Saldanadi which were overrun. Further north, on the eastern front of East Pakistan, the Indians made repeated attacks against our border outposts at Karitola in Mymensingh—also known as Mominshahi district. These attacks were repulsed. In the north-east corner of East Pakistan, two Indian battalion groups attacked and overran our border outposts at Dhalai, Atgram and Zakignaj in the Maulavi Bazar sub-division of the Sylhet district. These Indian forces included two companies of

Gurkhas. In the north-western area of East Pakistan, the Indians launched another attack in the Rangpur district. This was in the Bhurangamari salient, where an Indian brigade group penetrated 15 miles into Pakistan territory up to Nageshwari. In the south-east sector—completing the three-sided front—in the Jessore district, a major offensive was launched by a brigade group of the 9th Indian Division, supported by armour and air cover, opposite Chaugacha. Indian tanks penetrated about eight miles into Pakistan territory. An Indian air attack was challenged by the Pakistan Air Force. One Indian aircraft was destoryed, and we lost two over Pakistan territory. Six Indian tanks were destoryed in the engagement, and eight of ours were disabled. The Jessore air field was shelled by Indian artillery. All these attacks were synchronized and launched at widely separated parts of the frontier on 21st November last.

As many as 12 Indian divisions were reported on 21st November to have been deployed around East Pakistan. In addition, there were 38 battalions of the Indian Border Security Force. The 2nd and 5th Indian Mountain Divsions, which were previously stationed in India's North-East Frontier Agency, were also moved towards East Pakistan. The 8th Mountain Division, consisting of six brigades, was brought to the East Pakistan border towards Sylhet from Nagaland, where only one brigade was left. Twelve squadrons of the Indian Air Force were placed around East Pakistan. A sizable Indian naval force comprising an aircraft carrier, frigates, landing ships and two submarines was standing by near Vizagapatam, in the Bay of Bengal, posing an amphibious threat to Chittagong and Chalna ports. The approaches to Chalna port were mined by the Indian forces. As a result, two merchant ships, chartered for carrying food-grains and other essential supplies, were damaged, seriously disrupting food supplies to East Pakistan.

That was the postion on 21st November. Since then, the Indian armed forces have continued their aggressive actions against Pakistan, including the crossing of our international borders and hostile action on our soil. In the past two weeks, the Pakistan armed forces have continued to resist Indian aggression in all the sectors.

To understand the nature of the present hostilities, it is necessary to bear in mind the details of the fighting that preceded and culminated in the full-scale war on 3rd December.

I shall refer first to the Jessore sector. On this south-western front of East Pakistan, since 21st November, the Indians have used tank and heavy artillery fire. Some of the attacks were in brigade strength. The Indians had some successes against thinly-held Pakistani positions, and captured Chaugacha, six miles inside our territory, and also Jiban Nagar. Their attacks were bulunted in the Buinda Simulia, Krishanpur, Jamalpur and Nabagram areas. Indian casualties in the Jessore sector were estimated at about 150 killed and over 500 wounded. Severel Indian tanks were destroyed. Units of the Indian armed forces, identified in the Jessore sector, included those belonging to the 14th Punjab Regiment and the 1st Jammu and Kashmir Battalion of the 350th Brigade of the 9th Indian Infantry Division.

In the Dinajpur-Rangpur sector, Indian pressure on this north-eastern front was concentrated for several days in the Hilli area of Dinajpur district. Other areas in which fighting took place were Pachhagarh, Nageshwari, Aurpara, Bantara and Mirzapur.

Indian tanks and aircraft were used in these attacks. Units of the Indian armed forces identified in the Dinajpur-Rangpur sector included the 165th Mountain Brigade of the 10th Indian Mountain Division, 4th Rajput Regiment- the 7th Marhatta Light Infantry and the 9th Indian Mountain Division.

The Sylhet sector which in the north-east, was subjected to heavy Indian pressure from the very first day of the attack against East Pakistan Heavy fighting continued near Atgram. two miles inside Pakistan, and at Rakiganj, Radhanagar, Kanairghat, Gauripur, Chandepur, Lakshmipdr, Latumura Shamsher Nagar. Indian casualties were estimated at over 225 dated and a hunndred wounded. Indian units identified in the sylhet sector, included the 4th Kumaon of the 81st Mountain Brigade and the 85th Indian Border Security Force.

In the Comilla sector, the Indians in this part of East Pakistan exerted pressure on Kasba, Akhaura, Angadar Bazar, Phataba Nagar, Gazipur, Chuddagram and Morachale. In one battle alone 197 Indian soldiers, belonging to the 19th Punjab Battalion of the 57th Indian Mountain Division, were killed. Other Indian army units identified in the Comilla sector included a Dogra battalion, raised in Jammu. Elements of a new Indian division have been moving into this sector in the last few days.

In the Mymensingh district, also known as Mominshahi, on the eastern front of East Pakistan, Indian forces, including a battalion of the 13th Guards, fought in the Kamalpur area. Fresh Indian troops arrived in this sector on 2nd December.

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which is the south-eastern segment of the East Pakistan front, the fighting has been mainly in the Chota Harina area. The 9th Gurkha Battalion was identified as being in action in this area.

That is a brief record of direct Indian aggression, in the last two weeks, against the eastern part of Pakistan, and of the continued presence of Indian armed forces inside our borders on that front. Thus, the fact is established beyond denial or dispute that the Indian army, backed by its air force, has been committing aggression against Pakistan from at least 21st November. Governments which have their own independent means of information about developments in the India-Pakistan sub-continent have been aware of these unprovoked large-scale armed attacks.

On the afternoon of 3rd December, India opened new fronts, this time against the western part of Pakistan. This action was launched by India's ground forces operating under air cover, and followed four days of aggressive aerial reconnaissance by the Indian air force over West Pakistan. Early in the afternoon, the Indian army moved towards border posts manned by the Pakistan Rangers. On being challenged, the Indians opened fire with small arms, wounding our men. The Rangers fired back on the Indians in self-defence. Incidents took place simultaneoulsy in the Shakargarh salient, Kasur, Hussainiwala, and Rahim Yar Khan, opposite the Rajasthan province of India.

Indians also mounted a military action in the Poonch area in the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir. Two hours later, the Indians began major attacks with massive artillery support. Those major attacks were directed towards Chhamb in the disputed State of Jammu and Kasmir, and across the international frontier in the Sialkot area, also in an area between Jassar Bridge and Lahore, and on the Rajasthan front opposite Rahim Yar Khan. The Indian army attack was supported by the Indian air force.

In the face of this obviously pre-planned and large-scale offensive along a 500 miles front, the armed forces of Pakistan could not but fight back. The air force, therefore, struck the forward airfields, close to the Pakistan border, at Srinagar and Avantipur in Indian-occupied Kashmir and at Pathankot and Amritsar.

The perfidious nature of the Indian aggression is clear from the outright and irresponsible falsehood which was perpetrated by India. The falsehood lay in India's denial that its forces were involved in the serious fighting which began in the territory of Pakistan on 21st November. On 22nd November, a spokesman for the Defence Ministry of the Government of India stated : "Our troops are under strict instructions not to cross the border".

That statement was made when those troops had already crossed the border, and when fighting was taking place inside the territory of Pakistan. On 24th November, however. a Reuters dispatch reported as follows:

"An Indian Government spokesman admitted today that Indian tanks had crossed the border into East Pakistan last Sunday (that is, 21st November), when they destroyed 13 Pakistani tanks. The spokesman said that the Indian forces had acted under modified instructions which allowed them to cross the frontiers in self-defence. He confirmed that 'our (that is, Indian) tanks have been in action in self-defence on Sunday '. Asked whether they had gone into East Pakistan, he replied, 'Naturally; they had to cross the border".

I would appeal to you, Mr. President, and to the Members of the Security Council to keep this square contradiction between a denial and an admission of the same fact on the part of India clearly in view.

When it had to admit that it was directly participating in the fighting in Pakistan territory, India cited the right of self-defence. But since when is it permissibile under the Charter of the United Nations for a Member State which is not attacked to enter the territory of another Member State in the name of self-defence?

It would be fantastic to allege that Pakistan, which is one-fourth India's size, whose armed forces are vastly outnumbered by India's in both man-power and equipment. and which at present is grappling with a severe internal crisis, launched—or even contemplated—an armed attack on India in November. The territory of Pakistan in the east is surrounded on three sides by India and separated by the whole width of northern India from our territory in the west. The direct air link between the two parts of Pakistan was severed in February this year by the Indian Government through an illegal act banning the overflight of Pakistan's aircraft. Moreover , only a small part of our army is stationed in the east. In the face of these facts, what could be more mythical than a plan of armed attack on India by Pakistan in November ? Indeed, hardly any situation is conceivable where the plea of self-defence would be more grotesque.

It was, of course, to be expected that India should have contrived an excuse for launching an armed attack on Pakis'an by alleging that Pakistan's forces intruded into Indian territory at a certain time and place. When listening to these allegations, regardless of thier falsehood, the Security Council has to bear in mind the principle that a State which is the victim in its own territory of subversive and /or terrorist acts by irregular, volunteer or armed bands organized by another State, is entitled to take all reasonable and adequate steps to safeguard its evidence and its institutions. This principle, recognized in international law,

has been well stated by Member States of different continents and political alignment of their proposed definitions of aggression. Pakistan by no means exceeded this right in suppressing armed and terrorist bands which aimed to bring about a dismemberment of the State.

The facts of the situation prior to 3rd December which are beyond controversy are :

Firstly by, Pakistan has been the victim of acts of sabotage, subversion and terrorism committed by armed bands organized by India.

Secondly by, these acts have involved incursions into Pakistan by those bands operating trom Indian territory and having their bases in India.

Thirdly by, even the most elementary considerations of internal security for Pakistan demanded the capture or expulsion of those bands from Pakistan.

I can state with a full sense of responsibility that at no time and place did the armed forces of Pakistan stationed in the east take any steps beyond those which were adequate to safeguard the borders of the State and to maintain internal security in Pakistan.

Even if it may be assumed, contrary to the facts, that some excess in the form of a local encroachment across the border might have occurred somewhere, there was no warrant for India's claim that the invasion of Pakistan was justified by recourse to the right of self-defence.

No less frivolous and unwarranted was the Indian claim that Indian attacks on Pakistan were justified because they were in support of insurgent forces in Pakistan. Even if these insurgent forces were not stationed in Indian territory and were not operating from it, the acknowledgement by India that it was giving them arms and other support would amount to an admission not only of interference in the affairs of Pakistan but also of indirect aggression. Since, the incontrovertible fact is that these forces are trained, organized, financed, given arms and equipment and furnished bases by India, and that their operations are directed by India, they are nothing but irregular Indian forces. Their continuing sabotage and incursions, accompanied and supported by the military activity of the regular Indian armed forces, constitute aggression by India as much as does an assault by an unmixed regular Indian force.

I need hardly cite any evidence here of the fact that the insurgent forces are organized, supported and directed by India. The fact is self-admitted. On 20th July, the Foreign Minister of India stated in the Indian Parliament that—

"India is doing everything possible"—I repeat "everything possible"—

"to support the liberation army".

The situation which has been brought before the Security Council is, as I submitted at the outset, one of a breach of the peace. This is but a culmination of a series of menacing acts of interference in Pakistan's internal affairs committed by India. The nautre of Pakistan's internal crisis is outside the Security Council's concern. I shall not walk into the trap laid by the New Delhi Government, which seeks to justify its interference and aggression by dwelling on Pakistan's internal crisis. I hope and trust that the Security Council will similarly guard against the debate ranging over areas outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The Security Council is concerned with international peace, not with the internal

peace and political life of a Member State. Whatever be the private evaluations of the happenings inside Pakistan, whatever judgement may be made by individuals and groups of the rights and wrongs of the situation in Pakistan, there can be no valid ground for India's interference in it.

One principle is basic to the maintenance of a peaceful world order, and it is that no political, economic, strategical, social or ideological considerations may by invoked by one State to justify its interference in the internal affairs of another State any more than they can be cited as a ground for aggression, direct or indirect. We all know the many Declarations of the General Assembly which have affirmed this principle. I shall not refer to all of them here because recognition of this principle and its incorporation into the law of the United Nations is not dependent on those declarations. It is enough to refer to the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty adopted by the General Assembly in 1965. [*General Assembly Resolution* 2131 (*XX*).]

· Operative paragraph 1 of that Declaration states :

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned."

Operative paragraph 2 states :

"......no State shall organize, assist, forment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

Operative paragraph 4 states:

"......the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Naions but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security."

I may recall here that India was a Member of the Committee which prepared that Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States. It is well-known that India has been prominent at the United Nations for its advocacy of the principle of non-interference. What has motivated this advocacy is ill concealed, and we in Pakistan know it very well. Oblivious of the fact that Jammu and Kashmir is not, and cannot, be recognized as part of India unless an impartial plebiscite in that State returns a verdict in favour of it accession to India, India has vainly sought to close all avenues for Pakistan giving moral and political support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination. But I shall leave that aside for the moment. What is intersting is that India's motivation has been strong enough to prevail over its relations even with those Powers with whom it professes to be friendly Speaking at the 1441st meeting of the Security Council on 21st Augutst, 1968 which had developments in Czechoslovakia on its agenda, the India Representative read the statement made that day by the Prime Minister of India. Here is part of that statement:

"Non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constituences the very basis of peaceful co-existence. We have always believed that

nternational relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and ndependence of nations, big and small. We have always stood for the right of every country to develop its personality according to its own traditions, aptitudes and genius. India has always raised her voice whenever these principles have been violated".

That was the statement of the Prime Minister of India against interference in the internal affairs of other States.

In startling contrast to those pronouncements, India's interventionist role in Pakistan's affairs has been blatant from the beginning of this year. This role has preceded and caused Pakistan's internal crisis. The object has been nothing else than to ensure that the outcome of political and constitutional developments in Pakistan should be the dismemberment of Pakistan.

To avoid undue length, I shall only briefly list these major acts of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan by India:

Firstly; even before elections were held in Pakistan in December, 1970, a pipeline for the supply of arms and ammunition by India, to certain elements which were plotting the disintegration of Pakistan, had been set up.

Secondly, in February, 1971, India engineered the hijacking to Pakistan of one of its aircraft flying from Jammu and Kashmir. The hijackers were Indian intelligence agents. From this incident, India obtained a pretext to ban the overflights of Pakistani aircraft from West Pakistan to East Pakistan over Indian territory. This ban was totally illegal, but it cut the direct air link between the two parts of Pakistan. Indian official sources even said that the restoration of the air link would be viewed with deep misgivings by the people of East Pakistan.

Thirdly, immediately after the negotiatons towards a political consensus in Pakistan with regard to the future constitution of the country broke down, the Indian Parliament adopted a resolution pledging support to one of the parties. I put it to the members of the Security Council here: would any of your Governments ever think of such action in relation to an internal crisis in a neighbouring country?

Fourthly, the upheaval in East Pakistan was accompanied by, and gained in malignancy from, the propaganda barrage unleashed by India. It was the vastly exaggerated and sensationalized reports published by the Indian press and picked up by foreign news media which produced the panic in East Pakistan that resulted in a large-scale exodus.

Fifthly, India exploited the refugee problem for military, political and diplomatic purposes. Militarily, it created from among the displaced persons an irregular army. Politically, India cultivated the belief among the displaced persons that they would go back not to Pakistan as constituted, but to a new sovereignty in East Pakistan. There are on record numerous statements to this effect made by Ministers of the Indian Central Government. Diplomatically, India made use of the refugee situation for its campaign to secure the stoppage of all economic assistance to Pakistan.

Sixthly, whatever the nature of the crisis in Pakistan, it posed no military threat to India. But India immediately massed a force of over five divisions on or near the borders of East Pakistan soon after the internal crisis broke out. What other motive than that of intimidating Pakistan and encouraging saboteurs and subversionists could have moved India to make this demonstration of its military might at the time that the garrisons in East Pakistan were hard pressed in overcoming armed insurgency?

This is a mere summary of India's interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, which has now culminated in aggression on Pakistan's territory. There is only one result of the internal crisis in Pakistan which is truly international in its nature, and we readily acknowledge it to be so. That is the problem of at large number of people who left East Pakistan and are at present on Indian soil. But this problem, while international in nature, is not political. It would have been a political problem if Pakistan were to deny the right of these uprooted people to return to their homes, to be restored their properties and to live in their own country in perfect security of life and honour. Since, far from denying their right, Pakistan is most anxious to receive them back, since Pakistan has welcomed the assistance of the United Nations in facilitating their voluntary repatriation, since Pakistan is anxious to arrange this rehabilitation as speedily as possible, the problem is purely a humanitarian one. It is a problem which can be solved with compassion and understanding. It is a problem whose solution demands co-operation between India and Pakistan and of both countries with the United Nations. Of all problems, it is the one with which playing politics is totally indefensible.

But that is what India did. In fact, by blocking the return of the displaced persons to Pakistan as constituted, India tried to link the fate of this mass of human beings with the dismemberment of Pakistan.

It is being said that a climate of confidence is necessary for the return of the displaced persons. The statement is unexceptionable, if the phrase "a climate of confidence" is understood in its normal sense. The Government of Pakistan has done its utmost to restore such a climate. Would these efforts not have been much more effective if India also had co-operated ? Would India's co-operation with the United Nations not have greatly strengthened the Organization and its presence in East Pakistan ? Would this not have furnished another element of reassurnace and thus itself contributed to restoring the climate conductive to the repatriation of the refugees ? I leave it to the Members of the Security Council to judge how vastly different the present situation would have been but for India's intransigence.

In short, the present situation, now gravely threatening international peace and security, is nothing but an outcome of India's sustained hostility to Pakistan. This hostility did not begin with Pakistan's internal crisis. It merely found in that crisis a potent means for the execution of its designs, an occasion and opportunity unlike any that had been presented before. The Head of the Indian institute for Defence Studies and Analyses stated

"What India must realize is the fact that the break-up of Pakistan is in our own interests, an opportunity the like of which will never come".

An Indian political publicist, Mr. S. Swamy, wrote in *Motherland,* New Delhi, of 15th June:

"The break-up of Pakistan is not only in our external security interests but also in our internal security interests. India should emerge as a super-power internationally and we have to nationally integrate our citizens for this role. For this, the dismemberment of Pakistan is an essential pre-condiition".

Yet another publicist, Mr. J. A. Naik, saw in Pakistan's disintegration the road to great power status for India in the region. The consensus at a political symposium held in New Delhi, as reported in the *Hindustan Times* of 1st April—that is, immediately after the outberak of the internal crisis in Pakistan—was that India must "make best of what was described as the opportunity of the century".

Least it be thought that these are merely the pipedreams of political theoreticians, let me quote here some official pronouncements made from India. Addressing the Rotary Club in New Delhi on 11th August, as reported in *The Statesman* of New Delhi the next-day, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister of India said:

"Bangladesh has got to become a reality and it will become so, otherwise those would be an imminent danger to India". This clearly means that India considers the preservation of Pakistan's territorial intergrity as an "imminent danger" to it. In fact the Prime Minister of India said on 1st December that the presence of Pakistan troops in East Pakistan—that is, in Pakistan territory—constituted a threat to India's security.

On 18th September, as reported in *The Statesman* of 19th September, the Defence Minister of Indian further said :

"It was inconceivable that Pakistan would grant independence to Bangladesh, but we would have to work towards a situation in which Pakistan will be left with no alternative."

What that situation would be was spelled out by the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, to which I referred a moment ago. Its Head, writing in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* of 15th August under the heading "Must we go to war ?", stated, "A war with Pakistan would be a brief affair". In the event of such a brief war, the sequence was visualized as follows by the Indian Institute for Defence Studies, and I am sure the quotation will be interesting to the Members of the Security Council:

"There is no doubt that the Security Council would meet to call upon both nations to end the fight. Whether the fight should be ended immediately or continued for a period of time is a matter for India to consider. At this stage, it should be India's endeavour to get Bangladesh as one of the recognized parties to the dispute. In fact, that is the appropriate way to win internatonal recognition for Bangladesh. It should be made clear that the cease-fire cannot be signed in the Bengal sector unless the Bangladesh Commander is recognized as an independent sector commander for the purposes of cease-fire, and the Bangladesh Government is recognized as a party to the dispute as a whole."

The paper from which that quotation was an excerpt was fully reported in *The Times* of London on 13th July. Again, there is no room for doubt that this thinking was consistent with official policy.

In October, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Indian Defence Minister—and I apologize for quoting him and again and again, but though his volubility furnishes some useful material it cannot be supposed that he does not express the thinking of the Government of which he is a prominent member—stated that any war with Pakistan would be fought on its soil and India would not vacate the territory occupied during the conflict. He added, "We shall go right up to Lahore and Sialkot and shall not come back whatever be the consequences".

It is thus clear that it was India's belligerence which gave a dimension to Pakistan's internal crisis that it would never have had otherwise. To say this is not to make light of our domestic situation. The crisis we have faced this year has been a supreme tragedy for our country. But may I not ask this: have not other nations—nations which are models of cohesion now—gone through similar traumatic experiences in the past ? One difference is that they escaped the distortions of international publicity to which Pakistan has been a victim. Another and much greater differences that they did not have a hostile and bigger neighbour that had first fomented their civil strife and exacerbated it and then committed aggression, as India has done in our case.

The Secretary-General rightly pointed out in his memorandum of 20th July, to the President of the Security Council that—

"......the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing and unresolved differences between India and Pakistan—differences which gave rise to open warfare only six year ago".

The India-Pakistan question has been on the agenda of the Security Council since 1948. The outstanding dispute between the two countries relating to the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is one which has been discussed at more than a hundred meetings of the Security Council and has been the subject of as many as 22 resolutions and two statement of consensus of the Security Council. Let me make it clear that there will never be real peace between India and Pakistan— and I use the word 'peace' in the sense of something more than an absence of fighting—unless this dispute is resolved in accordance not with India's or Pakistan's wishes, not with the interests of any foreign power or group of powers, but with the Will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. An international agreement exists—concluded under the auspices of the United Nations—that the dispostion of the State should be determined by an impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. India has persistently refused to implement that agreement. The strain thus caused in relations between India and Pakistan has never been relaxed during the last 23 years for the simple reason that while the rest of the world may at times forget the Kashimir dispute, neither the people of Kashmir themselves nor their brethern the people of Pakistan can ever be oblivious to it, even if the disputes nothing but a manifestation of India's chauvinism and its refusal to arrive at an equitable settlement with Pakistan that would establish good neighbourly relations between the two counties on a lasting basis.

The root cause of the hostilities between India and Pakistan is therefore not the occurrences of this year, but the policy so far pursued by Indian rulers—the policy of denying Pakistan's international rights and refusing to resolve outstanding issues between the two countires according to the recognized means of pacific settlement. Normalcy in relations between the two neighbours in South Asia will come not by waving a magic wand, nor with declarations, nor with No-War pacts, but with the readiness of both parties to resolve situations of friction and to settle disputes in the only way that can be done—namely, employing the means listed in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

How anxious Pakistan has been to avert the eruption of hostilities is amply borne out by the fact that the Government of Pakistan responded affirmatively to every proposal that would bring about the peaceful resolution of the present India-Pakistan situation. The President of Pakistan some months ago declared his readiness to meet with the Prime Minister of India anywhere anytime. The response from India was totally negative. On 20th November, the President of Pakistan extended his hand of friendship to India. India's answer was the major armed attack on Pakistan launched the next day.

Lastly, the Security Council is aware that on 20th October, the Secretary-General addressed a letter to the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India in which he said :

"In this potentially very dangerous situation, I feel that it is my duty as Secretary-General to do all that I can to assist the Governments immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might led to disaster. I wish Your Excellency to know, therefore, that my good offices are entirely at your disposal if you believe that they could be helpful at any time."

The President of Pakistan promptly welcomed the offer, and invited the Secretary-General to visit India and Pakistan to discuss ways and means for the withdrawal of forces of both sides; from their borders. But what was India's response ? The Prime Minister of India answered the Secretary-General's letter on 16th November, 27 days later a situation of daily increasing tension, and in her letter made the allegation that Pakistan was "seriously preparing to launch a large-scale conflict with India".

Now, if that allegation were correct it would have been all the more reason for India to invite the Secretary-General to visit the sub-continent and help to defuse the situation. But the Prime Minister of India laid such conditions on the exercise of his good offices by the Secretary-General as would make him far exceed his competence. She demanded, politely but unmistakably, that the Secretary-General "view the problem in perspective", and that he interfere in Pakistan's affairs by making "efforts to bring about a political settlement in East Pakistan". Needless to say, the message was that the Secretary-General is welcome if he executes India's political designs ; otherwise, not.

For some weeks, the refrain in Indian pronouncements was that Pakistan was planning a large-scale conflict with India. But, in October the President of Pakistan suggested a mutual pull-back of the forces of both countries from their borders. If the Indian leaders believed in their own propaganda, they would have welcomed the offer. But the Prime Minister of India summarily rejected it on the grounds that Pakistan's lines of communication to the borders were shorter than those of India.

Wishing to avoid controversy, the President of Pakistan modified his earlier suggestion and said that if withdrawal to peace-time stations was not possible then at least the troops, along with armour and artillery, could be pulled back to a mutually agreed safe distance on either side of the border to provide a sense of security to both sides.

Could anything be more fair ? Could any guarantee better prove Pakistan's desire to avoid war with India? In breif, the present situation confronting the Security Council is one in which one Member State resorted to every means, including the classical form of aggression, namely, an armed attack, to break up another Member State. Since India's aggression could have succeeded unless it was firmly opposed, Pakistan could not abdicate its right to rake appropriate counter-measures. It is now for the Security Council to find the means to make India desist from its war of aggression. Only those means devised by the Security Council which are consistent with our indepedence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and with the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of Member States, will command my Government's support and co-operation.

Before I end, I feel compelled to make a few observations on the debate which arose in this Council from the proposal of the Representative of the Soviet Union to invite the representatives of a so-called entity. The Representative of India was out of order when he intervened on this question because only Members of the Security Council can participate in a procedural debate Rule 39 of the rules of procedure was quoted in favour of extending the invitation. But let me remind the Security Council that the rules of procedure must be subordinate and subservient to the Articles of the Charter of the United Nations, and one of the fundamental principles of the Charter is that of the territorial integrity of Member States. Any move under rule 39 of the Council's rules of procedure which runs counter to this fundamental principle of the Charter is outside the competence of the United Nations and of the Security Council, because the Security Council must interpret its rules in consistence with the fundamental provisions of the Charter.

The proposal to invite the so-called delegation in question is only seemingly innocent. We have been told that the Council would benefit from the information that may be given in regard to the deteriorating situation leading to the armed clashes between India and Pakistan.

But with regard to such information, all Members of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly and of the Non-Governmental organizations have been deluged with material submitted by the so-called representatives of a particular entity, and so much has appeared in the press that no further purpose could be served by giving it official recognition and circulating its documents to the Members of the Security Council.

I said that this proposal is only seemingly innocent, because fundamentally it would mean that at one stroke, by seating such so-called representatives, the Security Council would have struck at the territorial integrity of a Member State, and sought to dismember Pakistan by according this kind of recognition.

What is this entity on behalf of which the Representative of India has circulated a document, and which it now demands be seated at this Council table and be given a hearing ? It is a group of men contrived, organized and established by India, a country which has carried out subversion, has aided secession and rebellion

against Pakistan, has engaged in aggression against Pakistan, and is now at war with Pakistan. And, this group of men have their seat in Calcutta. We know that right here in New York, there are a number of organizations and entities which claim to speak in the names of certain legitimate Governments, or so-called legitimate Governments, and they deluge us with material and request us to have it circulated as official documents of various organs of the United Nations. Should we begin to adopt this practice of complying with their request in contravention of the principles of the Charter ?

It has been contended that the letter of the nine Delegations asking for a meeting of the Security Council refers to "....the recent deteriorating situation which has led to armed clashes between Indian and Pakistan" (S/10411). What is the situation which occasioned the request for this meeting by the nine Delegations? The situation in Pakistan was brought to the attention of the Members of the Security Council by the Secretary-General in his memorandum of 20th July, and again in November, the Members of the Security Council refused to meet on the basis of the information that was supplied by the Secretary-General when he was in fact, though not explicitly, exercising his functions under Article 99 of the Charter. For, there is no other provision of the Charter under which the Secretary-General can bring a situation affecting peace and security to the knowledge and attention of the Members of the Security Council. The situation, which occasioned the letter from the nine Delegatoins, is that which erupted yesterday because of full-scale hostilities between Indian and Pakistan. I would submit that the Security Council should interpret this document strictly, and not with retrospective effect, because it had not thought it fit to meet to consider the situation when certain aspects were brought before the Members of the Security Council by the Secretary-General.

Finally, we believe that the refugee problem is a humanitarian one. We are ready to do anything that the international community requests us to do on the basis of a humanitarian approach to ensure the repatriation of these refugees in conditions of honour, security of life and restoration of property. And to say now that in a situation in the sub-continent, when the flames of war threaten to envelop 700 million people, the refugees who are in Indian should be accorded a kind of representation in and before the Security Council, is something which is so unprecedented that the Security Council would have to ponder deeply the consequences of its actions. I would make an appeal that the Security Council act with every sense of responsibility and respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter. And should a dangerous precedent be set, then Pakistan would have to real praise seriously its co-operation with the Security Council and the United Nations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতীয় প্রতিনিধি মিঃ সমর সেনের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. SAMAR SEN, REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA

December 4, 1971

I am grateful to the Council for the invitation to India to participate in this important debate, but I should like to make it quite clear, at the beginning, that we are not here under Article 31 of the Charter. We are here under rules 37 and 38 of the rules of procedure. This point is most important for us, and I shall elaborate on it some what.

We have heard a long statement from the Ambassador of Pakistan, which tells the story from 21st November, and quickly—and I thought rather casually—brushes aside much that has happened before. We do not represent a military regime, and I do not wish to go into many military details now. But I would, however, suggest that it is neither right nor proper that we should start our discussion on any particular date. The history which lies behind this great tragedy has been reported by many people, but I shall only quote a few paragraphs from the Secretary-General's report, which is part of the agenda item. The Secretary-General says:

"7. It is for these reasons that I am taking the unusual step of reporting to the President of the Security Council on a question which has not been inscribed on the Council's agenda. The political aspects of this matter are of such far-reaching importance that the Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the Members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem. I believe, however, that the United Nations, with its long experience in peace-keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion, must, and should, now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy which has already taken place and to avert the further deterioration of the situation". (S/10410)

Therefore, the first problem we are facing, the particular situation we are confronting today, has a long history behind it. This history is essentially a history between the West Pakistan regime and the people of Bangladesh. Therefore, without the participation of the people of Bangladesh, it would be impossible for us to obtain a proper perspective of the problem.

The Ambassador of Pakistan brushed aside these people as groups of either refugees or rebels. They are nothing of the sort. They are the elected representatives of 75 million people. There is neither normalcy nor peace in East Pakistan, and as a result, we have suffered aggression after aggression. Now, in order to come to a solution which would be acceptable to the Council and acceptable to those who are responsible for running the country, it is essential, in our opinion, that the Representatives of Bangladesh should be present here. I am most grateful to the Representative of Italy for having mentioned that I was perhaps out of order in bringing up this question, but as the Representative of Pakistan has already pointed out, this is a substantive matter.

Now, the Ambassador of Pakistan starts the story from 21st November. I have here a report which has just come in : Security Council document S/10412 of 4th December. Paragraph 4 of that report states the following :

"4. On 3rd December, 1971, the Chief Military Observer, on the basis of reports from United Nations Military Observers, reported as follows (all time indications WPT)"—which I believe is West Pakistan Time—

"(*a*) Srinagar airfield bombed at 1745 hours on 3rd December.

(*b*) United Nations Military Observers at Field Station Punch reported at 2020 hours that Pakistan troops has crossed the cease-fire line at the Punch crossing point...at 1910 hours. At 2140 hours, the station reported that shelling had commenced from the India side of the line toward the Pakistan side, and at 2256 hours it reported that the area of Punch was under fire from Pakistan artillery.

(*c*) Field station Kotli reported at 2145 hours that small-arms fire from Pakistan pickets towards Indian pickets had commenced at 1930 hours and was continuing.

(*d*) Field Station Jammu reported at 2245 hours that heavy artillery fire from both sides had commenced at 2215 hours and was continuing.

(*e*) Field station Sialkot reported at 2250 hours that rounds of artillery were landing in their vicinity.

(*f*) Fieldstation Rajouri reported at 2250 hours that they had been informed by the local military authority that fighting was taking place along the cease-fire line from Punch to Naushera.

(*g*) The Chief Military Observer considers that hostilities along the cease-fire line have commenced, and he will instruct the Military Obervers to remain at their stations."

Therefore, to begin with, the whole picture given by the Ambassador of Pakistan is a build-up for military action . Now, he asked the question, why is it necessary for Pakistan to take military action against India, which is so much more powerful, has a more numerous population, and so on? The answer to that question is very simple . Pakistan, for the last 23 years, has not been broken up by India. Pakistan has been ruling its own people by military might, and at one stage, when they had the opportunity to express what kind of government they want, the Pakistan military machine was put into operation to suppress the wishes of the people. So, it is not India that is breaking up Pakistan; it is Pakistan that is breaking up Pakistan itself and, in the process, creating aggression against us.

The first stage of this problem was that when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the elected leader of Pakistan, held his election on the basis of a six-point programme, there was not a single complaint, even from the military rulers of Pakistan. They accepted that programme, and, as a basis of it, the elections were held. When the elections were held and it was found that Sheikh Mujibur's party had won 167 seats out of a total House of 300, what was the response of the Pakistani military rulers? They negotiated all over the place. Nothing was known of these negotiations until Mr. Bhutto produced his book, which is now known as 'The Great Tragedy.'

I shall not weary the Council by reading this book, but it will so what machinations, what intrigues, had gone on in order to hold East Pakistan by force. We had repeatedly told United Nations Members, bilaterally and in various United Nations forums, that one cannot hold 75 million people by force of arms. Did anybody listen then?

We are most grateful that the concern of the Council has been shown over the recent events, but it still is a matter of great surprise and infinite regret to us that when so many men, women and children were butchered, raped, massacred, no action was taken. We cannot forget this background, if we are to consider the problem seriously.

After the elections were held, Mujibur Rahman was then described as a future Prime Minister of Pakistan,. Today, he is rotting in gaol. No one knows what has happened to him. I have not met any man, woman or child who can come here and say "I have seen Mujibur Rahman in person". After that, military repressions were unleashed in a manner and in a way which would shock the conscience of mankind. Villages were burnt, children killed, women raped. And those of you who have seen the films of these incidents can bear testimony to them.

It is not good enough to say that Pakistan has gone through a great tragedy, and, therefore, we must all sympathize with it and forget these incidents. These incidents happened and, as a result, 10 million people came to India as refugees.

Now, was that not a kind of aggression? If aggression to another foreign country means that is stains its social structure, that it ruins its finances, that it has to give up its territory for sheltering the refugees, if it means that all its schools have to be elosed, that its hospitals have to be closed, that its administration is to be denuded, what is the difference between that kind of aggression and the other type, the more classical type, when someone declares war, or something of that sort? But that is not enough. The Ambassador of Pakistan gives details that we went into Pakistan territory after 21st November. We did; I do not deny it.

We did this because we had no option. The Pakistan army put its cannons on the frontier and started shelling our civilian villages. They have been accustomed to killing their own people. I do not believe that is their privilege. I think this is a barbaric act. But, after having killed their own people, they now turn their guns on us. Eight hundred and ninety complaints of border violations have been made to Pakistan since 25th March. What was the response to these? They rejected them all. They continued to shell our villeges, kill our civilians. What is the remedy left to us? To kill their villagers with guns on our side, or to go and silence their guns? We decided to silence their guns, to save our civilians.

Pakistan made a great rhetorical statement that it had not taken any military actions, that President Yahya Khan offered to withdraw, and so on and so forth. What are the facts? Pakistan moved its troops to the frontier long before we did. We responded by moving our troops. Pakistan declared a national emergency on 23rd November, 1971. We declared it on 3rd December, 1971. Pakistan has launched a campaign of "crush India" "conquer India", and has engaged in a completely orchestrated campaign of war mentality. As a response, we have said that we are not going to start a war;

we shall not fight a war; but it anyone starts a war, we shall defend ourselves.

The question arises : Why is Pakistan doing all this ? The answer again, as I said, is simple; but I had to give this little background. After having failed totally to suppress the Bengali rebellion, as they call it—the Bengali liberation front, as we call it—they have to find some device to justify their peculiar dilemma. They have sought to justify this dilemma by making rather fantastic proposals for inviting India to join and co-oprerate with them in repressing and pushing the Bengalis. In other words, we should enter into a partnership with Pakistan for carrying out the unspeakable deeds that they are perpetrating against the Bengali people. Well, we refused. We still refuse.

Then, there was a great hue and cry to internationalize the problem: diplomatic moves, various moves in the United Nations, through these proposals for observers, and this, that and the other—all designed to make it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute. Once it is turned into an Indo-Pakistan dispute, people will forget what the Pakistan army is doing in East Pakistan. They can go on burning their villages, raping their women and so on. People will then forget and say that is an Indo-Pakistan dispute. It is extraordinary, therefore, to find that today, when pressure for action is so great in some quarters, this background is forgotten.

Here we have three or four main factors, none of which has been properly considered by the Security Council. What happened to the campaign of genocide? Did the United Nations respond? What happened to the total elimination of all democratic rights? Did the United Nations respond? What happened to the millions of people who had been driven from their homes and who are creating such a burden on India? Was any solution found? After this position has been reached, a large number of appeals are made. All kinds of unreal statements of "normalcy" having return to Pakistan are put out. To what extent normalcy has been restored can be judged by the fate of the United Nations relief programme in East Pakistan itself. Time and again , assurances were given that this relief equipment— trucks, vehicles, boats—would not be used by the Pakistan Army. But, this is precisely what has happened. Time and again, assurances were given that relief operations would reach the victims for whom they were intended. Only the other day, Mr. Paul-Marc Henry explained in great detail before the Third Committee that this was almost impossible. So, there is no normalcy; there is only butchery. As a result of butchery, more people have come over to our areas.

Much has been said about the return of the refugees. It would be interesting to know why the refugees are still coming if such normal, heavenly conditions exist in Pakistan. They are coming because they are being terrorized, they are being butchered. That is why they are coming. And we cannot take any more. We have told the international community time and again that we have come to the end of our tether. The situation is intolerable. We cannot go on paying $3 million a day to look after the refugees. And still they come—not because we are looking after them well; in fact, we are looking after them extremely badly with our limited resources. There are bad sanitary conditions and many other evils. The refugees are living in most horrible conditions . Nonetheless, they come. Nobody wants to leave his home to live in such conditions unless there are compelling reasons to do so. These compelling reasons are the

brutalities of the Pakistan Army, the denial of the rights of 75 million people, the total negation of everything that human life stands for, the deliberate attempt to hold under colonial rule 75 million persons whom they have exploited for 23 years . I have all the statistics here. I shall make a fuller statement to establish all these points. There is complete domination, complete subjugation, complete military butchery. Against that the people revolted.

We hear a great deal abourt the revolutionary doctrine : peoples' rights. I do not know how these revolutionaries will be have when Bangladesh becomes independent, as it certainly will. It will become independent, not merely because India helps it—India will continue to help it —but because the spirit of man in 75 million persons cannot be crused. They have tried everything. They have tried military means . They have tried fictitious administration. They have tried phantom elections. They have put out bulletins, declarations Nothing has any effect.

Now, the Security Council is meeting and we are regaled with a long tirade about Indian wickedness for breaking up Pakistan in our selfish interests, to become a great power—quotations from various books and jurists and academicians. They have broken themselves up. We are facing the consequences.

The only question now is : How do we stop this ? It is not a Pakistan Representative that we have heard today : it is half a Pakistan Represnentative that we have heard today. The other half is waiting somewhere in the wings to be called . If the Security Council , in its wisdom, does not do it, the situation will not get better; it will get worse.

Much has been said about a cease-fire. I have looked at some of these experiments floating around about a cease-fire. A cease-fire between whom and whom? Shall we release the Pakistani soldiers by a so-called cease-fire so that they can go on a rampage and kill the civilians in Dacca, in Chittagong, and in other places? Is this the kind of cease-fire we desire? Are the soldiers meant to fight and die for whatever cuase they believe in, whether it is the cause of civilization or the cause of darkness, or are they to be relieved from this particular duty for which they have taken an oath so that they can go and butcher women and rape young girls of 19, 17, 15, 13, 11 and even less?

I hear some jocular comments from the gallery. Perhaps we are privileged to near this humour, but I do not find it humorous at all. The Pakistani Delegation has probably arranged all this . Thank you.

I do not find it at all humorous that women should be raped. And, this raping is not because of lust, but because of a deliberate campaign to humiliate people. In our part of the world, if a women is raped it has various social consequences of a most unberable nature, and many people, rather dramatically perhaps, say that it is better to be killed than to be raped. The Pakistan army knows that, and this campaign of rape is on a systematic basis so that the people of East Pakistan can be humiliated.

This is the situation in which Pakistan finds itself. How to extricate itself? The only way to extricate itself is to involve India, and this has been done, as I said, first through refugee aggression, and now through military aggression. We have suffered at the hands of Pakistan four aggressions, and we are not going to take it any more. I wish to give a very serious warning to the

Council that we shall not be a party to any solution that will mean continuation of oppression of East Pakistani people, whatever the pretext, whatever the ground on which this is brought about. So long as we have any light of civilized behaviour left in us, we shall protect them. We shall not fight their battle. Nobody can fight other people's battles. There are great powers seated around this table that have found out to their own cost that people cannot fight other peoples, battles, that they have to fight them themselves. But whatever help we can give, whether in the form of aid to the refugees, in the form of medicines, or in any other form, we shall continue to give it. Secondly, we shall continue to save our own national security and sovereignty. If Pakistan, by bombing our villages, by raising a hue and cry of internal interference or crossing the frontier, believes that we shall just quietly and take all these killings, I think they should think again. We will not permit our national security, our safety or our way of life, to be jeopardized by any of these means. Let there be no doubt about that.

I should also make it quite clear that this build-up of military attack has been accompanied by the most absurd statements. Pakistan now comes up and says, "Why do you not shake hands and be friends? " Yet, resident Yahya Khan made a statement in *Le Monde* of Paris in which he described our Prime Minister in such offensive terms that, in spite of all my bad training, I cannot bring myself to say those words. This is the kind of people we are dealing with. They have neither a solid base, nor any civilized standards, nor any political wisdom at all.

Pakistan is saying: "We offered to have observers. We offered withdrawal" and so forth. Why are the situations first created and then all these offers made ? But about one thing that they could do, not a word is said. They could come to a political settlement with the elected leaders. That could be quite peaceful. But no, that is not to be done All our friends tell us that great pressure has been brought to bear on President Yahya Khan to come to a political settlement. And, what is the result? Nil, absolutely nil. The great General does not listen to the other great generals, perhaps.

So, there is no way open for Pakistan now except to heat up the military situation—which it has done, as I explained, first on the eastern front by bombing our villages, and on the western front by a wanton attack on our cities, by suddenly , on the second night, sending several planes. The Ambassador of Pakistan says, "We bombed only a few cities and villages near the frontier " But they came as far and as deep down as Agra—300 miles.

Is that a picture of premediated armed intervention on the part of India? Would the Prime Minister of India go to Calcutta to see the refugee camps , if she was thinking of launching an attack on Pakistan on that day? If the Security Council believes that, let it believe it, but I would warn again that nothing will stop us from protecting our won territory , integrity and sovereignty, and our national security and our human values.

Without taking too much time, I wish to say that I hope I shall be able to reply to all the little details which the Pakistan Ambassador gave; but today, I want to put this broad picture in front of the Security Council and to hear what the others have to say before I come back again. My purpose is, again, to say that the main parties to this dispute, whether military, politically, civilly or any other way we look at it, are East Pak-

istan and West Pakistan—East Pakistan as represented by Bangladesh, who were elected, as I said, with the army's full consent.

Incidentally, the army had the full authority to cancel the Constitution, even after it had been drawn, but then got cold feet, according to Mr. Bhutto. If such a request is made, President Yahya Khan will find it very difficult to reject the proposal.

So, there was no alternative left but to crush. And how was that process of crushing carried out? Negotiations were carried on in Dacca in most extraordinary circumstances, and at the same time, the Pakistan army was reinforcing itself. Today, we are told that some plane which was hijacked was hijacked by Indian agents. If it was done like that, if it was done by Indian agents, why was the hijacking incident, the blowing-up of a plane, greeted with parades in the Lahore streets and televised as if it were some kind of civilized conduct that any State should be proud of? And if anyone knows anything about Pakistan—and I do know a little—none of these things could happen without direct Government approval.

Now again we are told that all these massacres were necessary because something had appened before 25th March. If anything did happen, the world did not know about it. Thirty-five foreign correspondents were bundled out, on the night of the 28th from the Lahore Hotel and the Dacca Hotel. They were there, they did not write. They are not worried about reprisals in West Pakistan. In fact nothing of the sort happened. It is one of the many afterthoughts that have been built up on the propaganda front of Pakistan over the last nine months.

Over the last nine months, the struggle of the armless, defenceless people of East Bengal has been going on against the regime of military men in West Pakistan. It is not West Pakistani who are involved; it is the military regime that is doing all this, and there is already a murmur of protest even in West Pakistan, little as they have heard of what has actually gone on. They have little wish to believe all this. They are decent human beings. They do not believe that their own army—of which, I think, they are quite rightly proud—could stoop to these low deeds, these massacre and these barbaric attempts to suppress a population of 75 million people.

Under the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, there are certain criteria laid down concerning how and when an area can be regarded as non-self-governing. If we applied those criteria to East Bengal, and if we had a little more morality we could delare East Pakistan a non-self governing terrritory. Let it not be said that because I talk of morality I am self-righteous—although I think that, as between Pakistan and India, we are so right and they are so wrong that I have every right to be self-righteous. This is treated as if it were some kind of monstrous charge to be right. It is not a monstrous charge to be right. We are glad that we have, on this particular occasion, absolutely nothing but the purest of motives and the purest of intentions: to rescue the people of East Bengal from what they are suffering. If that is a crime, the Security Council can judge for itself. However, if a crime is to be perpertrated by actions such as some of the proposals for resolutions today envisage, and India is to be made a partner of that crime, we shall resolutely and stoutly say no. No one can remove us from our path by mere resolutions and mere exhorations. The question of a cease-fire, as I have already mentioned, is one not between India and Pakistan, but between the Pakistan army and the Bangladesh people. Therefore, let us hear them before we go further into this debate.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের প্রতিনিধি জর্জ বুশ-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. GEORGE BUSH, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.S.A.

December 4, 1971

From reports that we have all received today, it appears that a state of open hostilities exists between India and Pakistan. There is a grave threat to the peace and stability of Asia. This recourse to war by the nations of South Asia is tragic and unnecessary.

In the months since last March, we have all been witnesses to the unfolding of a major tragedy. Coming on the heels of the cyclone last year, one of the greatest natural disasters of modern times, civil strife in East Pakistan has caused untold suffering to millions of people, has created a new and tragic refugee community in India of unparalleled dimensions and has brought India and Pakistan to open hostilities. It is time for the United Nations to act to bring the great moral authority of this body effectively and quickly to bear to preserve the peace between two of its largest Members.

These events of recent months have been profoundly disturbing to the United States. As the President made clear in his report to the Congress earlier this year, our aim in South Asia has been to build a structure of peace and stability within which the great economic and social problems of the region can be addressed. The effectiveness of our efforts in this task is necessarily determined by the ability of the nations of the area to solve their mutual political problems and to build domestic, political and economic systems within which orderly change is feasible. The deteriorating military situation, with which we are now confronted, makes it increasingly impossible for us to contribute to the economic development and political stability of the area, to which we are committed.

My Government is, therefore, deeply concerned by the hostilities which are now taking place along the borders of India and East Pakistan. Hostilities have intensified in East Pakistan. There have been admitted incursions of Indian troops across the border of East Pakistan. It is now clear that the forces of both countries are involved in military actions along the frontier between West Pakistan and India. It is of the utmost urgency that there be an end to these hostilities which could escalate into all-out conflict.

We are not oblivious to the complex factors which are at the root of this tragic and dangerous situation. But the United States cannot over-emphasize its conviction that nothing can come out of a resort to force except greater tragedy for the peoples of South Asia.

The United States Government has made a major effort in South Asia to ease the human suffering caused by the present crisis, to prevent war and to facilitate a political solution to the problem. The United States early recognized the need to assist refugees in India and to help avert famine in East Pakistan, and promptly responded by providing major assistance to United Nations efforts in both countries. We have already committed $245 million to these international humanitarian efforts. The danger of famine has been averted, but large relief

requirements remain in both countries. The President, therefore, has requested the Congress to appropriate an additional $250 million, to which would be added further food shipments if necessary.

The United States Government, which values its close relations with both India and Pakistan, has made a vigorous effort to avert war which would increase human suffering and delay return of refugees to their homes. We have called on both India and Pakistan to avoid actions which would increase military tensions. Specifically, the United States Government has proposed that both sides withdraw their military forces from their borders. Pakistan accepted this proposal. Regrettably, India did not. The United States has repeatedly made clear its view that increasing military tensions prevent progress towards resolution of the poltical problems that caused the refugees to leave their homes and provided the stimulus for guerrilla war. The United States Government has sought to facilitate negotiations leading to a political settlement of the East Pakistan Problem. The United States pointed out to the Indian Government that an increase of military tensions could only stand in the way of necessary progress towards a peaceful political settlement and the return of refugees.

We recognize that a fundamental political accommodation still has not been achieved in East Pakistan. While we continue to feel that the only proper solution is a political one, we do not find justification for the repeated violation of frontiers that has taken place in East Pakistan. The immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces are essential conditions for progress towards a political solution in East Pakistan.

This body cannot accept recourse to force to solve this problem. Indian officials have now announced that regular Indian forces have been instructed for move into East Pakistan in what the Indian Defence Secretary is quoted in the press as calling a "no holds barred" operation. The very purpose which draws us together here—building a peaceful world—will be thwarted if a situation is accepted in which a government intervenes across its borders in the affairs of another with military force in violation of the United Nations Charter.

We ask this world body to join us, now, in calling upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to terminate their military confrontation by agreeing to an immediate cease-fire and to the immediate withdrawal of forces from foreign territories. Surely this Council, in this troubled situation, can ask no less.

The Secretary-General has endeavoured on several occasions to impress upon all of us the gravity of the situation in South Asia. He has offered his personal good offices to assist in a solution of these problems. Regrettably, the Government of India has not welcomed his initiatives. Most recently, on 20th October, he, warned, in letters to Prime Minister Gandhi and President Yahya, that "this situation could all too easily be disastrous to the two countries principally concerned, but might also constitute a major threat to the wider peace". While both Governments have professed a continuing commitment to peace and a determination not to initiatfve hostilities, the situation has continued to deteriorate until now regular forces are engaged at various points.

It is time all of us heeded the Secretary-General's call. It is time both countries accepted an immediate cease-fire and agreed on immediate steps to withdraw their forces from foreign territory. It is time the Government of India joined the Government of Pakistan in heeding the Secretary-General's offer of his good offices to assist in the process of reconciliation that must then begin.

We have all seen too much of war. We have all seen and heard too much of a resort to force to resolve the problems that divide us. The time is past when any of us could justifiably resort to war to bring about change in a neighbouring country that might better suit our national interests as we see them. All of us know—certainly the leaders of India and Pakistan know—that the human needs of our people are not met through the terrible cost of war.

Let us then all, and quickly, agree that a cease-fire in this tragic hour is essential and that a withdrawal of forces from foreign territories must take place without delay so that progress can be made in building the conditions in East Pakistan—political, economic and social—in which the refugees will return and in which peace can be ensured. The United States is prepared to support appropriate and effective measures by the Council to bring about a cessation of hostilities and a withdrawal of forces so that conditions may be created for progress towards a political solution conducive to a lasting peace in the area.

In an effort to end the bloodshed, to save lives, to reduce the untold suffering, we are introducing a draft resolution which, if promptly enacted, offers the world a chance to escape another ghastly war. On behalf of my Government, I have the honour to submit this draft resolution which, in our view, meets the requirements of the situation before us. I should like very briefly to read it.

"THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan,

CONVINCED that hostilities along the India-Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all steps required for an immediate cessation of hostilities ;

2. *Calls for* an immediate withdrawal of armed personnel present on the territory of the other to their own sides of the India-Pakistan borders ;

3. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, at the request of the Government of India or Pakistan, to place observers along the India-Pakistan borders to report on the implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawals, drawing as necessary on UNMOGIP personnel ;

4. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan and others concerned to exert their best efforts toward the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of refugees to East Pakistan ;

5. *Calls upon* all States to refrain from any action that would endanger the peace in the area ;

6. *Invites* the Governments of India and Pakistan to respond affirmatively to the proposal of the Secretary-General offering good offices to secure and maintain peace in the sub-continent ;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the implementation of this resolution."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ফরাসী প্রতিনিধি মিঃ কোশেস্কো মরিজ-এর বিবতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET, REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE
December 4, 1971

In speaking now, we are discharging a two fold duty: that of contributing as a Permanent Member of the Council to the restoration of peace by every means and that which is dictated to us by the ties of friendship which bind us both with India and Pakistan, by the great esteem which we feel for these two countries and peoples and our desire to see them devote in peace all their resources to development.

No power can itself alone resolve an infinitely serious crisis which the ethnic and political geography of the region renders even more complex. But when war exists—and, tragically, it does exist—it is up to the entire international community, and particularly Security Council and its Members upon whom the Charter confers special duties, to unite so as to shoulder their responsibilities to bring an end to acts of war and to find a basis of understanding between the parties concerned.

The present situation has two aspects: one which is at the origin of the crisis and which is political in nature. If affects relations between the Government of Islamabad and the population of East Pakistan. It is subject to a political solution susceptible of receiving acceptance by both sides. The second aspect is derived from the first, by reason of the influx of refugees to India. It affects relations between that country and Pakistan. It has created a state of tension which after much violence has eventually reached the stage of open acts of hostility. A civil war has thus been transformed into a war between nations.

This dual aspect of the crisis gives rise to a dilemma. If we were to consider only the first aspect of the crisis, our action risks being considered as interference in internal affairs, and we appreciate the fact that Pakistan is attached both to its sovereignty and its integrity. But we if were to consider only the second aspect, our action risks being considered as partial and without going to the root of the matter, and we appreciate the fact that India cannot feel satisfied with superficial solutions when it has millions of refugees under its care.

It is this dilemma which explains the difficulties confronting the United Nations, the warnings of the Secretary-General and the hesitations of the Security Council for three months to be seized of the question. But we think that it is no longer permissible for us to remain in the grip of this dilemma. We consider that the crisis must be given a global approach to which all the parties must contribute. If they do so in this spirit, we feel sure that a just and reasonable solution can be found.

My Government has since the beginning of the crisis and furing the last few days, intensified its efforts to convince those with whom it is dealing on both sides and to avoid a bloody conflict which could only add additional burdens to a population that has already been decimated and severely devastated. With the necessary discretion, we have made suggestions in order to lay the basis for a

peaceful settlement, which of necessity must be political and which must be based on the consent of the populations concerned. Other States which share our concern to avoid a catastrophe have acted in the same direction, and we have not ceased to let it be known that we are prepared to join in our efforts to prevent, in the words of our Minister for Foreign Affair., "the supreme injustice, namely, war, from overtaking millions of people who seem to be the victims of so many cataclysms".

While these bilateral efforts have not so far brought about the desired results, this now the duty of the international community to issue an appeal to these two powers, our friends, so that arms will be silenced, to that a remedy will be brought to the distressed, so that courageous undertaking of UNEPRO will be continued in order to put an end to the great suffering of the populations. It is therefore necessary for the solidarity of our community to be affirmed and organized first to put an end to the fighting, but also to meet the most immediate sufferings of the people and to deal with the causes of the crisis. with the consent of the parties, by negotiation, to reach a just and peaceful settlement, becuase only a generous and peaceful settlement can bring to the expectant populations a response which the latest events have rendered even more urgent, a political response commensurate with the scope and diversity of the problem.

We are deeply convinced that we have to make a great effort ourselves, that peace requires, that divergencies be silenced, because division can only perpetuate the conflict.

For all these reasons, we hope that a substantive draft resolution will be submitted which will be capable of recieving the unanimous support of the Council. It is in this spirit that we shall continue consultations with the various Delegations so as to endeavour to reach a solution. It is with these considerations in mind that we shall pronounce ourselves in due course in the draft resolutions that will be submitted.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
চীনা প্রতিনিধি মিঃ হুয়াং হুয়ার বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. HUANG HUA, REPRESENTATIVE OF CHINA DECEMBER 4, 1971

Recently, the Government of India openly dispatched troops to invade East Pakistan, thus giving rise to a large-scale armed conflict and thereby aggravating tension in the India-Pakistan sub-continent and in Asia as a whole.

The Chinese Government and people wish to express deep concern over this, and are paying close attention to the development of the situation.

The question of East Pakistan is purely the internal affair of Pakistan. No one has the right to interfere in it. The Government of India, using the question of East Pakistan as a pretext, has committed armed aggression against Pakistan. That is not permissible. The Government of India says its despatch of troops into East Pakistan is purely for purposes of self-defence. That is the law of the jungle. The facts prove that India has committed aggression against Pakistan, not that Pakistan is threatening India's security.

According to the logic of the Indian Government, any country can use self-defence as a pretext for invading other countries. What kind of guarantee is there of a State's sovereignty and territorial integrity, then? The Government of India says it is sending troops to invade East Pakistan to help with the repatriation of East Pakistan refugees. That is completely untenable. At present in India, there are a large number of so-called Chinese-Tibetan refugees. The Government of India is grooming the Chieftain of the counter-revolutionary rebels, the Dalai Lama. Using the Indian Government's logic, is it going to use that as a pretext to invade China?

The Government of Pakistan proposed that the armed forces of both sides withdraw from the front, disengage and solve the question of the refugees of East Pakistan through negotiation between both Governments. That is completely reasonable. But the Indian Government has most unreasonably rejected that proposal. That shows that the Government of India has not the least intention to settle the question of the East Pakistan refugees, but intends to capitalize on the question as a pretext for committing further subversion and aggression against Pakistan.

The Chinese Delegation is of the view that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council should surely condemn the act of aggression by the Government of India and demand that the Indian Government immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces from Pakistan.

Lastly, on behalf of the Chinese Government, I should like to state that the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Government and people of Pakistan and support their just struggle against the Indian Government and its aggression.

I should also like to point out to the Security Council, the United Nations, and the people of the entire world, that this act of aggression of the Indian Government was launched with the support of social imperialism. Countless facts have proved that.

That is all I wish to say now. I reserve my right to say more at a later time.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সোভিয়েত প্রতিনিধি মিঃ জ্যাকব মালিকের বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	ডিসেম্বর ৪, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. JACOB MALIK, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.S.S.R.—DECEMBER 4, 1971

We cannot fail to express profound concern and alarm in connexion with the problem which is before the Council at today's meeting and which is the subject of its pre-occupations. We have profound respect for both India and Pakistan. We have developed, we are developing, and we shall continue to develop, friendly relations with both these countries, countries which are worthy of all respect. We are proud that it was precisely the Soviet Union which, some time ago, when in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent a threat of conflict emerged after a serious clash had arisen between these two countries friendly to us, became the mediator. It was precisely the Soviet Union and the head of the Soviet Government that applied all efforts to see to it that, in Tashkent, an agreement could be achieved between the two parties, thereby averting in the Indian subcontinent the serious threat of war at that time.

We are proud of the fact that the Tashkent spirit has gone into history as one of the noble efforts of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people, of the Soviet Government, to help find ways to settle the sharp difference that had arisen between the two States of the Indian sub-continent, that could have resulted in an outbreak of war.

In view of those facts, any chatter about social imperialism is playing into the hand only of the imperialists It is precisely chatter, prattle and demagogy about social imperialism that will defend imperialism and its policy of aggression, that will defend the policy of establishing military aggressive blocs, and drawing numerous countries, including Pakistan, into them. It defends military dictatorship, terror and oppression.

It defends the crushing of democracy and of the forces of democracy. It assists those who are fighting against national liberation movements.

Interested in peace and tranquillity throughout the world, including the Indian sub-continent, the Soviet Union has objectively and impartially approached the consideration of the situation that has been produced there. What is the cause of the situation which as I have already pointed out, has been acknowledge by nine Members of the Security Council to be a deteriorating situation? Who would be so bold here at this able to say that the deterioration in the situation occurred only on 3rd December, and that before that everything was good and prosperous? I take it that not a single one among those present here would be so bold as to say precisely that.

That is why the attempt on the part of certain speakers to close their eyes to the past, to what has been taking place since the beginning of this year, specifically since March of this year, is a policy of the ostrich, a policy of closing

one's eyes to reality, a policy of hiding one's head in the sand. We are against such a policy.

It is clear to all of us that the subject of discussion in the Security Council is, as has been pointed out on several occasions, the situation that has been produced in East Pakistan as a result of the actions of the Pakistan military authorities. We must be objective and we must call a spade a spade. We have a right to that. That right is confirmed by history, when we spoke as the impartial mediator between the two parties, a mediator who strove, strives and will continue to strive, to achieve further improvement in relations with these two highly respected States and their peoples.

It was precisely as a result of the application of force and terror against the people of East Pakistan--and this has been so convincingly related to the Council by the Representative of India, Ambassador Sen– that millions of people were compelled to leave their homeland, to for sake their property and land, to flee to a neighbouring country, India, and become political refugees.

This is the reality. These are the facts. Whoever wishes to close his eyes to reality will find it very difficult to discover the right way out of that situation. The exacerbation of the tensions in the Indian sub-continent and the events there are well known. It is there that the serious political crisis occurred. The timely elimination of that crisis by peaceful political means would have eliminated the complications in that sub-continent.

It is known that as long ago as December 1970, for the first time in the history of the development of that country, universal elections were held in Pakistan for the National Assembly. Among the political parties in Pakistan that took part in the national elections was the Awami League, headed by an important political figure, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who has already been mentioned in the statement by the Representative of India. The Awami League went to the elections with slogans which called for the implementation of a programme of six points, the essence of which was to provide the province of the country political and economic autonomy within the context or framework of the Pakistan State—and I wish to emphasize this: within the framework of the Pakistan State. The programme advanced also claims for the implementation in Pakistan of progressive social and economic changes. The foreign policy platform of that League provided for the development of friendly relations of Pakistan with all countries, including the neighbouring Indian State. The programme provided for a fight for the withdrawal of Pakistan from the military and aggressive blocs of CENTO and SEATO. This is the kernel of the problem. This is something that no Member of the Security Council can ignore, even those who are trying to divert attention from it.

In the election, that party obtained an absolute majority of the seats—as has already been confirmed by the Representative of India in his statement—167 seats out of 313.

According to the logic of things, it had the right to form a Government. This did not happen. The Pakistan authorities, under various pretexts, prevented the participation of this League in the Government. Moreover, Rahman was arrested on the accusation of having betrayed the interests of the country; his collaborators and the people of the area were subjected to mass repression by the use of airplanes, tanks and firearms.

Within the geographical context of East Pakistan, as a result of the repression by the military authorities, a crisis emerged in East Pakistan and this became, as it progressed, a source of tension throughout the whole of the subcontinent. From the very emergence of the serious political crisis in East Pakistan and the subsequent tragic events, the Soviet Union maintained a consistent policy designed to eliminate by political means, without the use of force, the problems that have arisen in East Pakistan. The soviet Union and its Government on several occasions have appealed to the Government of Pakistan to adopt the most immediate measures to put an end to the repression against the population of East Pakistan and to aert any further complication and exacerbation of the situation. The continuation of the repressive actions and bloodshed in East Pakistan, as was to be expected, merely complicated and rendered more difficult the solution of the problems that had emerged there.

In connexion with the events in East Pakistan, the President of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Podgorny, addressed to the President of Pakistan, President Yahya Khan, in April of this year, an "earnest appeal to take the most urgent measures to put an end to the bloodshed and repression directed against the population of East Pakistan, and to turn instead to methods of peaceful political settlement". That same letter said:

"We are convinced that this would be in accord with the interests of the entire Pakistani people; that it would promote the cause of the maintenance of peace in that region and would bring a peaceful solution to the most important problems. It would be welcomed with satisfaction by the whole of the Soviet people."

Unfortunately, however, events in East Pakistan took an entirely different turn.

The Government of India, for its part, similarly addressed numerous appeals on various occasions to the United Nations and to different States of the world concerning measures that should be adopted to solve the problem of East Bengal. But in spite of all such appeals, no measures were adopted for resolving this problem. On the contrary, certain allies of Pakistan in their military bloc insisted on placing Pakistan and India on the same footing and viewing them in the same light, insisted on placing equal responsibility on the country where the internal crisis had occurred and on the one which subsequently became the victim of that crisis.

Therein lies the root-cause of the fact that on appropriate measures were undertaken. It was precisely those who approach this problem from that sort of position who prevented the adoption of timely and equitable measures and held back events.

The Government of Pakistan, on its part, likewise took no action whatsoever to resolve the problems that had emerged in East Pakistan. As a result, the population of East Pakistan have continued to be persecuted and to live in fear and uncertainty for the future. This can be seen from the continuing flow of East Pakistani refugees into India. At the beginning of this meeting, I called attention, for the benefit of Members of the Council, to this. Let each one of us visualize the position of India onto the territory of which has come this flood of foreigners—10 million people. Ten million people are a whole State. A population was transferred from one State into another, on a gigantic scale. A whole State, in fact, was so transferred. Why do I compare this in scale with

a State? Let us take the United Nations. It has 131 States as Member of the Organization. On the basis of information from the Secretariat, 88 States among them have populations of less than 10 million. There, Members of the Security Council, lies the concrete reality: 88 countries, Members of the United Nations have populations that are numerically smaller than the population that has been transferred as refugees—for certain known reasons—from East Pakistan into the territory of India. I am firmly convinced that not a single Representative here at this table would wish such a calamity ever to be all his own country, a calamity in which 10 million foreigners come and settle on its territory. This is the reality, these are the facts. Or is this social imperialism?

The existence of the serious internal crisis in Pakistan has been acknowledged by our friend the Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr Shahi. He acknowledged it and he stated in his speech here that there is in Pakistan, a serious internal crisis. That is the first point.

Secondly, in his speech he stated that that crisis has acquired an international character. Thus, the official Representative of Pakistan, in his speech in the security Council, has officially acknowledged these two important and decisive aspects of the case: first, that in his country there is a serious domestic crisis, and second, that that crisis has acquired an international character.

It is true that Ambassador Shahi was not entirely consistent when he asked whether it is conceivable that the Security Council should deal with the root-causes of that crisis. He said that would be an interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. That same theory was repeated by another speaker following him. But we all know that under the Charter, the Security Council unquestionably has the right to examine the causes of the emergence of dangerous situation that threaten international peace and security. The Security Council likewise has the right to call upon a State or States to take steps to eliminate the causes involved and to adopt measures to prevent such cases from aggravating the international situation and resulting in the threat of direct military conflict.

The deterioration of the situation has officially been recognized in the letter of nine Members of the Security Council. But once you have stated A, you must state B. This they did, and they recognized the deterioration of the situation. But they have not spoken of the cause: and in their proposal, in their statements, and in their draft resolutions, we see dragged in this SEATO and CENTO, and possibly even NATO, idea of placing on an equal footing both of the parties, the country where the crisis originated and the country that has turned out to be the victim of that crisis and of the deterioration in the situation.

This argument has been used on numerous occasions by a certain group of countries when matters are being considered in the Security Council. Yet, the right of the Council to take measures and call upon States for the elimination of factors causing a deterioration of the international situation flows directly from Articles 39, 40 and 41 of the Charter. Article 40 specifically provides that the Security Council,

"In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation...may...call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable."

In other words, the Security Council has the discretion—in other words, the unlimited possibility—to choose its means for preventing deterioration of an international situation. Thus, the Council has not the right to close its eyes to the cause of the emergence and deterioration of the situation. The events which have been taking place and are taking place in East Pakistan are precisely the ones that have gone outside the national framework and they have complicated the situation in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and thereby have acquired an international character, and this now has been acknowledged and recognized by all of us on the basis of the statement of the Pakistan Representative.

The full inconsistency of accusations on the part of Pakistan and its great protectors that India allegedly has inspired the fight of the people of East Pakistan against the Pakistani authorities, is entirely clear. It is entirely clear, after all, that the flow of refugees has been brought about not by any actions of India or its intrigues. Why should India conduct intrigues in order to inherit 10 million foreigners and have so much difficulty with them? It has to clothe and feed them, give them protection against cold and rain and provide shelter for them. I would emphasize this again. Let each Representative visualize his own country in that position. Why does India need such action and thereby bring upon itself such a calamity ? It is a calamity. These are the fables about the fact that India has through its mechinations produced the situation in East Pakistan. In fact, those inhuman repressions that are being conducted there are the principal cause. They are continuing and they are applied on a mass scale. It is as a result of these that upon the territory of India we now find 10 million East Pakistani refugees, and we seen the emergence of one of the most serious problems, which has no equal, considering the number of victims involved. I have not any information at hand, but even Hitler's aggression did not bring about such a sudden translation of millions of people. Millions of people were in fact transferred, millions perished, but such a sudden transfer of such huge numbers of people did not take place during the Second World War. So, how can we close our eyes to this reality and this actual state of affairs?

The question, naturally, arises as far as those are concerned who wish to close their eyes: has the Council the right to consider and discuss this aspect of the problem, the cause which has brought about such a serious and dangerous situation, or can it consider only part of the problem, starting from, say, yesterday's date? This is the way the question has been put by reality itself. We all know what difficulties were produced for the Government of India by the flow of refugees. It has created a certain serious tension in the social, economic and political life of India, and it has brought about difficulties in the implementation of social and economic programmes which had been elaborated by that country. In this connexion, we cannot fail to mention the fact that it was said here that India had transferred some of its troops to the borders of East Pakistan. What self-respecting State which cares for its security is not going to displace part of its armed forces to the territory where there was this on-rush of 10 million refugees? Such a Government sould have been ignoring its most elementary responsibilities. There is no idea what these 10 million foreigners could produce on the territory of that State, and action must be taken accordingly. To accuse India of the fact that it has transferred part of its armed forces to that place where there were suddenly 10 million foreigners is, to say the least, manufacturing causes for accusing India.

In the course of the present session of the General Assembly, during the discussion of the question of East Pakistan refugees in the Third Committee, the

Representatives of numerous countries very highly praised the humane approach of India to the problem of these refugees. They showed understanding when they spoke of the difficulties that have emerged for that country in connexion with the mass flow of refugees. The Indian side on numerous occasions showed its goodwill towards these refugees. I stated its resolve to take all necessary measures to stop their flow into India and to ensure the speedy return to their homeland of those refugees that found themselves upon Indian territory. The leaders of the Indian Government indicated that India cannot bear responsibility for the upkeep of millions of East Pakintani refugees upon its territory and justly called for their speedy return to their homeland, where the refugees must be guaranteed safety and normal living conditions. The objective facts, however, indicate that, in spite of the broadly publicized amnesty in East Pakistan, according to the international press, only a very limited number of people have been released from the prisons. The majority of the active leaders and the Members of the Legislative Assembly of East Pakistan continue to languish in prison, and Rahman is on trial. In these circumstances, upon the territor, of Fast Pakistan, according to the information in the press, great discontent has been brought to the surface among the people. They are trying to defend their rights and human dignity, most elementary rights that are denied to them. These are the facts, and in this light, whoever attempts to place here on the same footing the responsibilities of Pakistan and India for the situation that has been produced. is making a great mistake. It is entirely clear that if the military administration of Pakistan had not interrupted the talks with the lawful representatives of the Pakistani people and had not carried out its mass repressions, the Security Council and the world community would not have to be dealing with consideration of the question of the domestic crisis in East Pakistan and its international consequences.

Much has been said here about who started the military action, and an attempt was made clearly to shift the blame from the guilty party to the innocent party. Some ignore official communications contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 3rd December (S/10412). Apparently, some find it inconvenient to read or to draw attention to those documents. And yet, on page 4, in paragraph 4(*b*) of the Russian text it is stated quite clearly that :

"United Nations Military Observers at Field Station, Poonch reported at 2020 hours that Pakistan troops had crossed the cease-fire line at the Poonch crossing point (NR °567) at 1910 hours. At 2140 hours, the station reported that shelling has commenced from the India side of the line...." (S/10412)—in other words, after Pakistani troops had crossed the cease-fire line.

That is from the official report of the Observer. Whoever does not believe this may perhaps wish to reject it or produce other evidence. This was also referred to by the Representative of India.

There is also the statement by the Prime Minister of India, Madame Indira Gandhi, in Parliament on 4th December. In that statement we read the following :

"This morning (in other words, on the 4th), the Government of West Pakistan has declared a war upon us. Last evening, the West Pakistan Air Force violated our air space wantonly and attacked a large number of our airfields."

It might be said that that statement comes from only one side ; but it is officially confirmed by an official document, the report of the Secretary-General, with a reference to the reports of the United Nations Military Observers. These are facts ; this is reality.

The dangerous course of events in the Indian sub-continent calls for the speedy attainment of a political settlement in East Pakistan that would take into account the Will and the inalineable rights and lawful interests of its population. It is necessary to achieve such a political settlement as would produce a safe set of circumstances for the return of the refugees to their homes and to the places where they lived, and that would ensure a full guarantee on the part of the Pakistani authorities that the refugees would not be persecuted, that they would be given an opportunity to live and work in East Pakistan, peacefully and in an atmosphere of security.

The Soviet delegation has very carefully listened to the statement of the Representative of the United Stetes. The first thought that emerges after having heard that statement is that it would be well if all, or at least part, of the good wishes and proposals made by the Representative of the United States could be applied in Indo-China—and first and foremost, in regard to the immediate withdrawal of troops.

The Soviet Delegation is studying the draft resolution introduced by the United States Delegation from the stand-point that I mentioned at the beginning of my statement. We will have occasion to make our views known, but our first impression is that it is a one-sided and unacceptable draft, given that approach, which is peculiar to those who are trying to shift responsibility from the guilty to the innocent.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
যুক্তরাজ্য প্রতিনিধি স্যার কলিন ক্রো'র বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY SIR COLIN CROWE, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.K.—DECEMBER 4, 1971

My Delegation is one of the signatories of the letter requesting you, Mr. President, to convene immediately an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the recent Deteriorating situation which has led to armed clashes between India and Pakistan. We are grateful to you for having acted so promptly on that request.

We have listened with care to the debate so far, and it is clear that we are nearly all of us inspired by an urgent desire to stop hostilities, to stop the flow of blood. My Delegation's purpose in joining in the request to you to convene this meeting was to ensure that the Security Council became seized of the situation.

Over the last few months, as other Representatives have pointed out, efforts have been made through informal consultations to see if the Security Council could take useful action to avert a crisis, to develop the possibility of a peaceful solution. Similarly, many Governments, including my own have, tried through direct contacts with both sides to achieve the same purpose. Unfortunately, these efforts have all so far failed.

My Delegation realizes that the mere fact that the Security Council has now met and been seized of the matter does not of itself make a solution any easier. It is a complex matter, and for that very reason require a comprehensive solution. This will require careful thought, and we are in no position to apportion blame, to pass quick judgment, on the present or on the past. We must exert every effort to find a satisfactory, peaceful solution in accordance with the Charter. But the recent outbreak of large-scale hostilities has brought us up short.

We cannot evade our responsibilities. What must we do now ? Our task, as Members of the highest World Body, charged with responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security, is to exert our influence to restore peace, to bring the fighting to a stop, and to secure the relief of suffering. My Delegation will be guided by that direction.

I suggest that any proposal made should be considered in the context of whether or not they are likely to help us towards a satisfactory solution, and in this connexion I share the view of the Representative of France that unanimity is of the essence. It is in this spirit that my Delegation will examine all draft resolutions submitted here.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ফরাসী প্রতিনিধি মি: কোশেস্কো মরিজ-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET, REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE—DECEMBER 6, 1971

As the French Delegation indicated yesterday, we have redoubled our efforts to achieve urgently a solution acceptable to all Members of the Council, at least a solution which would not precipitate any veto. The basis of our effort was the initial draft resolution of our Belgian, Italian and Japanese friends. With our United Kingdom friends, we associated ourselves with them. It was normal, after all, for the Representatives of this old continent of Europe, which is all too familiar with war and which has been able to overcome its age-old hatreds, to make a effort at peace.

We took into consideration not only the initial draft resolution but also the draft resolution of the eight powers and, indeed, all the views, without any exception that have been expressed here by those who have taken part in our debates. It seemed to us in the present state of affairs that a draft resolution largely based upon previous texts could marshal the greatest support without bringing about any irreducible opposition. We have drawn up a text which I am going to read out now, because it is important for it to be set down in the archives of the Council. The Council, as a matter of fact, will recognize passages which are not new. They are paragraphs of previou draft resolutions. Our text reads as follows :

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971.

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan.

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security.

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

CONVINCED that a rapid political solution will be necessary for the restoration of condition of normality in the region of the conflict and for the return of refugees to heir homes,

CONSCIOUS of the responsibility incumbent upon it under the pertinent provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* the governments concerned to order forthwith, as a first step, an immediate cease-fire, the cessation of all military activities and mutual disengagement ;

2. *Urges* that efforts be deployed to create the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of refugees from East Pakistan in accordance with the Charter.

3. *Asks* all states to co-operate fully with the secretary-General with a view to lending assistance to these refugees and alleviating their plight ;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and regularly informed of the implementation of the present resolution :

5. *Decides* to follow the situation closely and to meet again as soon as necessary.

This draft resolution will not be submitted because the consultations that have been undertaken have convinced us that it would be faced with exceptions and objections. And yet we are not here in order to measure ourselves against each other and to defy each other : we are here to assume, under the Charter, our responsibilities for international peace and security. The only victory we wished to achieve was that of peace. It is unfortunately, peace which is today defeated and it is the United Nations perhaps because it has not got the material forces to separate the combatants, which has again failed. Arms will therefore settle a question which we have not been able to solve. and that will add further victims to those which have already aroused indignation throughout the world. We wish on behalf of the French Delegation to say that we shall not associate ourselves with, not be resigned to, this failure.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সোভিয়েত প্রতিনিধি মিঃ জ্যাকব মালিক-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. JACOB MALIK, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U S.S.R.—DECEMBER 6, 1971

The Security Council has before it a draft resolution of five powers Members of the Council, which is contained in document S/10425. The Soviet Delegation has no doubt about the good intentions and sincerity of purpose of the cosponsers of this draft resolution, or their desire to contribute to the solution of the problem which the Council has before it. However, this draft, like certain other drafts which have thus far been submitted for the consideration of the Security Council, has one substantive defect; it deals with only one side of the serious problem that has arisen in East Pakistan and its international consequences which have complicated the situation in the Hindustan Peninsula, namely, the cessation of military action undertaken by the Pakistan armed forces against neighbouring India.

After an intensive and comprehensive discussion that has lasted for two days, add in view of the information and obvious facts which, as a result of the documents that have been submitted and the discussion of the problem here, are now before the Security Council, there can be no doubt left in anybody's mind that the main cause for the military coflict that has broken out on the territory of the Hindustan Peninsula is a certain series of action of the Government of Pakistan which are directed at the suppression of the lawful demands and aspirations of the East Pakistan population.

The military conflict in that region is the direct consequence of a series of acts of oppression, mass repression and violence conducted over a number of months with the use of the most modern forms of weapons and arms with a view to suppressing the clearly expressed Will of 75 million East Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan was obliged to respond to this and rebuff it by means of armed resistance. Being unable by political means to settle the very acute political crisis in East Pakistan, or to repress by means of violence against the people of that part of the country the political movement that had been set afoot, the Government of Pakistan undertook military action against a neighbouring country, and that has led to the emergence of a military conflict and the exacerbation of the situation.

The purpose of that action is entirely clear to all. It cosists of placing responsibility for the actions of the Pakistan military authorities upon a neighbouring country, and attempting to justify the measures of terror ond oppression undertaken there, which have acquired such gigantic proportions that they have resulted in the death of thousands upon thousands of peaceful citizens and the flight of virtually 10 million persons to the territory of a neighbouring country.

Today, the President of the Security Council, in his introductory statement at the opening of the meeting of the Council, again vividly reminded all of

us of the suffering of these many millions of persons. Unless that fact is taken into account—as has already been pointed out— it is impossible to find the right solution for the problem as it has emerged, it is impossible to find the approach that would settle it.

In view of this reality, the approach that is proposed in the five-power draft resolution is inadequate. It is one-sided and cannot contribute to the restoration of peace and a state of stability in that region. Without the firm, swift and effective elimination of the main cause of the serious tensions on the Hindustan sub-continent, and which finally led to the emergence of an armed conflict that has now acquired an international dimension, the Security Council will be unable to adopt a correct and effective decision.

Hence, it is absolutely essential for the question of a ceas-fire to be most closely and indissolubly linked with the requirement of addressing to the Government of Pakistan, simultaneously and without any delay, a call to take action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed quite clearly and definitely in the elections of December, 1970.

The Security Council cannot close its eyes to this political reality which has arisen in that region and attempt to resolve only one side of the conflict, leaving aside the main cause, the primary source of the existence of the serious tension, the primary cause and reason for the conflict, which has now been trasformed into an armed clash in the Hindustan Peninsula and become an international problem. If the Security Council were to close its eyes that reality and take a one-sided course, that would merely create an appearance of action but would not be genuine action.

The Security Council, in questions with such political significance, cannot act without taking into account the political reality involved. This is dictated by the United Nations Charter and those Articles that were mentioned by the Soviet Delegation in its statement yesterday. Given the situation, the only correct course which the Council can follow is the adoption of a decision in which both questions—the question of the cease-fire and the question of the recognition by Pakistan of the expressed Will of the East Pakistan population—are organically and inseparably bound together. In other words, the two questions, the question of the cease-fire and the question of the political settlement, must be closely—indeed inseparably—bound together.

That is what the Delegation of the Soviet Union has striven for, striving for and will continue to strive for throughout the discussion of the present question. We admit that this approach might not be to the liking of certain parties, but that is up to them, we are deeply and firmly convinced that our approach is correct and just and based upon the real situation that has been produced in the Hindustan sub-continent. Through their elected representatives, the people of East Pakistan are free to decide upon the question of the resumption of talks with the Pakistan Government and relations with it. As we have already pointed out, the defect of the five-power draft resolution is precisely that in it the question of a ceasefire is not correlated with the question of the attainment of a political settlement in East Pakistan. We should take into account the Will, the inalienable rights, and the lowful interests of the

population of that part of the country. The Soviet Delegation cannot agree with an approach which does not do that.

Certain Delegations, speaking in favour of an immediate cease-fire, at the same time seem to close their eyes, as it were, and disregrad the question of the possibility of the continuation of the bloodshed and the repression of the population of East pakistan by the armed force of Pakistan Government. In other words, they do not bring the matter to the point of the political settlement. The Soviet Union, like any other peace-loving country, cannot remain indefferent to this events which have arisen in the Hindustan Peninsula. As was stressed in the statement of tass on 5th December of this year :

"The Soviet Union call for a speedy end to the bloodshed and for a political settlement in East pakistan on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and interests of its people."

It is precisely with this in mind and with this realistic approach that the Soviet Delegation deems it necessary for the Security council swiftly to take appropriate action, taking into account the, real nature and full range of the problem under discussion and all its aspects—first and foremost the two main ones, the political setlement and the cessation of hostilities.

The Council must be realistic. The council must take into account in its decision the organic bound between these to questions which constitute the problem under discussion—I repeat : the organic bond between the question of the cease-fire and question of the political settlement in East Pakistan. We appeal to the Goverment of Pakistan to take effective action towards a political settlement and immdiately to recognize the Will of the East Pakistan population. In the light of this approach and bearing in mind the real situation in East pakistan and in the hindustan sub-continent, the Soviet Delegation is introducing amendments to the five-power draft resolutjon. The first amendment is :

"In operative paragraph 1, *replace* the words 'the Governments concerned' by the words 'all Parties concerned'; at the end of same paragraph, add the words 'and cessation of all military operations'.

The second amendment is :

"Between opperative paragraphs 1 and 2, insert the follwing as operative paragraph 2 and 3 :

'2. Calls upon the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political setlement in East Pakistan giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970;

'3. *Declares* that the provisons of operative paragraphs 1 and two of this resolution constitute a single whole'."

There shuld be a consquential re-numbring of the remaining operative paragraphs.

Those are the amendments which the Soviet Deligation now submits to the draft resolution submitted by five powers. The adoption of that draft resolution with this amendments might constitute a real and effective step by the Security Council to bring about a cessation of bloodshed and the adoption of measures towards the political settlement of the complex political problem that has arisen in East pakistan. The Delegation of the U. S. S. R. will vote for that draft resolution with the amendments we have introduced. Without such amendments, the resolution would not achieve the purpose and could not become an efffective instrument for the settlement of the conflict in the Hindustan Sub-continent. Without the adoption of the amendments, the Delegation of the U. S. S. R. will be unable to support the five-power draft resolution.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতীয় প্রতিনিধি মি: সমর সেন-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. SAMAR SEN, REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA
December 6, 1971

I think I owe it to the Council to report certain developments which have taken place since we adjourned last night. About an hour and a half after that adjournment, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Gandhi, made a statement in our Parliament in New Delhi. I think I can do no better to discharge my duty than to read her statement as she delivered it in the Indian Parliament. She said :

"The valiant struggle of the people of Bangladesh in the face of tremendous odds has opened a new chapter of heroism in the history of freedom movements. Earlier, they had reported a democratic victory in their elections, and even the President of Pakistan had conceded the right of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. We shall never know what intervened to transform this benevolent mood and realistic approach—if it really was that—to destruction and a posture of open hostilities and repression.

"We are told that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party, the Awami League, had planned a non-violent movement of resistance to the Government of West Pakistan, but were caught unawares and overtaken by a brutal military assault. They had no alternative but to declare for independence. The East Pakistan Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment became Mukti Fauj and latter Mukti Bahini, which was joined by thousands of young East Bengalis determined to sacrifice their lives for their freedom and right to fashion their future. The unity, determination and courage with which the entire population of Bangladesh is fighting have been reported by the world press. These events on our doorstep, and the resulting flood of refugees into our territory, could not but have far-reaching repercussions on our country. It was natural that our sympathy should be with the people of Bangladesh in their just struggle, but we did not act precipitately in the matter of recognition. Our decisions were not guided merely by emotion but by assessment of the prevailing and future realities. With the unanimous revolt of the entire people of Bangladesh, and the success of the struggle, it has become increasingly apparent that the so-called mother State of Pakistan is totally incapable of bringing the people of Bangladesh, back under its control. As for the legitimacy of the Government of Bangladesh, the whole world is now aware that it reflects the Will of the overwhelming majority of the people, which not many governments can claim to represent. In Jefferson's's famous words to Governor Morris, the Government of Bangladesh is supported by 'the Will of the nation substantially expressed.'

"Applying this criterion, the military regime in Pakistan, whom some States are so anxious to buttress, is hardly representative of its people

even for waging was against India. The normal hesitation on our part not to do anything which could come in the way of peaceful solution, or which might be construed as an intervention, has lost significance. The people of Bangladesh battling for their very existence and the people of India fighting to defeat aggression now find themselves partisans in the same cause. I am glad to inform the House that in the light of the existing situation and in response to the repeated requests of the Government of Bangladesh, the Government of India have, after most peaceful consideration, decided to grant recognition to the People's Republic of Bangladesh. It is our hope that with the passage of time more nations will grant recognition and that the People's Republic of Bangladesh will soon form a part of the family of nations.

"Our thoughts at this moment are with the father of this new State, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I am sure that this House would wish me to convey to their Excellencies, the acting President of Bangladesh and the Prime Minister, and their colleagues, our greetings and warm felicitations. I am placing on the table of the House, copies of communications which we have received from the Government of Bangladesh. The honourable members will be glad to know that the Government of Bangladesh have proclaimed their basic principles of State policy to be democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. With regard to foreign relations the Bangladesh Government have expressed their determination to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism in all its manifestations. These are the ideals to which India also is dedicated. The Bangladesh Government have reiterated their anxiety to organize the expeditious return of the citizens who have found temporary refuge in our country and to restore their lands and belongings to them. We shall naturally help in every way in these arrangements. I am confident that, in future, the Governments and peoples of India and Bangladesh who share common ideals and sacrifices, will forge a relationship based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefits. Thus, working together for freedom and democracy, we shall set an example of good-neighbourliness which alone can ensure peace and stability and progress in this region. Our good wishes to Bangladesh."

Now, I read this statement in full because I believe it is important enough to be recorded in full, and for people to hear it in full. But more important than that, this recognition of Bangladesh has put the relationship of India to Bangladesh in a completely different leagal, political and constitutional context; and I would request the Council to realize this new development before any decision is taken.

Since we have now recognized Bangladesh, I think I should take a few minutes of the Council's time to go back—not too much, but a little bit—into the history. It has been said that the autonomy movement led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman soon became a movement for independence, and that this would have brought about the disintegration of Pakistan. May I just read a very short paragraph from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's presentation of the six-point programme which is the formula for autonomy. This is what he says:

"Sixthly, let me humbly remind my West Pakistani brothers and sisters that when we demanded Bangali to be made one of the two State languages

of Pakistan you condemned it as a move to undo Pakistan. When again we demanded a joint electorate, particularly in the context of parity in the presentation demanded by you, you condemned that demand to have been inspired from across the border. Both of these two demands have now been accepted, but there has been no undoing of Pakistan due to their acceptance. Does it not put you to shame that every bit of reasonable demand of East Pakistan has got to be secured from you at tremendous cost and after bitter struggle, as if snatched from unwilling foreign rulers as a reluctant concession ? Does it do you any credit ? Please put a stop to such attitude once and for all. Please be brothers, instead of rulers."

Now, after the military crackdown, as I pointed out yesterday, independence was suddenly declared. And this is what the Prime Minister of the new State of Bangladesh has to say on that:

"Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the army in Bangladesh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh. By resorting to pre-planned genocide, Yahya must have known that he was himself digging Pakistan's grave. The subsequent massacres perpetrated by his orders, by his licensed killers, of the people were not designed to preserve the unity of the nation. They were acts of racial hatred and sadism, devoid of even the elements of humanity. Professional soldiers, on orders, violated their code of military honour and were seen as beasts of prey who indulged in an orgy of murder, rape, loot, arson, destruction, unequalled in the annalls of civilization. These acts indicate that the concept of two countries is already deeply rooted in the minds of Yahya and his associates who would not dare commit such atrocities on their own continent. Yahya's genocide is thus without political purpose. It serves only as the last act in the tragic history of Pakistan which Yahya has chosen to write with the blood of the people of Bangladesh. The objective is genocide and scorched earth, before his troops are either driven out or perish. In this time, he hopes to liquidate all political leadership, intelligentsia, and administration, to destroy our industries and public amenities. And, as a final act, he intends to raze our cities to the ground. Already, his occupation army has made substantial progress towards this objective. Bangladesh will be set back 50 years as West Pakistan's parting gift to a people they have exploited 23 years for their own benefit."

This declaration was made on 17th April, 1971.

In this context, I should like to read an article wich appeared in *The New York Times*. Some of the Members may have read it, but perhaps the non-English-speaking Members have not. In order to respect the wishes expressed by the Representative of the United States, I shall leave out from this article all references to the Nixon Administration, to the President, and so on. I hope, however, he will indulge me if I do include in my reading references to our own Government and to our own Prime Minister, however critical they may be. This is what is said:

"Suppose that Britain, in the 1930s, had responded to Hitler's savagery by the early threat or use of military force instead of appeasement ...".

"So one must think after the American statement over the week-end blaming India for the hostilities with Pakistan. Few things said in the name of the United States lately have been quite so indecent. The anonymous State Department official who made the comment matched Uriah Heep "—I do not know this gentleman—" in sheer oleaginous cynicism about the facts of the situation and about our own moral position".

"Consider first the immediate origins of this dispute. They are exceptionaly clear as international relations go."

May I make a diversion? For nine months now the international community has received a large number of reports written by most distinguished civil servants both of this Organization and of its specialized agencies. If the Council is not even prepared to listen to the Bangladesh Representative because of procedural and other political reasons, which I have not understood and against which I have proposed, surely these reports could have been made available. But no, that will do harm to whatever interests are being served by this debate. Now I continue the quotation :

"The military junta that rules Pakistan under President Yahya Khan held an election. The largest number of seats was own, democratically, by a Bengali party that favoured effective self-government for East Pakistan. Yahya thereupon decided to wipe out the result of the election by force."

Now, I should like to call the attention of those gentlemen who still preach democracy to bear this point in mind. I continue reading from *The New York Times* :

"Last March, West Pakistan troops flew into the East in large numbers and began a policy of slaughter. They murdered selected politicians, intellectuals and professionals, then indiscriminate masses. They burned villages. They held public castrations.

"To compare Yahya Khan with Hitler is of course inexact. Yahya is not a man with a racist mission but a spokesman for xenophobic forces in West Pakistan. But in terms of results—in terms of humah beings killed, brutalize or made refugees—Yahya's record compares quite favourably with Hilter's early years.

"The West Pakistan is have killed several hundred thousand civilians in the East, and an estimated ten million have fled to India. The oppression has been specifically on lines of race or religion. The victims are Bengalis or Hindus, not Czechs or Poles or Jews, and perhaps therefore less meaningful to us in the West. But to the victims the crime is the same.

"This record has been no secret to the world."

That is why I refer to the reports which are already available in the United Nations, but which, for some reason, have not seen the light of day.

I continue to read :

"...The refugees were there in India to be photographed in all their pitiful misery."

I then leave out a sentence, and go on :

"...not a word about the most appalling refugee situation of modern times Private diplomacy was doubtless going on, but there was no visible sign of American pressure on Yahya Khan for the only step that could conceivably bring the refugees back—a political accommodation with the Bengalis.

"Pakistan's argument was that it was all an internal affair. Yes, like the Nazi's treatment of German Jews. But even if one accepts, as one must, that Pakistan was bound to defend its territorial integrity, this issue had spilled beyond its borders. The refugee impact on India very soon made it clear that the peace of the whole sub-continent was threatened.

"It was as if the entire population of New York City had suddenly been dumped on New Jersey to feed and clothe—only infinitely worse in terms of resources available. Yet when Indira Gandhi went to the capitals of the West for help in arranging a political solution in East Pakistan she got nothing.

"The Indians can be sanctimonious"—

I do not mind quoting against my country, my Government or my Prime Minister from a newspaper of repute.

—"Mrs. Gandhi acts for political reasons, not out or purity of heart. India has helped the Bangladesh guerrillas and, in recent weeks, put provocative pressure on East Pakistan. All true. But given the extent of her interest and the intolerable pressure upon her, India has shown great restraint."

"After all, India has not intervened in a civil conflict thousands of miles from her own border."

I shall skip the rest of that paragrpaph.

"American policy towards the Indian sub-continent is as much of a disaster by standards of hard-nosed common sense as of compassion. India may be annoying and difficult, but she does happen to be the largest nation in the world following our notions of politiclal freedom. In position and population she is by far the most important country of Asia apart from China. To alienate India—worse yet, to act so as to undermine her political stability—is a policy that defies rational explanation."

It is not my habit to give quotations either from newspapers or anything else, but since we are coming to the conclusion of the debate, I thought I should depend on some other and wiser people and not only on my own statements and conclusions.

Here is Senator Church, who has just come back from India. I shall not read the whole of his statement—which he made only this morning—because it would take rather too much time, but I shall read the two brief concluding paragraphs :

"I find it odd to understand why there is such a pro-Pakistani bias in American policies. India's position in the war, which has now broken out, is not only con-

sistent with her professed ideals, but is also the position which is most likely to prevail. By showing such favouritism towards West Pakistan, we side with the probable loser, and we forfeit the goodwill of the freedom-fighters in East Pakistan, as well as the people of India.

"Unless one believes that West Pakistan represents the wave of the future on the sub-continent, it is impossible to reconcile this Government's bias towards Yahya Khan's Government with the role in regard to the interests of the United States."

Of course, we are not interested in, or even concerned with, the interests of the United States. The United States is quite capable of looking after its own interests in a variety of ways. One of the ways has been to cut off economic aid to India recently—yesterday, I think—but we can live with that. We are not frightened by any threats or cuts. But we have to consider what we should do.

Before the Council proceeds to the vote—and I hope I may have another opportunity to explain a few more details on the various resolutions and put our point of view once again before the Council—at this stage I shall make a few other comments on our attitude to the resolutions.

Firstly, after all we have said, not only now but over the last few months, we cannot expect that any man of reason should equate India with Pakistan in any resolution or decision. We do not expect that, and we cerntainly do not accept it. We do not expect any reasonable man to do it, and if he does we cannot accept it. We are not in the same category as Pakistan. If, Mr. President, you wish me to elaborate, I can do so; but I think the point is already well known.

Secondly, we think it is wrong, illogical, undesirable—disastrous, even—to have to come to a decision without taking into account the point of view of the Bangladesh Representatives, the Representatives of the main party involved in these ...... circumstances. However, it is not the first time that the Security Council or the United Nations has taken an unrealistic decision simply to show that it is up and alive and can act. We are not letting the Council down. Fair enough. We are all faithful Members of the United Nations and we should uphold the dignity and prestige of all its organs. But let us not say that by passing a purely unrealistic resolution we have done anything except console ourselves. That by itself would not be so bad, but if in the process we give a false hope to the world at large that, I think, will be a disaster.

Thirdly, we shall not, we cannot and we must not accept any resolution or decision which does not go to the root cause of the matter. It is no good saying we thing we should cut off a limb here or a limb there to save the life. The fact of the matter is that this body has been rotting for nine months and no one has taken any notice. Now, after all these years, when we come to this extraordinary session of the Council, not to go to the root cause is another shibboleth on which soldid foundation can be built. We are meeting here in an extraordinary session—and how extraordinary it is. Pakistan is shrieking and shouting about aggression and so on, and yet it did not ask for a Council meeting. Has any gentleman at this table stopped to think why it has not? Probably they do not have to think. Probably they know. Over the last nine months, how many attempts have been made to bring the question to the Council or any ather United Nations body? All attempts have been frustrated.

My friend and colleague, the Representative of Italy, was President of the Security Council in the months of August, I think. On 20th July, the Secretary-General sent his Memorandum. Why was that Memorandum not acted upon? We all know why. In the month of July, the Representative of Pakistan was flying from Geneva to New York to stop any discussions here, to stop any discussions there; and those attempts went on for months. Reports were suppressed; discussions were inhibited; a complete veil of silence and secrecy was thrown over this. Then, suddenly, we come up and say, "The world is in flames. We must do something. But we must not consider any of the vital problems."..That is an approach which we totally deplore and certainly denounce.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানী প্রতিনিধি মি: আগা শাহীর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. AGHA SHAHI, REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN
December 6, 1971

Only yesterday, I quoted, for the second time to the Security Council, excerpts from an important paper, which has been given the most serious consideration by Government circles in India, about India's plan to bring about the dismemberment of Pakistan, and to use the Security Council as an instrument to legitimize the creation of the secessionist Bangladesh State. I am sure that what I quoted must be fresh in the minds of the Members of the Council and I shall refrain from quoting it again.

Only yesterday, and the day before, the Representative of India stated that these were the views of theoriticians and academicians in India, but now it is finally clear that that plan has been followed with meticulous exactitude and the Government of India has announced recognition of Bangladesh.

The Representative of India quoted *in extenso* from Mrs. Gandhi's statement of yesterday giving the reasons for this act of war against Pakistan. She said that it was a valiant struggle which had opened a new chapter in the history of the freedom movement. And let it be noted that this new chapter was inaugurated by subversion and aggression.

If the President of Pakistan did designate Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, as the Leader of the majority party in the National Assembly, as the Prime Minister and, if because of the disagreement of political factions within my country his plan for the transfer of power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could not materialize, did it justify a neighbouring State's fomenting armed civil strife and launching an armed attack against Pakistan? If a commission is given in a country to the leader of a political party, even a majority party, to form a Government and it is not executed for one reason or another, however right or wrong it may be, does another country embark on aggression and subversion to promote freedom in that country?

Now, we are told that the Mukti Bahini is fighting and that the Security Council must make an assessment of the realities, and the Representative of India talked of the success of the Mukti Bahini. What is the reality? The Mukti Bahini is a mere auxiliary of the 120,000 Indian armed forces which have unleashed armed attacks on Pakistan. It can play only a subsidiary role. It is under the occupation army of India that this Mukti Bahini will function. And it is to that Government, set up by the occupying authority, that this Security Council is expected to extend some kind of acknowledgement, if not recognition.

We have been told about the high-sounding proclamations of democracy, secularism, freedoms and what-not. We know that words are not tantamount to actions. In how many constitutions, in how many pronouncements and proclamations in every country in the world are these words not used? Are we to be

guided just by rhetoric and eloquence? In India itself, democracy does not function in several of its provinces; they are under direct Presidential rule. And secularism is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Militant groups let loose murder and slaughter against religious minorities—and we are asked to take the word for the deed.

We were also told about foreign relations of Bangladesh and its policy of non-alignment. The mentor of that government has set the example of non-alignment by concluding the Indo-Soviet military alliance.

The Representative of India talks of freedom of Bangladesh. In 1905, that same East Pakistan, which was part of Bengal Province, achieved its emancipation from the economic exploitation and domination of the capitalists and caste Hindus of Calcutta and became a separate province within India– that was done by the British Government in 1905. But those same capitalists, industrialists, the caste Hindus of India, carried on a ceaseless agitation of murder, assassination and terror, and forced the British Government to annul the partition. So, the separation of East Pakistan– which took place in 1905, because it had been exploited for two centuries, both under British rule and subsequently by the privileged classes in India—was annulled and East Pakistan was again made a part of Bengal, so that the rule of the privileged classes was reimposed. It is only the Pakistani people and their strength that stand between that kind of reimposition of domination and the development of the people of East Pakistan in freedom and as the dominant partners and the dominant elements in the political life of Pakistan.

Then, the Representative of India went into the history of the movement for autonomy, talked of the six points and quoted from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Well, let me tell you something about the six points.

On 23rd March– two days before the Federal Army had to take action to supress the massacres of non Benali elements that were being perpetrated by the secessionist elements– the leaders of the secessionist movement, or the leaders of the Awami League, presented a draft proclamation to President Yahya Khan saying that it was their last word and that the President of Pakistan could take it or leave it, in it they also said that Pakistan shall be a confederation– from a federal state, it was to transform itself into a confederation. The other political parties believe that confederation is an association of two sovereign states and not a union of provinces or states into one single whole. Surely, this was a legitimate point of view with which one may agree or not agree, but how does this become the concern of India? In other words, the Pakistan Government was asked to accept an ultimatum to transform Pakistan into a confederation of two sovereign States. And yet, we have a lecture from the Representative of India about how we should conduct ourselves in regard to the ordering of our constitutional and political life. Let him first study his own Constitution and see how much autonomy is given to the provinces. How much autonomy does West Bengal, his own province, have in the Indian federation? To what extent are the resources of Bengal and Assam spent within those provinces?

Then again, in every form the Indian Representatives repeat about the hundreds of thousands of people murdered by the Pakistan armed forces. It is a matter of the deepest regret that he shows no human feeling in regard to those murdered by the secessionist elements., There were people here in the so-called Delegation of Bangladesh who set up slaughter houses in which thousands of people were massacred before 25th March when the army had to intervene and afterwards.

And these people come here to represent Bangladesh. There is living proof of these atrocities, and if Members of the Security Council want to turn away from propaganda and what the columnists write, and want to find out for themselves, we shall provide them the means of doing so.

The Representative of India talked the other day about films shown by his Delegation. We have these films but we have spared your feelings. But, you are welcome to come and see them if you so desire. I can understand his relish that Pakistan is dead and buried. Let me tell him, it lives and will survive, in spite of Indian aggression.

Then, he quotes something from *The New York Times*. This is an article by the columnist Anthony Lewis. I have read many of his articles before. But, that is the opinion of one individual. Did he go to Pakistan to find out the other side of the picture? Did he take care to inform himself of the real facts before he printed his column in this newspaper which is read by half a million people in the United States? Did he compare notes with other correspondents of equally respectable papers like the Manchester *Guardian* who have given a different assessment? This is the kind of propaganda to which the Representative of India resorts to divert the attention of the Council from Indian aggression and occupation of our territory. If we begin quoting correspondents, where are we going to end? All right, if you want to quote correspondents, I shall quote James Reston who said in yesterday's *New York Times:*

"For Prime Minister Gandhi to talk about the 'wanton and unprovoked aggression' of Pakistan, when her own Government's troops have been constantly inside East Pakistan and her colleagues have made no secret of their aid to the East Pakistani insurgents or their desire to see East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan, is really an affront to the intelligence of the world."

And the Representative of India considers the intelligence of this distinguished and august gathering so low that he persists in his misrepresentations. I continue the quotation:

"Mrs. Gandhi didn't even consider allowing U.N. observers to see what was going on along the India-Pakistani borders, which is interesting, since she is now defending the war as a moral crusade against the Pakistani aggressors."

The Representative of India connot resist referring to the Government of Pakistan as a military junta. Several Member States are ruled—and these are not my words, but his words—by military juntas, and he went on to say:

"President Yahya Khan decided to wipe out the results of election by force."

If President Yahya Khan did not wish to promote or restore democracy in Pakistan in the first place, why would he have held elections and why should they have been held in an atmosphere of freedom which he himself hailed afterwards? Was it not far easier for him to crush the aspirations of the Bengali people before the elections, which would not have caused a whimper in the world? Yet, good and honest intentions, if they are prevented from being realized, are denounced and the most vicious motives are ascribed. And, from whom do they come? From India. We know that we can expect nothing better from India than permanent hostility.

As regards what Senator Church may have said: I regret that Senator Church had nothing to say about subversion and aggression. He expressed himself on a certain aspect of the Pakistan situation, but he chose to remain silent on the very issuses which we are now considering here in the Security Council.

Finally, in reply to the Representative of India, he alleged that Pakistan shouted about aggression and did not ask for a meeting of the Security Council. Ambassador Vinci was the President of the Security Council in August and he knows of the efforts made by me under the instructions of my Government to activate the Security Council to exercise a moderating influence, and to promote a reduction of tension. But why was no Security Council meeting called? Because of the opposition of India and the allies of India. And we know now when we come finally before the Seucurity Council what is the result—a veto, a veto. So therefore let us not talk about coming before the Security Council.

Turning now from the Representative of India to what the Representative of the Soviet Union said yesterday and a little earlier to day. I shall, of course, not comment on his amendments, because I believe they are no longer before us, for the draft resolution to which they were submitted as amendments has been withdrawn. We thank the sponsors of that draft resolution for having withdrawn their proposal. But here, with reference to what Ambassador Malik said in explaining his amendments, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without commenting on one or two points. The Representative of the Soviet Union said that action by the Security Council must be in accordance with the real situation in the Hindustan sub-continent. The real situation in the Hindustan sub-continent now is that brought about by India's subversion support to armed secession armed intervention and aggression. In other words, is the Security Council going to legitimize this so-called reality, perpetuate occupation and guarantee the fruits of aggression and the illegal use of force?

The Representative of the Soviet Union said that the cessation of hostilities must be organically linked to a political settlement. In other words, the Soviet amendments, as explained by the Representative of the Soviet Union, mean that Pakistan must immediately agree to the secession of East Pakistan and to Pakistan's dismemberment and that war and military occupation must continue until it does so.

I am also constrained to remark that in the statements of the Soviet Representative there is a persistent pre-occupation with the political situation in Pakistan to the conclusion of every other aspect of the situation prevailing to day in the sub-continent, and which prevailed in the weeks and months before. And we are most concerned that in addition to the security doctrine to which I referred yesterday, the pronouncements of Soviet Representative seem to stake a claim to be the arbiter in the internal political and constitutional life of my country.

I shall comment on the draft resolutions later, but I fell I must place on record certain facts. I refrained from doing so yesterday, because I did not wish to prolong the time taken by the Council to get to a vote on the draft resolutions before it. First, I should like to draw the attention of the Security Council to a mis-statement of fact by India, as contained in the Secretary-General's report (S/10410/Add.1). According to a message from

the Prime Minister of India, which was orally delivered to the Secretary-General, it is claimed therein that Pakistani aircraft attacked the military bases of India at Pathankot and Srinagar—in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir—and at Amritsar on the afternoon of 2nd December. That is totally false. I waited until now to contradict that claim because I was checking the correct facts. On the instructions of my Government, I am now to state that Pakistani aircraft took counter-action against these air-fields on 3rd December, and only after India, six or seven hours earlier, had launched armed attacks against Pakistan along a 500-mile-long front in the west.

I should like also to state on this occasion that I would request Ambassador Malik, when he refers to any remarks I make, kindly to quote them in context. I only wish to say that it is regrettable that he again made a statement yesterday which I had corrected the day before. That was in regard to what I said about the existence of an internal crisis in Pakistan. In the political life of States, internal crises are not a rare phenomenon, but it is up to the people of those countries to overcome the crises and not for foreign powers to exacerbate internal divisions, promote secession and armed rebellion and, finally, launch armed attacks and use an internal crisis as justification for interventionist doctrines in the political life of other States.

Further, I should like to bring to the attention of this Council a most deplorable action by India yesterday. On 4th December, the Secretary-General, in an urgent telephonic message to me, expressed his concern for the safety of United Nations personnel in East Pakistan and conveyed his decision to evacuate them to Bangkok. He requested that the Pakistan Government be approached to see if a cease-fire could be arranged in Dacca from 10 a. m. to 6 p.m. East Pakistan Time on 5th December to enable a transport plane to land at the airport and evacuate United Nations personnel to safety. The Secretary-General also intimated that he was making a similar request to the Permanent Representative of India. The Secretary-General's request was conveyed to the Government of Pakistan with all due urgency. It was followed up by the Pakistan Mission with telephonic messages to Islamabad. It is understood that both the Governments of Pakistan and India agreed to a cease-fire in Dacca for a certain length of time to allow for the evacuation of United Nations personnel and foreign diplomats. However, the world now knows that the Indian air force chose precisely the moment of evacuation of United Nations personnel to attack the civilian airport at Dacca. The perfidious nature of this attack needs to be condemned in the strongest possible terms. It shows better than we can say what kind of attitude governs India at present. India's air force launches an attack on the territory of Pakistan at the time when it knows that the valiant forces of Pakistan are committed to observing a cease-fire. The innocent victims in this case are the international civil servants and diplomats, and it is a fortunate accident that no lives were lost.

Finally, I should like to state that in regard to the question of extending an invitation to a particular entity to come here, I have pointed out that it would be not only a violation of rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, but also a violation of the Charter. That has been brought out with sufficient force by the Representative of Argentina, among others. Whatever may have been India's actions yesterday, that in no wise alters the force of the arguments that have been urged before the Council, and should the Council act in an unlawful manner we should have to consider that to be an unfriendly act towards the Government of Pakistan.

In order not to take the floor another time, I should like briefly to give my views on the draft resolution proposed by the Representative of France with his characteristic eloquence, precision and lucidity.

We are conscious of the concern of his Delegation and the British Delegation that the Council should achieve some result and not be completely paralysed by vetoes. Therefore, while we appreciate the laudable motives and the concern for peace that have promoted him to put forward a proposal, we are constrained to observe that nothing has been said about the proven fact of aggression and the fact that India has admitted this aggression. Nothing has been said about the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan and subversion and the fomentation of armed rebellion by India. Furthermore, this draft resolution does not provide for withdrawal of armed personnel and forces. In other words, occupation would continue and then, by the time the Security Council were to consider the situation further, Pakistan would be called upon to acquiesce in its own dismemberment.

We note that the draft resolution contemplates that the Council should meet again to consider what further steps within the framework of the Charter could be taken on the issues which have given rise to the hostilities, but we know very well that any proposal for the withdrawal of occupation forces is likely to attract a veto, and the Security Council would not be in a position to deal with the question of withdrawal of forces. By not dealing simultaneously with the question of withdrawal together with that of cease-fire, the Council would legitimize military occupation and perpetuate it.

For these reasons, we would hope that the Council would ponder the considerations I have urged and also be conscious of the fact that while it has a responsibility for peace and security, the United Nations as a whole cannot absolve itself from that responsibility just because a veto power is being arbitrarily exercised.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের প্রতিনিধি জর্জ বুশ-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. GEORGE BUSH, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.S.A.

December 6, 1971

I should like, first, to make a very brief comment regarding the statement by the Ambassador of India. I appreciate his omitting certain passages from the column that he quoted. In all sincerity, I say that this was most considerate and courteous of him. But I do believe that a brief reply is in order.

He insists on deflecting the Security Council's attention from the fire on the sub-continent by using this ageless device of quoting selectively from columns or editorials printed here that are unfavourable to the policy of the United States Government. Let me, here and now, assure this Council that our peopole—and that is what counts in this country—support what the United States Government has been trying to do, selective columns to the contrary notwithstanding.

Our people, our policy, supported the Secretary-General in his call for help for the refugees, in his call for observers. Where not those efforts by our Secretary-General even-handed ? We think they were. Our people supported the massive relief effort for refugees in Pakistan and the massive relief effort for refugees in India. Our people supported the vigorous private diplomacy in which our President engaged in trying to get the forces of both sides to pull back. And our people supported, happily and proudly, the recent visit of the Indian Prime Minister to our soil. I can also assure our colleague that the American people strongly support the United States draft resolution which received such an overwhelming vote in the Security Council, a resolution to stop killing, a resolutian for a cease-fire and withdrawal, resolution - and let me quote it very briefly:

"....toward the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of refugees to East Pakistan".

Our people support that, as they did a resolution supporting the Secretary-General's offer for good offices for peace. That is what we support, selective columns to the contrary notwithstanding.

This is not a one-sided policy. I hope it is a compassionate policy, a compassionate policy towards a continent in times. I wish the draft resolution had granered even more votes than the overwhelming number it did receive. I wish it had received the unanimous support of the world community.

In summary, we can find voices of dissent on our policy in this country ; we can find editorials. But I do not want this Council to be diverted by this device of shifting the focus to our Government by quoting unfavourable domestic sources. No matter from where those articles come, they will not divert the world's attention from the massive war that has descended upon the sub-continent. And while the war goes on, blame is unimportant. Each of us in this

Council can have his views as to who is to blame ; and certainly our colleague from India is entitled to his. But at this critical moment in history, blame is unimportant ; stopping the slaughter, stopping the invasion, somehow seems to our people to be desperately important.

At our meeting last night, I noted that the Council had been convened because it was faced with a clear and present threat to the peace of the world, because the area and the scope of the fighting had broadened and had intensified, and because the Council had a responsibility under the Charter to stop the fighting and preserve the territorial integrity of Member States. Eleven Members of this Council—a clear majority—signified on two separate occasions their desire to exercise the responsibilities of the Security Council under the Charter. They voted in favour of two draft resolutions which called upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take measures forthwith for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces from the territory of the other to their own side of the borders. They recognized the need to intensify efforts to bring about speedily and in accordance with the principles of the Charter conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homeland.

But unfortunately—as our colleague from Argentina mentioned and as we pointed out last night—one Permanent Member of this Council did not support that approach and exercised, under the rules, its veto over those two draft resolutions. In the midst of this grave situation, the action of that Member has rendered the Council unable to act in order to restore peace and security in South Asia, and we are not able in this crisis even to call for a halt to the fighting and the return of troops to within their own borders. In these circumstances, we are faced with the prospect that the world will conclude that the United Nations is unable to fulfil its Charter obligations to restore international peace and security where they are threatened.

This Council must do all within its power to ensure that this does not happen. It must explore every feasible avenue for action. And, to judge by statements made by most Members at our last meeting, it is also clear that a large majority is agreed that we cannot leave the matter where it is ; the *status quo* is intolerable. The threat to peace is too real and the plight of the refugees and the civilian population in general is too urgent for us to engage in further demonstrations of the inability of this Council to carry out its duties under the Charter. Fortunately, there are additional steps that we can take to prermit the full Membership of the United Nations to examine this urgent question and bring its influence to bear in favour of restoring peace in South Asia.

The "Uniting for Peace" resolution provides that:

"....if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the Permanent Members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations......"

Accordingly, the United States joins the Representatives of Somalia, Argentina, Burundi—and hopefully many more—in supporting the draft resolution which provides for referral of this urgent and impotrant question to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly for immediate consideration. We fervently hope that the Assembly will prove itself equal to the task so that the United Nations will have fulfilled these grave responsibilities that it bears under the Charter.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানী প্রতিনিধি মিঃ আগা শাহীর বিবৃতি ।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. AGHA SHAHI, REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN
December 6, 1971

It was not my intention to take the floor again, but the Ambassador of the Soviet Union addressed a direct question to me which arises out of the draft resolution contained in document S/10428, which he has circulated. This question was, why are you afraid of the expression of the Will of the people of East Pakistan ? I believe that he is entitled to an answer and I shall give him an honest answer, but before I do that I should like to make a comment or two on his draft resolution as explained by him.

I draw the attention of the Secuirty Council first to the fact that while the Soviet draft resolution attempts to merge the elements of the five-power draft resolution contained in document S/10425, it also changes that draft resolution which has been withdrawn. For example, compare operative paragraph one of the five-power draft resolution with operative paragraph 1 of the Soviet proposal. The five-power draft reads : "Calls upon the Governments concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire...." The Soviet draft "Calls upon all parties concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities....". This is a basic change because, while one request is addressed to "the Governmets concerned", the other is addressed to "all parties concerned". Since we know that the secessionist elements are accompanying the Indian invading forces, the Soviet draft resolution would make them a party to this first step, compel us to negotiate with them and straightaway accord them the status of a party. In other words, it would pave the way for recognition. For us, as one of the parties, this is a most fundamental change introduced by the Representative of the Soviet Union.

I shall respond to the appeal of Ambassador Malik to examine his draft resolution in the light of life and in the light of reality as it obtains now. There is an element of internal contradiction in the Soviet draft resolution. Operative paragraph 1 gives status and recognition to the auxiliary secessionist forces accompanying the Indian armed forces by making them a party. Operative paragraph 2 of the Soviet draft resolution calls for a political settlement, "giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970". The fact is, the reality is, that the auxiliary secessionist elements accompanying the invading Indian forces have repudiated the mandate. They stand for the creation of an independent Bangladesh State. That was not the Will of the population of East Pakistan as expressed in the elections of December, 1970. There is a qualitative change in the demand that is now made. Therefore, the Soviet draft resolution on the one hand accords status to the secessionist elements who demand independence and who have repudiated the mandate of the people of East Pakistan as given in the elections, and on the other hand talks of "giving....expression to the Will of the people of East Pakistan". In this situation, it is the auxiliary armed secessionist elements which will

be given a decisive voice by this draft resolution. I point out this internal contradiction.

I earlier expressed the view that the Soviet amendments, on which I commented and which are now part of this Soviet draft resolution, linked a settlement with a cease-fire. That is, Ambassador Malik explained, there is an organic bond between them: that is, until there is a settlement, hostilities must continue; war will continue.

Then, there is an element of political negotiation involved for the Government of Pakistan, under the duress of the presence of the invading Indian armed forces. We have been called upon to negotiate under these circumastances—which has never been the practice of the Security Council or the United Nations.

Whatever the organs of public opinion may say, whatever columnists may say, whatever intellectuals may say—and many of them do not have a high opinion of the United Nations—we all know that many great intellectuals are political innocents. But, here we are working within the framework of the rules and provisons of the Charter, and we have, to act in accordance with those principles. The intellectuals and the columnists and the newspaper editors consider themselves superior; they override the law of the United Nations in moulding public opinion, But we have to conform to the Charter.

Therefore, the principle that there can be no political solution to any problem while a country is under invasion and occupation is a fundamental one, and we regret to find that that principle—a United Nations principle—is ignored in the Soviet draft proposal.

Further, I should like to point out that in all the draft resolutions that the United Nations has considered, it is a sacrosanct tractice to couple cease-fire with withdrawal, and we haye admired the position of principle of the Soviet Union, until now, that it has always mintained the organic link between withdrawal and cease-fire. But, unfortunately, we do not find a consistent approach by the Soviet Union on the present occasion.

As I have said, East Pakistan is a part of Pakistan recognized as such by all Member States. The armed attacks and invasion of East Pakistan from 21st November constituted an armed attack—an aggression—on all Pakistan.

The Representative of the Soviet Union made the charge that Pakistan started this on 3rd December. But we must go back before that date. I should like to point out that the aggression started on 21st November against Pakistan, which is one single State.

Then, in regard to my remarks, let me make clear what I said about our internal crisis. We do have an internal crisis, which is a political crisis. That political crisis is our internal affair. The international aspects of this crisis are the following : there is the humanitarian aspect—the purely humanitarian aspect—and there is the other international aspect created by Indian subversion, promotion of armed rebellion and secession within East Pakistan, and, finally, the invasion of East Pakistan. I should like to make clear once and for all what are the internal aspects of our crisis and what are the international aspects, so that there will be no misapprehension whatsoever.

Now, coming to the question whether we are afraid of the expression of the Will of the people of East Pakistan. No; it is a great tragedy that that Will could not be given political expression in the meeting of the National Assembly, in which differences between political parties could perhaps have been resolved. But, as a result of a postponement for a short time, the secessionist elements in East Pakistan launched a rebellion involving the non-payment of taxes to the Government, defiance of the authority of the Government, and the release of 18,000 criminals from goals, who were armed and let loose in an orgy of massacre.

That is the truth. If evidence is required, one need only consult the newspapers published in East Pakistan from the time of the crisis—from January and February and on 25th March. That was a notorious fact, which is known not only to Members of the United Nations. Those armed criminal elements—thousands of them—were armed and let loose to go and commit massacres ; and, regrettably, some of the elected representatives were involved in those crimes. No member of the Assembly has been disqualified for polictcal dissent or for his political views.

There is evidence of the organization of slaughter houses—I do not wish to go into these details—and those responsible were requested to come and clear themselves of the charges. Now in this situation, while an amensety extends to political offenders, can the international community demand that it should aslo be extended to those who have organized murder ?

Therefore, I should like to point out in regard to the Soviet draft resolution the internal contradiction that the armed secessionist elements are being made a party to certain directives and actions of the Council, and then there is a demand about recognition of the Will of the population of East Pakistan. If the secessionist elements were to repudiate secessionist aims and abide by the Will of the people of East Pakistan as expressed in those elections, we might perhaps emerge from this dark night and from the gloom which surrounds us. That is a pertinent question which every Member of the Security Council must ask himself before he exercises his vote on the Soviet draft resolution.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতীয় প্রতিনিধি মিঃ সমর সেন-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডক্যুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

1. STATEMENT BY MR. SAMAR SEN, REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA

December 6, 1971

I simply wanted to speak for two minutes in order not to leave an impression on some of the factual matters brought out by the Representative of Pakistan. This impression has been created on the basis of misconception, and I thought I would clear it up straight away. I do not believe it would help our deliberations or profit the Council if I were to reply in detail once again to the many charges he brings up from time to time, charges to which I have replied in detail on previous occasions. All these charges are flung, as I said before, without the slightest iota of evidence or a particle of truth. However, he has mentioned three points in which the United Nations is somehow or other involved and I think it is my duty to inform the Council of the exact position.

First, he talked about this tragic subject of Bangladesh being broutght up in the United Nations. Of course, the Security Council is one of the many forums where this could be discussed. He did not explain why other organs cou'd not also be considered. However, two factual points. He said that our memorandum, contained in document S/10410, is not correct and that it contains a mis-statement. He says Pakistani sources have reported that India has launched an attack on West Pakistan. I maintain, this is totally false. If there any doubt about that, at least part of the truth is established by the report which is contiained in document S/10412, which says in its paragraph 4(*a*): "Srinagar airfield bombed at 1745 hours on 3rd December". Now, Srinagar is on our side of the frontier and, therefore, it could only be bombed by Pakistani planes. We have suggested the bombing took palce at 1730 hours; the United Nations observer reports it was bombed at 1745 hours.

The second point is that he said that we had committed some heinous crime in preventing the evacuation of consular corps and United Nations personnel from Dacca. If anyone has any regard for the truth—and I think the Secretariat can bear me out on this, but I shall not ask them to do so becuase it would be most embarrasing for them—everything was arranged. The plane came from Bangkok and was flying to Dacca. Here is a telegram stating exactly what happened:

"As arranged, Canadian C-13 aircraft came from Bangkok to Dacca this morning. However, when approaching Dacca airport, Dacca control tower did not accept the aircraft and advised it to turn back. Our Calcutta airport control monitored this talk and invited pilot to divert to Calcutta. Pilot acknowledged offer gratefully, but said he was venturing back to Bangkok. The air force authorities confirmed that safe period between 10-30 to 12 noon IST promised by us was fully honoured. Our air force stopped air activity in Dacca airfield well before such period".

That is the truth.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতীয় প্রতিনিধি মিঃ সমর সেন-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	ডিসেম্বর ৬, ১৯৭১

2. STATEMENT BY MR. SAMAR SEN, REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA DECEMBER 6, 1971

Mr. President, we are coming to the end of the debate, and I am grateful to you and to the Council for this opportunity to make a few comments.

This debate has shown that selectivity is the order of the day. Now, several principles have been quoted by various Delegations: sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in other peoples' affairs, and so on. But I wounder why we should be shy about speaking of Human Rights ? What happened to the Convention on Genocide ? What happened to the Principle of Self-determination? What happened to all the other social rights and conventions which you have so solemnly accepted ? Are we, therefore, to be selective in serving what is known as the motto of our era—peace, progress and justice ? What happened to the justice part ?

We cannot proceed on this important and very serious matter in that selective way. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has been quoted. What happened to article 22 of that Declaration ? What happened to the other articles ? According to your views, you can select as you like, but when I select a particular article, then that is being selective.

I should have thought that the normal, civilized course of debate would be for each speaker to support his argument with the best evidence available ; and if that is a crime then I have to be taught all the lessons of democracy all over again.

I was also glad to hear that the people of the United States support their Government. I should have thought that in an elected government—one elected for at least four years—that is a self-evident truth. But I was glad to have that confirmation.

Then, I was told that we are here not to apportion blame but to do something to calm down the fire which is raging . I can recall areas not far from India where warfare had been going on for years. I shall leave history to judge how and at what speed human lives are saved and the flames of conflict put out. Did we not then consider justice and the question of blame ? I shall leave it at that.

Now, when we started this debate I asked myself and some of my friends what exactly the Council would wish to achieve. When I came here to participate in this important debate, in spite of many reservations -mainly for reasons I will explain briefly in a minute—I had hoped that the council would proceed on the basis of that three-fold motto of peace, progress and justice.

Let me not be soft-mouthed about it: those who cry for peace, progress and justice must realize that these principles apply to all areas—not merely to India and Pakistan, not merely to this area or that area, but to all areas. We are all committed to them, and we cannot separate these concepts merely because someone feels something ought to be done quickly after having slept on it for nine months.

The second queston I asked myself was : can we achieve it ? I think we can achieve it. The Security Council has enough power to achieve it, but I

rather doubt it will exercise that power. That power could have been exercised a long, long time ago. We are bogged down on the matter of internal jurisdiction, and so on and so forth, and there has been no attempt yet todate to have us look at the problem in its entirety and take suitable decisions. No, we are very anxious to get rid of a resoultion somehow or other.

Then I asked myself: how should we achieve it? Now, here is where my hesitation, reservations and protests come in. I should have thought, I repeat that any consideration of the question of cease-fire should require the parties who are fighting. I suppose it is not the intention of the Council that fighting between Pakistani soldiers and the people of East Pakistan should not be halted, and that violent massacres should go on all over the place, and that those who resist those massacres should be blamed for ressting them.

I should have thought that the intention of all men of good will would be to put an end to all hostilities. And we have just heard argued that the secessionist movement—I have again and again explained that aspect of the problem, and we do not have to dwell on it—that the Pakistani army can take whatever action it likes against helpless women, children and men, but they must not resist because that is immoral.

That is why if wanted Bangladesh people to come and give us their view. But that as not happened. In this system of unrealism, can the Council really expect to come to any sensible decision?

Now, let me explain very briefly what some of these realities are. Refugees are a reality. It is not a question of economic strain alone. I have explained that again and again, so I shall not go into that. But anyway, refugees are a reality. Genocide and oppression are realities. The intense desire of people to live their own lives, in their own ways is an overwhelming reality. There is no hope of Pakistan ever controlling these lives. Total collapse of all the administration of Government is a reality. The extinction of all civil rights is a reality. Armed conflicts of various kinds are realities. Provocation and aggression of various kinds by Pakistan from 25th March onwards is a reality. As a result, retaliation has followed in exercise of the right of self-defence, and we have warned that we shall exercise this right without hesitation. Recognition by India of Bangladesh is a reality. Bangladesh itself is a reality. If those who do not accept these realities or the facts on which these realities are based, they are entitled to do so. We are not here to convinced those who do not wish to be convinced. Those who do not wish to see facts, nobody can make them see facts. As the saying goes, no one is so blind as the man who refuses to see.

If we go against these realities, it is not India which will suffer but, I fear, the entire concept of the United Nations. We thank the Soviet Union, not because of the India-Soviet Treaty, but because it is one of the countries which has accepted these realities as they are. The realities have also been dawning in various quarters, but much too slowly. After nine months, we are still not anywhere near reality.

Now, much has been said about the India-Soviet peace treaty, that it is a bond of slavery. Now, those who believe that a country like India today can be controlled and ruled by some other power, however powerful it is, are not lacking in erudition. They do not need erudition, but they need attention in some other field. Pakistan continues to represent that the elections and subsequent wiping

out of their verdict by force was inevitable and because of the secessionist elements. Again, I shall leave it at that because we know the facts much too .... I simply wish to make our position quite clear at this stage. We have made it clear before, but again I should read out formally a brief paragraph about our position:

"We have made our position perfectly clear and we shall adhere firmly to it, for what is at stake—perhaps it is difficult for others to understand it—is our national security, is our entire social and economic fabric, and the complex of life of over 500 million people of India, and many others besides. We have faced aggression from a neighbour four times, and we are threatened again. The sizes of different countries have little relevance, for small powers can have powerful allies, expensive and efficient military machines, and strange ambitions. Added to this, we face the mortal danger through the annihilation of 75 million people at our doorstep. This cannot but fail to overwhelm us and we shall not tolerate it."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সোভিয়েত প্রতিনিধি মিঃ জ্যাকব মালিক-এর বিবৃতি।	জাতিসংঘ ডকুমেন্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STATEMENT BY MR. JACOB MALIK, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.S.S.R.
December 6, 1971

The Delegation of the Soviet Union does not consider the transfer of the question to the General Assembly to be correct, either in terms of substance or from the procedural standpoint. This is n indication of the wish to avoid a solution on the substance of the matter, and the adoption of measures to eliminate the main source of conflict upon the Hindustan Peninsula. This is apparently something that is needed by those who are attempting, in accordance with their former practice, to utilize the rostrum for various types of insinuations and fabrications against those countries with whose positions they do not happen to agree. But it is entirely clear that the chief purpose is to divert attention from the substance of the problem, from the main cause of the conflict, to muddy the waters, to confuse the United Nations, and to avoid the adoption of a solution to the problem.

Those who support that draft resolution know that General Assembly Resolutions are recommendations, whereas Resolutions of the Security Council are mandatory decisions which, under the Charter, must be inplimented by Member States of the United Nations; and, being unwilling to find an effective solution to the question under consideration, those parties are making an attempt to throw this question into the lap of the General Assembly. Well, let them do that. Whoever prefers that course is free to attempt it. Let them try to escape the essence of the problem. The Soviet Delegation continues to consider tha only a decision in the direction stated in the draft resoultion presented by the Soviet Union could secure an effective settlement of the situation in the Hindustan Peninsula.

As you have stated, Mr. President, the Soviet Delegation does not at the present time press for a vote on its draft resolution. We intend to consult with other Delegation, irrespective of whether this matter is to be handle over to the General Assembly or not. We shall continue this work, and we shall continue to defend the right cause and our just position.

I should like to say a few words in connexion with some of the comments of my very old friend the Representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Baroody. He informed the Council that he had been approached by Representatives of the Baltic States on numerous occasions. Do not believe it, Mr. Baroody. They are not Representatives of the Baltic Republics: they are quislings and traitors to the peoples of those Republics. They served Hitler, and now they are serving those who are paying them more. They are serving the various imperialist intelligence agencies. They are being used as a labour force for the carrying out of the dertiest tasks against the Soviet Union and the Baltic Republics. Mr. Baroody, so put an end to your friendship with them. They are the dregs.

If you wish to make the acquaintance of the genuine Representatives of the Baltic Republics, I can be of service in this respect. In the mission of the Soviet Delegation to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, there is a Representative of the Lithuanian people, and I can introduce you to him tomorrow. I might even give you his card today. He is the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Latvia, and I would be very happy to bring you together and introduce you to each other.

One further item of information. There are 15, not 16, Republics in the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, I should like to say that if Mr. Baroody, with his outstanding erudition and oratorical skill and his ability to present his case and his proposals in such a well argued way, had contributed to convincing certain Delegations to adopt the draft resolution introduced by the Soviet Union, that would have been useful, and it might have been possible to bring to an end the sufferings of the many people to whom he referred here.

১৬৮

জাতিসংঘের সাধারণ পরিষদে বিতর্ককালে বিভিন্ন প্রতিনিধির বক্তব্য

৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সাধারণ পরিষদে বিতর্কের সংক্ষিপ্তসার।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

A SHORT NOTE ON THE DEBATE

The General Assembly on December 7, 1971, adopted a Resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops. The voting was 104 in favour, 11 against and 10 abstentions.

The sizeable majority for the Resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on December 7, 1971, was an acceptance of the standard formulla for cease-fire and withdrawals, rather than a refusal to take account of the realities of the situation and of the basic issues involved. This becomes clear from the following points made in the statements of various Delegations during the debate in the General Assembly. Only 58 Delegations made statements during the debate, besides India and Pakistan.

I. Countries which blamed Pakistan for suppression in East Pakistan and for violation of human rights, etc.:—

1. **Bulgaria :**

2. **Cyprus :** India has been under gravest provocation following tragic sequence of events in East Pakistan and the suppression of human rights in that "country".

3. **Czechoslovakia :** Pakistan did not take any measures which might have remedied the situation and brought about a political settlement in East Pakistan.

4. **Greece :** To the absence of effective action within Pakistan for a political settlement, one should add the reticence of the international community which did not encourage any peaceful settlement.

5. **Hungary :**

6. **Mongolia :**

7. **Poland :**

8. **U.S.S.R :**

9. **Yugoslavia :**

II. Countries which spoke of a political settlement in East Pakistan and indicated that the crisis is would not be over till basic cause of the conflict was removed and political settlement reached ;

1. **Argentina :**

2. **Bhutan :**

3. **Bulgaria :**

4. **Canada :** Security Council should be in a position to address itself to the underlying political issues.

5. **Ceylon :** Called upon Pakistan to consult with the leaders of East Bengal, but urged that East Bengal leaders must agree to renounce all secessionist demands. Also stated that U.N., if it is asked to intervene and if it has actually to intervene, must treat the problem as a whole. Took the line that the struggle in Bangladesh " is surely not a liberation movement in the classic and universally understood sense of the term. We would be creating a deadly precedent if we regard it as such".

6. **Cyprus :** Problems arising out of influx of refugees should have been arrested by a political solution and by the concerted action of the international community through the U.N. Nothing was done in that direction.

7. **Czechoslovakia :**

8. **France :** Attitude of the French Government has been guided by the concern to ensure the restoration of peace, to promote a political solution which, with the consent of the people concerned, could and can be the only guarantee of a lasting peace.

9. **Gabon :** The U.S.S.R. draft resolution though not fully agreeable, seems much more desirable as it takes into consideration the need to a reach a political settlement in accordance with the Will of the people concerned.

10. **Ghana :**

11. **Greece :** Criticised the resolution as operative paragraph on conditions for voluntary return of refugees has not been submitted in as clear a way as the preamble paragraph on political settlement of the problem.

12. **Hungary :**

13. **Iran :**

14. **Italy :**

15. **Lebanon :** Called for humanitarian solution of the problem of refugees.

16. **Mexico :** Specifically linked the draft resolution with, early political solution for the restoration of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes.

17. **Mongolia :**

18. **Netherlands :**

19. **Peru :** "To cope with the effects and ignore the causes, is a half-measure " and will not take us very far. Essential "to have a border understanding in order to get down to root origins of conflict and remove it on basis of principles of U.N. Charter".

20. **Sweden :** Voted for the resolution "in the conviction that U.N. has a solemn obligations to make every effort towards finding solution to this tragic conflict", "a cease-fire does not naturally solve the underlying problems even if it is a pre-condition for a solution. A solution must be found upon the expressed Will of the people of East Pakistan".

21. **U.K. :** The passage of either resolution would not contribute to a settlement—that is what counts.

22. **U.S.S.R. :** Unless account is taken of the real situation in the Indian sub-continent, it will be impossible for U.N. to take steps to bring an end to hostilities and to normalise the situation, or to bring a political settlement in East Pakistan.

—Quoted Brezhnev : "The crisis has now gone far beyond the frontiers of East Pakistan and has become an international problem".

23. **Yogoslavia :** Emphasis on ascertaining the real causes of the crisis and asked for improvements in the draft resolution which would stress in a more balanced manner the need for an early political solution.

III. Countries which specifically linked the political settlement with cessation of hostilities and withdrawals, etc. :

1. **[illegible]**

2. **Bulgaria :**

3. **Chile :** Draft resolution should be based on the principles : cease-fire, withdrawals, protection of human rights, adoption of immediate measures for the solution of the political problem in the area, non-interference, territorial integrity, active presence of the U.N. Final draft resolution should be on the basis of consensus.

4. **Cyprus :** Resolution not sufficiently balanced since it does not provide for a political solution and restoration of conditions of normalcy.

5. **Czechoslovakia :**

6. **Denmark :** The resolution does not deal with the basic political problems in a manner which fully takes into account the complexity of the problems.

7. **Gabon :** First draft resolution (A/L647/Rev. 1)—calling only for cease-fire and withdrawal of troops, without laying sufficient stress on the restoration of a climate for a political framework is not likely to encourage refugees to return to their homes, and tended to eliminate oly the consequences without dealing with the causes.

8. **Hungary :**

9. **Madagascar :** "We are only too well aware that we must not interfere in the internal affairs ol a Member State; but, at the same time, we think that it is urgent and necessary to restore, by the appropriate political measures, normal conditions of peace and security in Bengal, and for this purpose we must concede that the principle of self-determination, in this particular case and in the present context, can have only the sense freely given to it by the people concerned."

10. **Nepal :**

11. **New Zealand :** "Once ware has broken out, the first and most urgent responsibility of the United Nations is to bring it to an end."

"At the same time, it must be recognised that there can be no lasting peace in the sub-continent until the problem that has given rise to this conflict is solved."

12. **Peru :** First cease-fire and at a subsequent stage adoption of measures to "deal with the questions that have led to the outbreak of hostilities". Draft resolution inadequate on latter point.

13. **Poland :**

14. **U.K. :** "We should explore possibilities to try to overcome the difficulties, half the fighting and find solutions to the desperately complicated issues which have rise to the outbreak of war."

15. **U.S.S.R. :** There should be simultaneously a cease-fire, end to the bloodshed and hostilities, and the beginning of a political settlement of the problem of East Pakistan on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and interests of its people.

16. **Yugoslavia :** While calling for simultaneous solution of political problem, stated that it depended primarily upon the Government of Pakistan.

IV. Countries which specifically took the line that it was not the time to go into the root cause of the problem :

1. **Algeria :** Called for cease-fire and withdrawals first and then solution of other problems.

2. **Brazil :** Resolution is oriented to the concrete solution to the immediate issue before the U.N. It is futile to start discussion of remote causes of present situation.

3. **Canada :** Took particular cognizance of the pre-ambular para which recognises the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities.

4. **Ceylon :** Too late to investigate the origins of the conflict.

5. **Ecuador :**

6. **Fiji :** Cease-fire should be a achieved first; "details of a political settlement could then be worked out".

7. **Italy :** Recognises both the aspects, but cease-fire, etc., is the "immediate task", and the U.N. need consider other aspects of the matter again.

8. **Japan :** Draft resolution contains the essential elements which are the need at this juncture, the problem of East Pakistan should be solved by Pakistan itself.

9. **Jordan :**

10. **Malaysia :** Also hoped for "eventual and peaceful settlement on dispute in all its aspects".

11. **Netherlands :** Immediate first steps (cease-fire and withdrawal) should be taken by General Assembly.

12. **Uruguay :** The resolution "is not a matter of underlying a prior examination of questions raised by the parties...Nor is it a search for long-term lasting solution.

V. Countries which laid emphasis on the territorial integrity of Pakistan :

1. **Algeria :**
2. **Argentina :**
3. **Chile :**
4. **Lebanon :**
5. **Nepal :** Also mentioned the principle of non-use of force or threat of force against other States.
6. **Tanzania :**
7. **Yugoslavia :** Also mentioned the principle of renunciation of the use of force.

VI. Countries which specifically stated that they wanted territorial integrity nd unity of Pakistan to be maintained :

1. **Albania :**
2. **Ceylon :**
3. **Chad :**
4. **Ghana :**
5. **Indonesia :**
6. **Iran :**
7. **Jordan :** Asked the U.N. to defend territorial integrity of Pakistan.
8. **Kuwait :**
9. **Mauritania :**
10. **Sudan :**
11. **Togo :**
12. **Turkey :**

VII. Countries which emphasised the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country :

1. **Albania :** Called a halt to "imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and peoples".

2. **Algeria :**

3. **Argentina :**

4. **Burundi :** Referred to principle of non-recourse to war so long as peaceful negotiations are possible and of the fundamental human rights of all peoples to the full enjoyment of freedom.

5. **Chad :**

6. **Chile :**

7. **China :**

8. **Ghana :**

9. **Indonesia :**

10. **Iran :**

11. **Kuwait :**

12. **Lebanon :**

13. **Mauritania :**

14. **Nepal :**

15. **Sudan :**

16. **Togo :**

17. **Turkey :**

18. **Yugoslavia :** Also mentioned the principle of respect for human rights.

VIII. Countries which emphasised the role of the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General or a third party in dealing with the Indo-Pakistan crisis :

1. **Argentina :** Good offices of Secretary-General and need for observers to supervise cease-fire and withdrawals.

2. **Burundi :** Good offices of Secretary-General.

3. **Canada :** Cease-fire should be accompanied by specific U.N. arrangements to supervise it.

4. **Ceylon :** Secretary-General's good offices.

5. **Chile :**

6. **Iran :** Called for U.N. observers mission for supervision of withdrawals.

7. **Nicaragua :** Expressed the hope that India and Pakistan would accept peaceful mediation of the U.N..

8. **U.S.A. :** Also blamed India for not welcoming Secretary-General's good offices, etc.

However, as the Resolution ignored the necessity of a political solution to the problem according to the wishes of the people of East Bengal and failed to take note of the wanton and unprovoked Pakistani aggression, India opposed it. The Resolution was recommendatory in nature and was not implemented because it was politically unrealistic.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে আলোচনার সংক্ষিপ্ত সার।	বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস্	

A SHORT NOTE ON DISCUSSIONS AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL

December 12 to 21, 1971

The Security Council considered the situation in the Indian sub-continent again from December 12 to 21, 1971. A draft resolution tabled by the U.S.A. for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. on December 13, 1971. Meanwhile, the situation in the sub-continent changed with the fall of Dacca and India's unilateral declaration of a cease-fire resulting in a better understanding of India's position in the U.N. circles. The recognition of the People's Republic of Bangladesh by India and the unilateral declaration of cease-fire in the western sector, following the unconditional surrender by Pakistani military occupation forces in Dacca on Dcember 16, 1971, confirmed the repeated assurances given by India that it had no territorial designs on Pakistan. Pakistan's attempt to collect signature to take the whole issue back to the General Assembly failed as it was able to collect only 23 signatures out of 104 countries which had earlier voted for the General Assembly Resolution. This was clearly indicative of the understanding of the realities of the situation in Bangladesh by the Members of the United Nations.

The Security Council was eventually able to adopt a Resolution on December 21, 1971 which took note of the unilateral declaration of cease-fire by India in the western sector and Pakistan's agreement thereto with effect from December 17, 1971, and demanded that "a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions which fully respect the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan". The voting was 13 in favour, none against and 2 abstentions.

সংযোজন

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে জাতিসংঘ তৎপরতার সংক্ষিপ্ত চিত্র।	দি ইউনাইটেড নেশনস ইন বাংলাদেশ : টমাস অলিভার	১ এপ্রিল থেকে ২৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

UNEPRO, UNROD, UNROB :

A Chronology

1971 1 April	Secretary-general publicly offers UN humanitarian assistance to the government of Pakistan
22 April	Secretary-general makes formal offer of UN humanitarian assistance for the relief of suffering in East Pakistan
29 April	Secretary-General designates UNHCR as focal point for UN assistance to refugees from East Pakistan
22 May	Pakistan formally accepts the Secretary-General's offer of humanitarian assistance
3 June	Assistant Secetary-General Kittani visits Pakistan to make arrangements for relief operation
7 June	Representative of secretary-general, El-Tawil, and small field staff arrive in East Pakistan to coordinate emergency aid
16 June	Secretary-General appeals for contributions for emergency assistance in East Pakistan
21 June	S. Tripp appointed headquarters coordinator for UN humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan
16 July	ECOSOC endorses the action taken by the Secretary-general
20 July	Secretary-General addresses memorandum to the President of the Security Council on the situation in the subcontinent
13 August	Secretary-General convenes meeting of potential donor governments
23 August	Paul-Marc Henry appointed assistant Secretary-General in-charge of East Pakistan relief operation (UNEPRO) at headquarters

September-October	Contributions beginning to be delivered, including first 100 trucks
22 October	Secretary-General offers his good offices to the governments of India and Pakistan
15-16 November	Agreement between government of Pakistan and UN on conduct of operation
18 November	Paul-Marc Henry reports to the Third Committee of the General Assembly on the operation
24 November	Movement of staff and supplies to East Pakistan halted. Supplies diverted to Singapore
4-6 December	Security Council considers situation in the subcontinent
6 December	General Assembly adopts resolution 2790 (XXVI) endorsing the Secretary-General's initiative in establishing UNEPRO
7 December	General Assembly adopts resolution 2793 (XXVI) calling for cease-fire
12—21 December	Security Council again considers situation and adopts resolution 307 (1971)
21 December	Secretary-general informs General Assembly and Security Council of establishment of UNROD
22 December	Evacuation of staff completed, leaving small nucleus in Dacca
27 December	Toni Hagen arrives in Dacca as officer in charge of UNROD

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